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A

POLITICAL SURVEY

OF

BRITAIN.

VOL. II.

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A

POLITICAL SURVEY

OF

BRITAIN:

BEING

A SERIES OF REFLECTIONS

ON THE

SITUATION, LANDS, INHABITANTS, REVENUES, COLONIES, AND COMMERCE OF THIS ISLAND:

INTENDED TO SHEW

That we have not as yet approached near the Summit of Improvement, but that it will afford Employment to many Generations before they push to their utmost Extent the natural Advantages of GREAT BRITAIN.

BY JOHN CAMPBELL, L. L. D.

VOL. II.

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THE POLITICAL SURVEY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

The Extent of Territory in Great Britain and Ireland.

THE general Facts laid down in the former Book more distinctly considered in this. A competent Notion of the Extent of this Country, the first Point to be established. No Objection to this, that as Islands their Bounds are unalterably fixed by Nature. Deductions of this Kind no new Doctrine in the political Science. A geometrical Description of the World published by Gerard Malines at the Beginning of the last Century. Computation of the Extent of England, by Dr. Edmund Halley. The Superficies of Britain and Ireland from Mr. Templeman's System. These, though

they may not be preciſely true, are competent Meaſures for our Purpoſe. This Aſſertion more largely explained, and the Truth of it proved. Inſtances in Support of theſe general Computations. Reflections tending to eſtabliſh their Certainty and Utility.

THE general Excellence, the many natural Advantages, and the peculiar Privileges and Prerogatives, which through the Bounty of Providence are the Portion of BRITAIN, have been in ſome Degree proved, as well as pointed out in the former Book [a]. In order to ſhew the numerous Additions that may be ſtill made to the Security, Grandeur, and Proſperity of this already powerful Empire, we mean in this to be more diſtinct and explicit, by entering into a ſuccinct Detail of thoſe Powers or rather Faculties of this Country, at all Times and unalienably in her Poſſeſſion, and which for this Purpoſe have been and hereafter may be gradually exerted [b]. This we are the more inclined to do, that at the ſame Time they illuſtrate and confirm the Scope and Importance of this Doctrine, they may ſerve alſo as ſo many Proofs to ſupport thoſe already ſuggeſted, and thereby to eſtabliſh its Veracity, in ſuch a Manner as to render it inconteſtibly manifeſt, that our aſſerting it not did ariſe out of what might be eſteemed, even in a moral Senſe, an excuſable, or, conſidered in a national View, as a laudable Partiality [c]; but that it actually flowed from ſerious Enquiry, and many Obſervations, which it is hoped will lead the attentive Reader to a clear Conviction, at leaſt in regard to moſt of the Points that we have advanced, as there is nothing in which we have been more careful, than that all our Arguments ſhould at the Time they were advanced be united with a ſufficient Weight of Evidence [d].

WE will begin with endeavouring to aſcertain to a competent Degree, in reſpect at leaſt to political Speculations, the Extent of the ſeveral Parts, and of the Whole of BRITAIN, in Conjuction with IRELAND, which, for many Reaſons, it is of the greateſt Importance ſhould be clearly and diſtinctly underſtood [e]. For without this we can form no rational or ſolid

[a] Political Survey of Great Britain, Book I. chap. iv. and which is indeed proſecuted through the whole Book, and the Evidence ariſing from thence ſummed up in the laſt Chapter.

[b] By the gradual Exertion of ſome of theſe Faculties this Empire was evidently acquired, and by a farther Exertion of them it muſt be ſupported.

[c] To this ſome foreign Writers have oppoſed a Spirit of Prejudice, and a Deſire of depreciating the Circumſtances of Britain.

[d] The ſtrongeſt Reaſons by plauſible Objections may be rendered doubtful; but when ſupported by Facts are not to be oppoſed, or at leaſt not to be refuted.

[e] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vi. 33. ſeems to have a clear Idea of this Principle, though he is a little unlucky in his Application. The Title of his Chapter is, "A ſummary Deſcription of the Earth from the Dimenſions of its Parts." In this he makes Europe more than one third of the habitable World; as large and half as large again as Aſia; and more than twice as big as Africa.

Judgment

Judgment of our Condition either at Home or Abroad; for we cannot otherwiſe diſcern what may be ſtill wanting to compleat our national Conſiſtence, or how this is to be brought about, by firmly combining theſe natural Parts into one political Whole, and thereby uniting our two great Iſlands, together with all the leſſer Iſles dependant upon them, into what may be looked upon as one Country, or, to ſpeak with greater Propriety, as one Commonwealth [f]. When, however, this is once effectually accompliſhed, we ſhall be able to gain a diſtinct Idea of our internal Strength or Power in regard to our Neighbours, and of courſe be thereby freed from the Danger of falling into what might be indeed fatal, an overweening Preſumption of our own Abilities, or of ſinking at any Time, which would be no leſs fatal, under ill-founded Apprehenſions of our Weakneſs [g]. For in reference to the State of Nations, as well as to the Eſtates of private Men, the only Means of diſcovering what with Reaſon we may hope, or what in Prudence we ought to decline, is to gain as perfect a Knowledge as is poſſible of our Condition [h].

But there is yet another, and it may be ſtill a more important Reaſon, for our paying the ſtricteſt Attention to this Inquiry. Great Britain is now become the Seat and Center of a very extenſive Empire, conſidered in which Point of View, ſo many and ſuch different Circumſtances ariſe, as demand, in order to come at this, the utmoſt Circumſpection and the greateſt Penetration [i]. It is indeed true, that the Extent of any Country being once thoroughly known, the Thing is for ever fixed, more eſpecially in regard to Iſlands; the Bounds of which being aſſigned by Providence, cannot either by Force or Induſtry be extended [k]. Reaſon however ſhews, and Experience very fully proves, that in virtue of Situation, Commerce, and Policy, the People inhabiting a Country of a very moderate Capacity may improve it, and their own Condition therein, to a Degree of Security, Wealth, and Force much ſuperior in all theſe Circumſtances to thoſe ſeated in Countries of far more extended Bounds; and we have ſpent our Time and Pains very ill, if we have not ſhewn, paſt all Doubt,

[f] It is an old and trite, but at the ſame Time a very weighty and true Saying, That a triple Alliance (or rather a ſtrict Union) between England, Scotland, and Ireland, is the only League neceſſary to make his Britannick Majeſty the moſt potent Monarch in Europe; which is a Doctrine we have eſpouſed, and which it is the principal End and Deſign of this Work to vindicate and maintain.

[g] Miſtakes in theſe Points have in our Times been fatal to more Nations in Europe than one, and this is the only Means to prevent them.

[h] See Lord Bacon's judicious Diſcourſe on the true Greatneſs of Britain, addreſſed to King James, in the 4to Edition of his Works, vol. ii. p. 246.

[i] An Empire which as Induſtry and Vigour could only raiſe, ſo Virtue and Wiſdom only can ſuſtain, by a right Application of the Means that are or may be in our Power for this Purpoſe.

[k] As the Inhabitants of an Iſland are in ſome meaſure confined, ſo they are alſo ſecure by Situation, *mediis tranquillus in Undis.*

that in every one of these respects Islands are of all Countries the most improveable [l]. Yet still unalterable and impassable as these our natural Limits are, the attaining a precise Notion of the Sizes respectively and collectively of all our Islands, remains for the Reasons that have been before given, and for many more of equal Consequence which might be easily assigned, a Matter of the greatest Weight and Importance, and which ought therefore to be carefully laid down as the only proper Basis of all political Reasoning [m].

As this Position was simple, natural, and indeed at all Times obvious to any judicious Observer, so whatever some modern Authors may be pleased to say, it was very early introduced by such as meant to enquire methodically into the relative Proportions of Territory in the Possession of the several Powers of Europe [n]. If they had fewer Lights, worse Maps, and less authentic Informations in general than are within our Reach, it no Way affects the End and Design of their Deductions, though it may in some Degree the Truth of their Computations. Yet even in Reference to these, we shall upon Examination find they were not near so erroneous as we might imagine, and therefore the small Difference between their Calculations and ours seems to give an Air of unexpected Credit to both; more especially when it is considered, that with the Help of some few, and those likewise very reasonable Qualifications, these Differences, even trivial as they are, might be wholly taken away [o].

It is now about a Century and a Half since Gerard Malines published, though for a Mercantile Purpose, such an Analysis of the habitable World [p]; and that it might be the better understood by its being unembarrassed with different Measures, he reduced the Whole to Acres. Assigning to England *Twenty-nine* millions *Five hundred Sixty-eight* thousand; to Scotland *Fourteen* millions [q] *Four hundred Thirty-two* thousand; to Ireland *Eighteen* millions; making the Whole of the British Dominions, Sixty-two millions of Acres [r]. In consequence of this, he makes the Proportion between the

[l] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. chap. iii. p. 27.

[m] It is self evident, that we must first know what Nature has made a Country before we can know what Art and Industry may make of it.

[n] Strabo, at the Entrance of his great and learned Work, commends the Utility of the Science he taught to Princes and Politicians, Geog. lib. i. p. 11.

[o] For Instance, the Bounds of France are much extended by Conquest, those of Spain diminished by the Loss of Burgundy, the Low Countries, &c.

[p] Lex Mercatoria, P. i. chap. vi. p. 49. where he calls it a Geometrical Description of the World, more especially of Europe.

[q] It is more than probable that the visible Defect in regard to the Size of Scotland arose from his neglecting the Islands entirely.

[r] These Computations, so far as they regard England, were adopted by Dr. Edward Chamberlaine, in his Angliæ Notitia, or present State of England.

British

Britiſh Dominions and thoſe of the Crown of France as ſix to eight nearly, and in reference to thoſe of Spain as ſix to ſomewhat leſs than ſeven; and by the Obſervations joined to this Table, he very clearly points out the various Uſes to which, as he conceived, it might be applied [s].

The very judicious and accurate Dr. Edmund Halley, to comply with the earneſt Deſire of his induſtrious and inquiſitive Friend Mr. Houghton [t], made a moſt elaborate Calculation in reſpect to the Contents of England and Wales, which he found to contain in the Groſs; that is, taking the Whole from a ſingle Map, *Thirty-eight* millions *Six hundred and Sixty* thouſand Acres [u]; and upon a ſtrict Computation of the ſeveral Counties, each ſeparately examined, he fixed the total to be *Thirty-nine* millions, *Nine hundred Thirty-eight* thouſand *Five hundred* Acres; and from the ſmall Difference between theſe two Numbers, he very rationally concluded that neither of them could be very wide from the Truth [w]. He farther affirms, that in his Judgment, this Country, that is England, might be eſteemed the *Three thouſandth* Part of the whole Globe of the Earth, and the *Fifteenth hundredth* Part of the inhabited World [x].

To make this Matter perfectly clear and intelligible, and at the ſame Time to obviate what might otherwiſe appear contradictory Aſſertions in different Parts of this Work, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that it was in order to bring the Superficies of all Counties under one Denomination, that they might be more readily compared with each other, Malines found it requiſite to reduce them into Acres. Dr. Halley has likewiſe given the Meaſure of England, and of each of the Countries therein under the ſame Denomination. But both regulate themſelves by the geographical Mile as laid down in the Maps they uſed, which for the Purpoſe they had in view was very proper; and conſidered in that Light, was, as w ſhall preſently ſhew, ſufficiently exact. But ſuperficial, and indeed all other Meaſures, differ not only in different Countries, but even in the ſame Country, though the Name be preſerved. Thus an Arpent is not of the ſame Dimenſions in all the Provinces of France, and in like Manner the Acre is not the ſame

[s] Thus he ſhews Bohemia to be but one fourth of England; the Low Countries or Seventeen Provinces one third; and the Monarchy of Britain to be larger than all Italy.

[t] Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Huſbandry and Trade, vol. i. p 69. where the Reader may find Dr. Halley's own Account of his Calculations.

[u] This Sheet Map was Adams's, which Dr. Halley eſteemed the beſt, and the ſix Sheet Map (from whence he took the Counties) was Saxton's.

[w] This proves the Accuracy of both Maps, and that the Counties are well laid down in Adams's, which has been always in very great Eſteem.

[x] As Dr. Halley has not given us the Grounds of theſe Calculations, all that could be done was to ſet them down in his own Words.

in all Parts of England; and in Scotland and Ireland they compute by Acres of their own. In conſequence of theſe Differences it became abſolutely neceſſary, that for the Sake of giving a Rule for the regulating private Property, the Law ſhould interpoſe, as in this Country it hath, and defined what ſhall be eſteemed a Statute Mile, and the Number of Acres which are to be comprized in a Mile Square [y]. But theſe are not the Miles or Acres by which Malines or Halley compute. Dr. Nehemiah Grew indeed took the Pains of making a very accurate Calculation in this Way, and has geometrically demonſtrated that South Britain contains *Seventy-two thouſand* Statute Miles, and conſequently *Forty-ſix* millions and *Eighty thouſand* Statute Acres [z]. This it muſt be allowed is Matter of great and material Information, to which Attention is to be ſhewn whenever we ſpeak of Agriculture, or the Produce of particular Places. But notwithſtanding this, it does by no Means deſtroy the Credit, or leſſen in any Degree the Utility of the other Computations, as they have reſpect to Miles common to all Nations, or at leaſt commonly uſed in the Maps made of all Countries. It is therefore by their Means that we attain a common Meaſure, by which the Extents of different Countries are aſcertained in ſuch a Manner as enables us to compare them with each other; and it is for this Reaſon that having the ſame Purpoſe in View, ſubſequent Authors have thought it beſt to follow the ſame Method, that they might reaſon in the ſame Way, and not fatigue themſelves or their Readers with a Multitude of Calculations, which after all could not have led to more Preciſion.

Upon theſe Principles, long conſidered, and thoroughly digeſted, the very ingenious and indefatigable Mr. Thomas Templeman of Bury, compoſed with great Induſtry and Care a regular and compleat Syſtem, for which the Publick is much obliged to him, and in his Caution and Accuracy we may in general very ſafely confide [a]. He tells us that England contains *Forty-nine* thouſand *Four hundred* and *Fifty* Square Miles, or *Thirty-one* millions *Six hundred Forty-eight* thouſand Acres; Scotland, *Twenty-ſeven* thouſand *Seven hundred Ninety-four* Square Miles, or *Seventeen* millions *Seven hundred Eighty-eight* thouſand *One hundred* and *Sixty* Acres; Ireland, *Twenty-ſeven* thouſand *Four hundred Fifty-ſeven* Square Miles, or *Seventeen* millions *Five*

[y] The Statute Mile conſiſts of 5,280 Feet, the ſquare Mile contains of courſe 27,878,400 ſquare Feet. The Statute Acre comprehends 43,560 ſquare Feet, and conſequently there are 640 ſquare Acres in a Mile ſquare. If we may truſt Mr. Chambers, who is generally very accurate, an Arpent at Paris contains 55,206 Engliſh ſquare Feet, which is almoſt an Engliſh Acre and a Quarter.

[z] The Reader may find this, in many Reſpects curious Piece, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society, N°. cccxxx. p. 266. Abridgment, vol. iv. p. 449. Baddam's Abridgment, vol. v. p. 393.

hundred

hundred Seventy-two thouſand *Four hundred* and *Eighty* Acres [b]. The Whole of the Britiſh Dominions therefore may in round Numbers be ſtated at *One hundred* and *Five* thouſand Miles, or *Sixty-ſeven* millions and *Two hundred* thouſand of Square Acres [c]. They may therefore, proceeding ſtill upon his Computations, be eſteemed the *Two hundred* and *Ninety-ſecond* Part of the habitable World [d], about the *Twenty-ſeventh* of Europe [e], One *fourth* leſs in Size than France [f], equal unto full *Two-thirds* of the Spaniſh Dominions [g], containing more than half the Quantity of Land in Germany [h], near a *Third* larger than Italy [i], and to be full *Ten* Times the Bigneſs of all the Territories belonging to the States General of the United Provinces [k].

It has been, as indeed it ought to be confeſſed, that theſe Proportions, or rather theſe ſeveral Dimenſions, may not be preciſely exact, the obtaining which would be in Truth impoſſible, and of very little or no Uſe conſidered in a political Light, even if it was poſſible [l]. We know how much Pains, and how much Expence have been employed for ſettling the exact Meaſure of a Degree; and yet we alſo know, that upon this Point, though ſo frequently and ſo maturely conſidered, there are ſtill ſome Doubts remaining [m]. We know too, that the very beſt Maps of all the Countries in Europe are plainly incertain, becauſe they differ, though not very widely, from each other [n]; and if we examine the old and new Maps of our reſpective

[a] The Title of this Work is, A New Survey of the Globe, being a long Folio, compoſed of thirty-five Copper-plates, engraved by J. Cole.

[b] See Plate 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

[c] Computing Six hundred and forty Acres in a ſquare Mile. But for the Sake of thoſe who expect more Exactneſs, we will remark, that the Whole of the Britiſh Dominions, as he ſtates them, make One hundred and Four thouſand Seven hundred and One Square Miles, or Sixty-ſeven Millions Eight thouſand Six hundred and Forty Acres. To make up the round Number, we muſt include not only Man, Wight, &c. but Minorca alſo.

[d] He computes the habitable World at 30,666,806 ſquare Miles, and if we multiply 105,000 by 292 it will produce 30,660,000.

[e] Europe is ſtated at 2,749,349 ſquare Miles, of which the Britiſh Dominions make ſomewhat more than a twenty-ſeventh Part.

[f] France, with Alſace, Lorrain, and Flanders, he puts at 138,837 ſquare Miles, ſo that they are not more than a fourth larger than the Britiſh Territories.

[g] The Spaniſh Monarchy, with the Iſles of Majorca and Yvica, he fixes at 150,243 ſquare Miles.

[h] Germany he ſets at 181,631 ſquare Miles, ſo that the Britiſh Dominions make about five ninths.

[i] He allows to Italy 75,576 ſquare Miles.

[k] The Netherlands, i. e. the xvii Provinces, he makes 22,508 ſquare Miles, and allows 9540 to the Dutch Republick.

[l] If the inquiſitive and judicious Reader ſhould however wiſh to be more minute, the foregoing Notes will put it fully in his Power.

[m] Ouvres de M. Maupertuis, p. 150 342.

[n] As for Inſtance, according to the Map of the Academy, France contains 28,386 ſquare Leagues. According to that of the Sieur de Liſle, 25,839. The Sieur Nolin makes it 28,054.

tive Counties, we ſhall find the ſame Thing. With all theſe allowed, and hitherto irremediable Incertainties in the Materials, it is, as we have ſaid, impoſſible, or at leaſt next to impoſſible, to be exact in combining them [o]. Yet if after all this was practicable, it would be but of very little if of any Service, becauſe the Ends propoſed, though in themſelves very weighty and of great Conſequence, require no ſuch Preciſion, and it would therefore be unreaſonable to expect it; which Aſſertion, as to many Readers it may may appear ſomewhat ſtrange, it is fit for the Illuſtration of the Subject, and their entire Satisfaction it ſhould be proved [p].

It is in ſmall Things only in which minute Differences are either diſcerned or conſidered. A Drachm would be an Object in the Weight of a Pound or two of Silk; but we ſhould not heſitate in affirming, or at leaſt allowing two large Bales of that Commodity to be equal, though there might be a few Ounces Difference between them, more eſpecially if the Bales were not weighed in the ſame Scales. There is in like Manner a wide Diſtinction in private and political Eſtimates; in regard to thoſe we are minutely correct, becauſe we have reſpect to Property; in reference to theſe we are leſs ſcrupulous, as we look chiefly to the Proportion [q]. If we ſay, that one Country is twice or thrice as large as another, it matters very little, though there ſhould be an Exceſs or a Defect of ſome Miles or even of ſome Scores of Miles. The Reaſon of this is, that the Aſſertion, though in itſelf not ſtrictly true, yet by no Means conveys a falſe Idea; and even when we come to be informed of this ſlight Difference, the Notion we had before conceived, inſtead of being refuted, is confirmed by it; and in all political Reflections of this Kind, the larger the Objects are, the leſs theſe inconſiderable Differences whatever they be will affect them [r].

What ſerves very much to fortify and confirm theſe Obſervations, is, the near Approach of the abovementioned Calculations one to another, though made, as we have already ſhewn, by different Perſons at different

The Sieur de Fer, 31,278. The Sieur Sanſon, 31,657. It may be, that taking the Mean, which is 28,642, it may come pretty near the Truth, allowing for their Manner of Meaſuring.

[o] It may ſeem an Objection to this that all our Deſcriptions of England exactly agree in the Size of the Counties. But after Dr. Chamberlayne's Eighteenth Edition of the preſent State of England, had adopted Dr. Halley's Computation publiſhed by Mr. Houghton, it has been univerſally copied by them all.

[p] By giving Proportions to a greater Nicety, the Perſpicuity would ſuffer, the Impreſſion would be ſlighter, and of Courſe the leſs likely to be retained.

[q] As Mr. Templeman's Computations are all from one Map, the Proportions between Countries muſt be competently exact.

[r] For this Reaſon we apply different Meaſures to different Purpoſes; in microſcopic Obſervations, Lines or Tenth Parts of an Inch; in Architecture, of Cubits or Yards; in travelling by Land we diſtinguiſh Diſtances by Miles; but at Sea we make Uſe of Leagues; and in Aſtronomical Speculations, of Semi-diameters of the Earth.

Times, and in very different Methods[s]. We may beſides take Notice of the Concurrence of foreign Authors, in regard to the Proportions before laid down between this and other Countries; and we might particularly note the Correſpondence on this Head of a celebrated and much eſteemed Geographer[t]. But there is a Circumſtance that ſurpaſſes all Authorities whatever, which ariſes from the Manner in which the beſt and moſt accurate Maps of Europe are laid down, inaſmuch as they owe all the Conformity that we find between them to their Authors adhering upon their own Principles to theſe Proportions, from whence a ſufficient Accuracy may be inferred, grounded on the Truth and Certainty of modern Geography, which has been ſo aſſiduouſly cultivated, and ſo wonderfully improved in this laſt Century[u].

In regard to the manifold Utility of theſe Speculations, ſome Obſervations may be requiſite, with which we ſhall therefore conclude this Chapter. Let it then in the firſt Place be remarked, that they give us by theſe relative Proportions a clearer, more diſtinct, and much more ſtable Idea of Countries than we can any otherwiſe attain[w]. Next, that they open by this very Means a new, more certain, and much more perſpicuous Method of Reaſoning on theſe inſtructive and important Subjects. They in the third Place afford a plainer, ſtronger, and by far more concluſive Notion, than by any other Method we could reach, of the high Importance of uniting in the firmeſt, cloſeſt, and moſt effectual Manner all the Parts of the Britiſh Territories, as being at once the only natural and certain Means of eſtabliſhing the Grandeur, procuring the Safety, and fixing the Permanency of the Britiſh Empire[x]. They enable us likewiſe to compute our own, and all the

[s] Thus Malines makes the Britiſh Dominions Sixty-two millions of Acres; Templeman, Sixty-ſeven millions; the firſt, by omitting the Iſlands, makes Scotland much leſs than Ireland; and if we replace theſe as we ought, from the declared Deſign of the Computation, there would be then very little Difference between the two Sums.

[t] Dr. Buſching, who uſes Miles of his own of fifteen to a Degree, fixes the Britiſh Dominions at 6000 of theſe ſquare Miles; France at 10,000; Spain at 8500; Germany at 11,236; and the Territories of the States General of the United Provinces at 625; making altogether conconſiderably leſs than one half of the Extent of the Ruſſian Empire in Europe, to which he gives 57,600 Miles.

[u] The Latitudes and Longitudes carefully determined, with the Bearings and Diſtances accurately aſcertained, of all the remarkable Capes and Head-lands, fix the Sea-line or Delineation of the Coaſt of any Country; in the ſame Manner, the Situation of Mountains, Rivers, Woods, Cities, Fortreſſes are found within Land; conſequently, if the Surfaces of the Countries thus expreſſed agree in theſe Extents, they are ſufficient for our Purpoſe.

[w] It is plain that our Idea of the Riches, Power, and Splendour of Holland compared with France, is rendered more preciſe, by knowing that the Territory of the former is but a Sixteenth of the later.

[x] This has been touched before, but can ſcarce be repeated too often, more eſpecially when conſidered in this Light it plainly appears that Britain, when thoroughly united and properly improved,

the Parts and Diſtricts of our own with foreign Countries, and the Parts or Provinces of which they are compoſed [y]; and of the Uſefulneſs of this, we truſt the Reader will recollect many Inſtances that have been given in the former Volume. Laſtly, they ſerve to impreſs all theſe neceſſary and inſtructive Points of Science in the moſt forcible Manner, and ſo to rivet them in the Mind, as that they may be at all Times applied, and be ſcarce ever effaced or forgotten [z]. Theſe are Circumſtances, which the more they are meditated and conſidered, the more their Weight and Significance will appear; and from a frequent Exerciſe of ſuch Speculations, we ſhall gain a deeper Inſight into the true State of Countries than without it we can acquire by any other Kind of Information. This therefore made it requiſite to open this Book of the POLITICAL SURVEY with a competent Account of the real Extent of the Britiſh Iſlands, their relative Proportions in reſpect to each other, and alſo to the principal Countries in Europe.

proved, towards which it has and will be ſhewn to have all and more than all the natural Advantages of Holland, may be rendered ten Times as opulent and potent as that great Republick, heretofore a formidable Rival, and now our natural Ally.

[y] To give an Inſtance from Yorkſhire, it is more than half the Size of Normandy, little leſs than what is called the Iſle of France, near twice as large as the Dutchy of Lorrain, equal to the Kingdom of Navarre, thrice as big as that of Algarve, equal to the Dominions of the Elector Palatine, and much of the ſame Size as the Dutchies of Mecklenburgh and Courland.

[z] The Truth of this will be ſoon evinced by Experience, as this will be attended by numerous, and thoſe too valuable Acquiſitions.

CHAPTER II.

The Productions of Great Britain. The Contents of the Soil.

THE true Character of a Country can be only eſtimated from its Productions. But theſe, as they may be improved by Induſtry, ſo they may be leſſened by Indolence, or through Ignorance be totally neglected. This, however, does not hinder the Bleſſings of Nature from being the ſolid Principles of national Grandeur. Our Affluence the Effects of our native Commodities improved by Induſtry, and diffuſed by Commerce. Our Foſſils an inexhauſtible Fund of national Wealth. Fullers Earth is a peculiar and perpetual Treaſure. Tobacco Pipe Clay of great Utility in many Reſpects. The great Variety of Clays highly advantageous

advantageous in Point of Manufactures as well as Agriculture. The wonderful Progress made in Earthen and in Stone Ware. A succinct History of the several Attempts towards making Porcelain. It is exceeding probable that we may in Process of Time carry this to Perfection. Value and great Abundance of our Ochres, Allum, Copperas, &c. The manifest Advantages that arise from these to the Public. These national Advantages set in a still stronger Point of Light. Stones for all Uses, together with Plenty of Lime and Slate. We have also Variety of fine Marbles, Alabaster and Granite. The Manner in and the Extent to which all these have proved beneficial to the Nation. The Consequences that would attend the Loss or the Want of them considered. Salt of all Sorts in immense Quantities made as well as consumed in the British Dominions. National Advantages arising from thence, and that may be derived from this Plenty. The Materials from which Glass is manufactured plentifully produced in all Parts of the British Territories. The numerous Benefits that result to the Nation from thence. Coal of different Kinds found through all Parts of the British Territories The Quantities of Coals consumed in London at different Periods. A general View of the national Advantages arising from this Commodity. This Subject more largely explained and farther pursued. An Account of Antimony, its Value and Uses. The same in regard to that curious Mineral Bismuth. Lapis Calaminaris or Calamine, its Nature, Value, and Properties. Cobalt, a Mineral of very great Value, of which a Mine has been discovered in Cornwall. The Nature and Uses of Black Lead, so peculiar to this Country as to be stiled by Foreigners, when made into Pencils, Crayons d'Angleterre. *The History of Tin, that antient and primitive Staple of this Country. An Account of its Value, and the numerous Uses to which it is applied. Iron in all the different Parts of the British Dominions. Notwithstanding this, much Iron is imported. Copper in great Abundance in Britain and in Ireland. The Nature, Uses, and Value of this Metal. Improvements that may be still made in respect to British Copper. Lead Mines, numerous and great Variety in the Appearance of Lead Ores. These Ores of several Natures, and of different Values. Of Ceruse, Mastico, and Minium prepared from Lead. Mercury or Quick-silver, though not hitherto, may probably be hereafter found in Britain. Though much Silver, yet strictly speaking, no Silver Mines here. Gold found in considerable Quantities in Britain and Ireland. Our Minerals may probably become of much more Value than at present. Many Improvements may be made, and future Advantages drawn, from the proper Management of our Metals. New Discoveries may be made in respect to them, and new and better Methods introduced in the Working of our Mines. Some farther Remarks on this Subject. The Conclusion of the Chapter.*

THE real Value, the intrinſic Merit, the comparative Excellency of any Country can never be thoroughly known but by attentively conſidering its Productions [a]. Thus Sweden is diſtinguiſhed for its Iron, Copper, and naval Stores; Norway for the Abundance of its Timber; Poland for Wheat and other Sorts of Grain; France for Wine, Brandy, Salt, Linnen, Brocades; Spain and Italy for Fruit, Oil, and Silk [b]. By this wiſe Diſtribution Providence has benevolently given a Proportion of good Things unto every particular Region, and by the Intervention of Commerce, which this Diſtribution has rendered abſolutely requiſite, beſtows them upon all [c]. Amongſt theſe natural Benefits, ſome are looked upon as richer in Quality, as Wine, Oil, and Silk; but at the ſame Time it muſt be allowed that Timber and Iron are of greater Utility, and that Corn is an indiſpenſible Neceſſary of Life, ſo that Things being conſidered in this Light the Balance is again reſtored. For though Articles of Luxury and Splendor may at ſome Seaſons bring a very high Price, yet ſuch Commodities as are of real Benefit or general Utility, and thoſe with the Want of which Men cannot diſpenſe, are always ſure of finding a Market, and of being vended for what they are worth [d].

ALL natural Commodities are capable of being augmented, multiplied, and improved by human Induſtry, and the Uſe or Neglect of this makes a wide Difference in Countries that Nature had made equal. As from the Uſe or Neglect of this likewiſe, the ſame Country may in ſeveral Periods differ very widely from itſelf. Thus China, the moſt flouriſhing Country we know, owes at leaſt one half of its Significance to the Skill and Labour employed in its Cultivation [e]. Egypt from the Loſs of Induſtry in its Inhabitants is at this Day in ſome Degree a Deſart, that is, in Compariſon to what it once was [f]. Poland, diſtinguiſhed by Fertility as well as conſiderable for its Extent, does not yield one fifth of what, under a better

[a] L'Eſprit des Loix, liv. xx. ch. 4. Hoffman de Republica, lib. iii. cap. 4. Beauſobre Introduction a la Etude de la Politique des Finances et du Commerce, vol. i. § ix. et ſuiv.

[b] Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 59, 60, 61. Robert's Merchants Map of Commerce, p. 250. 249. 254. 165. 153. 181. Dictionaire Univerſelle de Commerce, tom. i. P. ii. p. 452. 463. 481.

[c] Plat. de Legibus et de Repub. lib. ii. Cic. de Officiis lib. i. cap. 42. Plutarch. in Solone, Saavedra Faxardo, Idea de un Principe Politico, Empreſa lxviii. Elemens du Commerce, tom. i. P. i. ch. 1.

[d] This is clear from what happens to Spain and Portugal, from whence their Silver and Gold are continually exported to purchaſe Things of greater Utility.

[e] Martini Martinii, China illuſtrata in Præfat. P. Navarette, Tratados Hiſtoricos, Politicos, &c. de la Monarchia de China, lib. i. c. 14. Gemelli Carreri, Giro del Mundo, lib. iii. c. 5. P. le Comte Memoires de la Chine, vol. i. let. iv. p. 132. Du Halde, Deſcription de l'Empire de la Chine, tom, ii. p. 75—84.

[f] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 177. Epiſt. Adriani ad Servian. Coſ. ap Vopiſci Saturninum. Biſhop Pococke's Deſcription of the Eaſt, B. iv. ch. 3.

Government;

Government, it might be made to produce g. Attention, Sagacity, and Diligence will, as we have often obſerved before, in a great meaſure ſupply the Defects of Nature. Genoa is not only a very ſmall, but alſo in point of Soil the worſt Country in Italy; yet at the ſame Time is for its Size the richeſt, and makes the beſt Figure h. This is ſtill more evident in Switzerland, and moſt of all in Holland, where, though hardly any Thing grows, almoſt every Thing is to be found i. Theſe are Inſtances, it muſt be confeſſed, which have already been repreſented to the Reader's View, and conſidered nearly in this very Light; but at the ſame Time theſe are Inſtances, which, for their Importance, we cannot too frequently recollect, or from their Utility contemplate with too much Attention k. They are however Examples that may naturally lead us into a very wide Field of political Diſquiſitions; and it imports us, in ſuch a Labyrinth of Speculations, that we may not bewilder ourſelves, to make Uſe of a proper Method, the only Clue by which we can be ſafely conducted l.

However capable the Art, Attention, and Diligence of Man may be, either to improve or to ſupply the Bleſſings of Nature, this no way leſſens, but upon a juſt Compariſon heightens their Value, as wherever theſe are found, and found in Perfection, they are found alſo without Toil. It is evident, that a Merchant or a Manufacturer would find inexpreſſible or inexhauſtible Reſources rather in carrying on his Buſineſs, who beſides his Capital in Trade, inherited a good Eſtate that he could not either mortgage or ſell; it is no leſs apparent, that a Nation poſſeſſing many valuable Commodities from the free Gift of Nature, or, to ſpeak with greater Propriety, from the Bounty of divine Providence, has innumerable Advantages over any other Nation, whatever her Policy may be, that is deficient in thoſe unacquired and unalienable Funds. In reſpect to the firſt, ſhe has a ſettled Property, which being duly and aſſiduouſly improved, gives her a conſtant Support that cannot be taken from her; while the latter collects the Materials of her Induſtry and Trade, which are the Sources of all her Wealth,

g Connor's Hiſtory of Poland, vol. ii. letter 7. Oeuvres du Philoſophe bienfaiſant (King Staniſlaus) vol. iii. p. 2—15. Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. i. P. ii. p. 442. 463.

h Reflexions ſur les Finances et ſur le Commerce, tom. ii. p. 397. L'Homme Déſintereſſé, p. 123. Obſervations ſur le Commerce et ſur les Arts, tom. i. p. 17—30.

i L'Etat de Suiſſe, chap. viii. Dictionaire univerſelle de Commerce, tom i. P. ii. col. 1025—1037. Gronden en Maximen van de Republieck van Holland, 1 deel. chap. iii. Memoires ſur le Commerce des Hollandois, chap. iii. Sir William Temple's Obſervations on the Netherlands, chap. vi. Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic, chap. i. Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Huſbandry and Trade, vol i. p. 441—445.

k Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 10—15.

l Theſe Inſtances were produced before to ſhew how great Things Induſtry might do, even without Advantages beſtowed by Nature. This and the ſucceeding Chapters will prove how eaſily Induſtry may do much greater Things, when ſupported and aſſiſted by Nature. It is hoped this will procure the Reader's Pardon for recalling theſe Facts to his Remembrance.

Strength,

Strength, and Splendour from other Nations; and it is eaſy to diſcern how wide, in point of Certainty as well as Stability, the Difference is between a Staple and a Magazine [m]. Again, the former is nationally an abſolute Gainer of the whole Produce of her Commodities and Manufactures from them, when employed in Commerce; whereas the Profit only, after deducting the prime Coſt, is all that can reſult to the latter [n]. Beſides, this owes her Subſiſtence in a great Degree to the Indolence or Ignorance of her Neighbours, and of Courſe muſt ſuffer from their applying their Thoughts and Endeavours to Improvements; which, on the contrary, turn to the Advantage of the other, as they are rendered able from their thriving to take greater Quantities of her Productions [o].

In the former Book we treated in general of the diſtinguiſhed Advantages of Great Britain, as well in reſpect to her native Productions, as to the Benefits ſhe receives from her happy Situation, and other peculiar Prerogatives. It is our preſent Buſineſs to ſhew that we have, more eſpecially of late Years, availed ourſelves of all theſe, and that too in a very high Degree. This has not only turned extremely to the Emolument of Individuals, but alſo to that of the Public [p]. This clearly proves, that the preſent affluent Condition of the Nation, in Compariſon of paſt Times, does by no means proceed as ſome of our envious Neighbours would have it underſtood, from an artificial Credit, a vaſt Paper Circulation, and refined Strokes of political Management; but from the moſt ſolid and permanent Funds of national Improvements, from the Increaſe of internal Induſtry,

[m] In the 28th of Edward III. when we exported barely our own Staples, it appears by a Roll in the Exchequer, that the Balance that Year in our Favour amounted to upwards of £. 250,000 which is equal to £. 625,000 of our preſent Money. This ſhews, that even when Arts and Commerce were in their Infancy, our natural Riches were very great.

[n] Sir William Temple in his Obſervations on the Netherlands, p. 219. judiciouſly remarks, that Plenty of Corn in moſt Parts of Europe for ſeveral Years together was a great Blow to the Dutch Commerce, not only as they thereby loſt their uſual Markets for that Commodity; but as it leſſened the Sale of Spices in the Northern Countries, which reduced their uſual Balance in reſpect to the Eaſt Indies.

[o] Thus, ſince not only we, but the French, the Swedes, and the Norwegians, have ſtruck into the Herring Fiſhery, that of the Dutch hath greatly failed; but ſince the Portugueſe have diſcovered Gold Mines in Brazil, our Exports to Liſbon have much encreaſed. But perhaps this will be moſt effectually explained by obſerving, that the Dutch take immenſe Quantities of Commodities and Manufactures from us, which to the Nation is clear Gain, and when reſold by them, what they paid us being deducted, the Remainder is their Profit. This Point cannot be too maturely weighed and conſidered. The Balance being againſt the Dutch, we are certainly Gainers; and as they do not purchaſe to conſume, but to ſell again, they are alſo Gainers, though not in the ſame Degree,

[p] It is on all Hands allowed that there may be a Commerce carried on lucrative to private Men, and yet highly detrimental to the Nation; indeed Smuggling is ſuch a Commerce, and the more gainful to private Perſons the more ruinous to the Nation. But where Commerce is greatly diffuſed, as is the Caſe at preſent in Britain, it is impoſſible that Individuals ſhould thrive and the Nation grow poor without its becoming notoriouſly evident.

and

and the Augmentation thereby of our foreign Exports [q]. Theſe intereſting Aſſertions ſhall, from the Evidence of incontrovertible Facts, be made as clearly appear as Points of ſuch Importance deſerve. By this Means the attentive Reader will be freed from every Doubt on this Head, and the Honour of the Nation be completely vindicated from the mean and malignant Inſinuation thrown out by ſome aſſuming Writers in other Countries [r].

It has been already obſerved, that there are no Countries in Europe abound more in Foſſils, thoſe concealed but not the leaſt valuable of national Poſſeſſions, or in the moſt uſeful, and of courſe eſteemed Kinds of Foſſils, than the Britiſh Dominions [s]. This Aſſertion would have been at all Times true, but in former Ages would have appeared of far leſs Significance than at preſent. For within the Compaſs of theſe two laſt Centuries, we have not only gradually brought to View, but alſo turned theſe hidden Sources of Wealth to prodigious Advantage, in conſequence of our applying the Lights of Science to the Direction of Labour and Induſtry [t]. This will very clearly be ſeen from a few Specimens, as this Work will by no means admit of an exact Enumeration.

Fullers Earth is a Gift, or with greater Propriety may be ſtiled a rich as well as a real Treaſure beſtowed upon us by Nature [u], which is found in very great Abundance, of different Colours, and of various Kinds, in different

[q] A wide extended Territory, and the expenſive Wars we have been drawn into for the Defence of our Neighbours, for the Support of our national Rights, and the Preſervation of our commercial Intereſts obliged us to contract Debts; as the ſtrict Juſtice obſerved to thoſe who lent us Money, gave and will ever give us unlimited Credit. Theſe Debts produced our Taxes, and the great Increaſe of our Trade created and ſuſtains our Paper Circulation. Our Taxes, Debts, and Paper Currency (whatever Strangers may think of them) are Incidents natural to People in our Situation, and ſo many pregnant Proofs of the Stability of national Proſperity.

[r] L'Homme Déſintereſſé. Bruxelles, 1760, 12mo. Les Interets des Nations de l'Europe developès, relativement au Commerce, 2 tom. 4to. Leide, 1766. A general View of England, reſpecting its Policy, Commerce, Taxes, &c. (ſaid to be tranſlated from the French) London, 1766, 8vo. with many more that might be cited, tending to excite an Opinion, that however formidable our Power may be at preſent, it is nevertheleſs on the Decline.

[s] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 55, 56. where the Authorities in Support of this are produced.

[t] The Spirit of ſcientifical Inquiry, which has been of ineſtimable Value to this Country, was firſt excited, and has been continually promoted by our Royal Society. As I am from Experience fully convinced of this myſelf, ſo the frequent Occaſions I have had and ſhall have to cite that invaluable Regiſter of the Improvement of natural Knowledge, their Tranſactions, will be ſufficient to convince every candid Reader of the Reality of the Aſſertion.

[u] Fuller's Worthies, Bedf. p. 113. Surry, p. 76. Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society, N°. 379. p. 419. Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, p. 121. Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 49. Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Huſbandry and Trade, vol i. p. 27.

Parts

Parts of the Kingdom [w]. It is therefore juſtly conſidered as a ſingular Proof of the Excellence of our Productions, in Compariſon of thoſe in the Poſſeſſion of our Neighbours [x]; for which Reaſon, and becauſe of its great Service in the Woollen Manufacture, ſeveral ſevere but very neceſſary Laws [y] have been made to prevent its Exportation, which it is hoped prove effectual.

Tobacco Pipe Clay, which is alſo of ſeveral Colours, and of very different Qualities, is found in many Places [z], and if carefully ſought for might be found in many more. This likewiſe is of wonderful Utility, not barely in making thoſe Pipes from which it takes its Name, though that has been a laſting and is ſtill a growing Manufacture [a], but for its ſerving many other valuable Purpoſes. It ſupplies an admirable Varniſh for the finer Sorts of our Earthen Ware, is the principal Material from which the Pots for Glaſs Houſes are made, which reſiſt the fierceſt Fires for many Weeks, is mixed with coarſer Clays for various Manufactures [b], and is perhaps, after all, not yet applied to one half of the Uſes of which it is capable; and therefore with very great Reaſon the Exportation of this valuable Commodity is likewiſe prohibited under the ſevereſt Penalties [c].

A very able, inquiſitive, and accurate Naturaliſt has diſtinguiſhed two-and-twenty Sorts of Clay [d] that fell under his own Obſervation in Britain, moſt of which are applicable, excluſive of their Uſes in Agriculture, to many valuable Purpoſes. Tiles, of which there are many different Sorts, were, as the Law [e] made for regulating the Time of digging the Earth, and the Manner of making them, manifeſtly ſhews, a very ancient Manufacture in this Country. Yet the finer Kinds were even to the Beginning of the preſent Century imported hither from foreign Parts [f]. There are alſo more than twenty

[w] In the Counties of Bedford, Kent, Stafford, Surry, and Suſſex. As alſo in the Iſland of Angleſea.

[x] Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, vol. i. p. 5.

[y] Stat. 14 Car. II. cap. xviii. § 2. 7. 8. Wil. III. cap. xxviii. § 8, 10, 11. 9. 10. Wil. III. cap. xl. § 2. 6. Geor. I. cap. xxi. § 32.

[z] In the Counties of Cornwall, Dorſet, Northampton, Stafford, and in the Iſle of Wight. See Houghton's Collections, vol. i. p. 204. Morton's Natural Hiſtory of Northamptonſhire, p. 70. Plot's Staffordſhire, p. 121. Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, vol. i. p. 4, 5. ii. p. 5, 63. Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 17, 18, 19.

[a] The ingenious and indefatigable Mr. Houghton informs us, that ſix Perſons can make ſixty Groſs of Pipes in a Week. Of theſe we annually export between fifty and ſixty thouſand Groſs.

[b] Morton's Natural Hiſtory of Northamptonſhire, p. 71.

[c] Included in the Statutes already cited in reſpect to Fullers Earth.

[d] Dr. Martin Liſter, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 164. p. 255.

[e] Stat. 17 Edw. IV. cap iv. 12 Geor. I. cap. xxv.

[f] Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Huſbandry and Trade, vol. ii. p. 27.

different Sorts of BRICKS, which though in uſe from Time immemorial [g], were imported hither from Denmark, Germany, and Holland within the Space of a Century in very large Quantities [h], though now made in moſt Parts, and might be made in every Part of this Country. The Uſe of them through the great Increaſe of Buildings is become ſo immenſe of late Years, that there ſeems, comparatively ſpeaking, to be as much Earth above as below the Surface [i]. Their Sizes, and the Manner of making them, have been regulated not only by one but by many Statutes [k]. There was formerly a Duty on Exportation, but they may be now exported free; and in conſequence of this, prodigious Quantities are annually ſent abroad, more eſpecially to the Weſt Indies [l].

THE Art of making EARTHEN WARE, ſeems to have been introduced, or at leaſt revived in the laſt Age [m]. Before that Time we brought it from other Countries, and that too in conſiderable Quantities [n]. We have it now of various Colours, Red, Yellow, and Brown in many, and might have it in moſt Counties [o]. Beſides the coarſer, we have likewiſe many finer Sorts of this, and ſeveral of STONE Ware, which of late is made to ſo great Perfection, and is in itſelf ſo light, ſo neat, ſo ſtrong, ſerving likewiſe for ſuch a vaſt Variety of Purpoſes, that it is already grown, and is daily growing into the higheſt Credit, and of courſe is alſo daily improving [p]. We may therefore very reaſonably expect, that in Proceſs of Time all theſe Arts and Manufactures may be carried to a much greater Height, it may be to a Degree beyond our preſent Conception, and conſequently increaſe alike in their Conſumption, and in their Value; at leaſt this has been the Caſe in moſt

[g] As to the Bricks made by the Romans who were our Maſters in this Art, ſee Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 149, p. 238. N°. 171, p. 1017. N°. 222, p. 319. Neve's Builder's Dictionary, Dictionarium Ruſticum, both under the Word BRICK. Plot's Oxfordſhire, p. 256. Morton's Northamptonſhire, p. 68, 69, 70.

[h] Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 26.

[i] Mortimer's Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 383. where he aſſerts, that any Earth free from Stones will make Brick.

[k] The Tilers and Bricklayers were incorporated as a Company, A. D. 1568. to whom the Execution of theſe Statutes was committed by 12 Geo. I. cap. xxxv. and again taken from them by 2. Geo. ii. cap xv. It is indeed of Conſequence, that theſe Laws ſhould be frequently reviewed, proper Regulations made, and due care taken to have them effectually carried into Execution.

[l] In all hot Climates the Burning of Brick is a grievous Labour; and beſides, thoſe who ſhould perform it are better employed. We export about 3,000,000 annually.

[m] Plot's Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 255.

[n] Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 27.

[o] It is not the Scarcity of Potters Earth that hinders ſuch Manufactures from being ſet up in any County, or keeps them where they are; but a Concurrence of other Circumſtances, ſuch as Cheapneſs of Labour, of Subſiſtence, of Fuel, &c. When with theſe Aſſiſtances they are once thoroughly eſtabliſhed, Experience, the Dexterity of the Workmen, and their being able to underſell new Beginners, fixes them to certain Spots.

[p] Agreeable to what has been ſaid in the former Note, the Stone Ware, now of ſuch Importance, has been confined to the Villages of Burſlem, Hanley Green, and Stoke, in Staffordſhire.

other Manufactures, to which we have applied ourſelves with Vigour, and hath been hitherto the Caſe of this within the Memory of many who are now living [q].

We may with the more Probability hope this, from the Succeſs that has attended our Endeavours to make Porcelain, or what is called China Ware [r]. The Bow China is very much ſuperior in every Reſpect to the Earthen Ware that was in uſe before that Attempt was made [s]. Beſides being built on a true Principle, it hath in its Progreſs been very conſiderably improved [t]. The Worceſter Manufacture hath a fine Texture, Strength, and Beauty, is already free from ſome of thoſe Defects that were thought inſuperable, and is growing better and better every Year [u]. Chelſea China equals that of Dreſden, or any other foreign Porcelain in reſpect to the Elegance of its Form, the Beauty of its Paintings, and the Splendour of its Colours, falling very little ſhort in reſpect to its Subſtance even of the Oriental, which was its Model [w]. If we reflect on the ſhort Space of Time in which theſe ſeveral Attempts have been made, and how far they have already advanced, notwithſtanding the capital Obſtacle in their Way, by which I mean the moderate Price of the true China, and the Neceſſity impoſed thereby of ſelling cheap in order to force a Market [x]. If at the ſame Time we remember that theſe Difficulties were encountered in the very Infancy of theſe ſeveral Manufactures; which, however, were carried on without any of thoſe public Encouragements which were given to like Eſtabliſhments in other Countries [y]; we need not ſurely deſpair of ſeeing a ſucceſsful Iſſue to this important, and now promiſing Undertaking [z].

[q] In the Space of about Sixty Years (as I have been well informed) the Produce of this Ware hath riſen from 5000 to 100,000 lb. per Annum. Theſe are entered by the thouſand Pieces for Exportation, which is annually about Forty thouſand of theſe.

[r] This was firſt attempted at the latter End of the laſt Century in England, by Mr. Dwight. Since then not only here, but in Saxony, France, and in Italy.

[s] All Manufactures are imperfect in their Beginnings, and it is then an Act of true Patriotiſm to encourage and aſſiſt them.

[t] The component Parts of oriental Porcelain, are (1) A vitreſcent ſtony Subſtance, reduced to an impalpable Powder, Petunſe. (2) An unvitriable unctuous Clay, reduced to an impalpable Powder alſo, Kaolin. Theſe are thoroughly mixed, the latter in as ſmall Proportion as poſſible, and then moulded and baked. (3) A Varniſh compoſed of the fineſt Particles of a ſoapy Earth, diſſolved in Water to the Conſiſtence of a Cream, in which, when dry, the Pieces are dipped before baked.

[u] See the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxii. p. 348; vol. xxxiii. p. 191.

[w] The high Price of this Ware was the ſole Objection to it, and yet the Sale even at theſe Prices afforded little Profit.

[x] A Circumſtance that will ſtand in the Way of every Undertaking of this Sort, and is what hath kept down the Delf Ware in Holland.

[y] The Dreſden Manufacture was at the Expence of the Sovereign, ſo is the Royal Manufacture at Séve in France, now ſaid to be ſuperior to that of Dreſden.

[z] Skill improved by Experience, and ſupported by a ſteady Perſeverance, will gradually overcome the greateſt Difficulties.

These Notions will probably appear leſs ſanguine, and more ſtrongly founded in reaſon, if we take into our ſerious Conſideration, that this Country of ours produces, and that too in the greateſt Plenty, all the Materials, even to the moſt ſcarce and valuable, of which this curious and elegant Compoſition is made; that we are likewiſe in Poſſeſſion of the Materials of thoſe beautiful and vivid Colours that give it ſo much Elegance and Luſtre [a]; and that the incomparable ſnowy Varniſh, which is the moſt eſſential Article in the whole Manufacture, is alſo known to us, and the Means of making it in our Hands [b]. With all theſe Advantages, where is the Extravagance in ſuppoſing, that with the Penetration and Sagacity, the Steadineſs and Perſeverance for which this Nation is deſervedly diſtinguiſhed, we may come, and that too in no long Space of Time, to ſurpaſs all our Rivals, and reach the ultimate Perfection in making Porcelain before any other Nation in Europe? more eſpecially if we reflect, that this Manufacture never hath, or in all Probability will be attempted, but by Men of true Science and liberal Sentiments, who will proſecute with Skill and Diligence the Object of which they are in purſuit, and thereby owe their Diſcovery, whenever it ſhall happen, to a wiſe and well directed Inquiry [c], and not to Chance.

We have alſo in many Places, and in great Abundance, moſt of thoſe Earths which are in uſe with Painters, and theſe of different Colours, different Qualities, and different Values [d], ſuch as yellow and red Ochres, Terre Verte, Lambert's Blue, and ſome fine red Earth, no Way inferior to what is brought from the Eaſt Indies, though we are very ſeldom let into the Secret that this is a Britiſh Commodity [e]. We abound likewiſe with thoſe Materials which are abſolutely neceſſary to the Dyers. Alum is a

[a] In reſpect to the Materials, what has been already done, particularly in the Chelſea China, evinces all this to be true, and that Succeſs would enſue if the Expence could be reduced.

[b] Dr. Woodward in his Hiſtory of Foſſils, tom. i. p. 6. mentions the Soap Rock at the Lizard Point, and the Steatites in other Places, as moſt likely to make China. It ſeems to be in Truth the Hoach, which is a great Ingredient in the modern China. Uſed alone by the Chineſe, it makes a fine and beautiful, but at the ſame time a tender and brittle Ware. But it anſwers admirably as a Varniſh, and would do ſo with us.

[c] It can be only by a ſcientific Attention that Porcelain can be brought to abſolute Perfection. But this once done, and the Art rendered complete, by adjuſting the Proportions of the ſeveral Materials, directing the grinding, mixing, and compounding them, preſcribing the Method of moulding, drying, and painting them, ſettling the Form, Size, and Conſtruction of the Ovens, and aſſigning the Degrees of Heat requiſite in all the Operations, it would become a Manufacture, and might then like other Manufactures be truſted in ordinary Hands.

[d] In Buckinghamſhire, Cumberland, Glouceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Lincolnſhire, Northamptonſhire, Somerſetſhire, Staffordſhire, Suſſex, and Yorkſhire.

[e] Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 56. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 149. Robinſon's Natural Hiſtory of Weſtmorland and Cumberland, p. 43. Woodward, vol. i. p. 7, 8, 9. Hill, p. 51—66.

mineral Salt, which is found here in a dark grey or blueiſh coloured Stone[f]. It was firſt diſcovered, or at leaſt firſt wrought to any Degree of Perfection, by Sir Thomas Chaloner, who was Tutor to Henry Prince of Wales, as hath been hinted in the former Book[g]. Some Time elapſed after the Diſcovery before they fell into the right Method of managing it, but ſince that hath been attained, it has been made in great Quantities, and with very conſiderable Profit[h]. After the Reſtoration there was ſo large a Demand for Alum, that the Duty ſtill ſubſiſting, of one Shilling on every hundred Weight, was laid on the Exportation[i]. It is indeed a Commodity of which there is a conſtant and very large Conſumption; for beſides being abſolutely neceſſary in Dyeing[k], of which ſome have ſtiled it the Soul, as ſerving to unite the Subſtance and the Colour, to which laſt it alſo adds Solidity, Vivacity, and Permanency; it is highly uſeful to Paper-makers, Goldſmiths, and Book-binders, and alſo in ſeveral other Manufactures, as well as in Phyſic. The Preparation of Alum employs a great Number of Hands in very different Kinds of Labour[l]. The Stone, or Alum Rock as it is called, from which it is made, is found very plentifully in Yorkſhire and Lancaſhire; and if the Quantities made there did not amply ſupply the Market, there would be no Difficulty in finding Alum Rocks elſewhere[m]. To this rich and valuable Salt we may likewiſe add COPPERAS and VITRIOL, made in great Plenty, and in the higheſt Perfection, from the Pyrites, commonly called *Gold Stones*, found in great Abundance, and alſo in very great Perfection, on the Coaſts of the Iſle of Sheppey, and elſewhere[n]. Both Copperas and Vitriol are not

[f] In Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire, and Wales. Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, Book. iii. chap. 16. Fuller's Britiſh Worthies, Lancaſhire, p. 106. Yorkſhire, p. 186, 187. Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 337, p. 275. Woodward, vol. i. 170. Hill, p. 391, 392, 393.

[g] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol i. p. 75.

[h] The Value of our Alum hath been for ſome Years paſt about Sixteen Pounds a Ton, and we annually export between Two and Three thouſand Tons.

[i] Stat. 12. Car. II. cap. iv. In order to underſtand the Utility and of Conſequence the Value of Alum, conſult Sir W. Petty's Hiſtory of Dyeing, in Biſhop Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 284—306. A Treatiſe equally conducive to the Deſign of that excellent Work, and worthy of its ingenious Author, a Man of amazing Abilities, and whoſe Abilities were not more extenſive than his Knowledge.

[k] It is thought by the beſt Judges, that the Powers of Alum in this Reſpect are by no means thoroughly known; and that by the Help of this Salt, as fine and laſting Colours may be obtained from ſome of our common Vegetables, as thoſe that ſell at a high Price as coming from the Indies. Some Experiments it is ſaid have been made on the Marigold, which ſeemed to promiſe Succeſs, in ſupplying a bright and permanent Yellow, at a moderate Price.

[l] Ray's Collection of Engliſh Words not generally uſed, p. 144, where there is an exact Account of the making of Alum.

[m] In the Iſle of Chio in the Archipelago, there are Mines of natural Alum, which Salt is reproduced, and this may be the Caſe in reſpect to ours. See the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 110. p. 221.

[n] Worm. Muſ. Sect. ii. cap. xiii. p. 89. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii, p. 138—145. Woodward, vol. i. p. 172—177. Hill, p. 615. 621. Newman's Work's, p. 174, 175.

only

only uſed in very large Quantities by the Dyers, and by the Hatters, and other Manufacturers at Home; but there are likewiſe very conſiderable Quantities of both exported [o].

It may very poſſibly be ſaid, that ſeparately taken, none of theſe can be regarded in the Light of great national Staples, or that their Exportation, even collectively, produces Profits which amount to vaſt Sums [p]. But on the other Hand, it is to be obſerved, that as we derive them from the Benevolence of Nature, and that in this Reſpect they are our inherent Property, they are for this Reaſon very well worthy Notice. They are likewiſe an inconteſtible Proof of what from an Increaſe of Knowledge and Attention may be done with Things long overlooked and neglected [q]. They are, as now uſed, Sources of innumerable and inexpreſſible Advantages to Individuals, ſome of whom in the Management of them acquire ample Fortunes, while many Thouſands draw from them a comfortable Subſiſtence for themſelves and their Families, which however they cannot do without benefiting others, who are employed in raiſing that Subſiſtence they labour to purchaſe. By this Means many Villages and even Towns have been eſtabliſhed, Eſtates improved, and a Conſumption of various Commodities and Manufactures promoted [r]. The Reſult of theſe no Doubt may be very juſtly conſidered as public Emoluments.

But is this all? No, certainly. The Public is in many other Reſpects a conſiderable, and, which is more to be regarded, a conſtant Gainer. She ſaves, and let us maturely weigh to how much this may Amount, whatever theſe Commodities would have coſt, if brought, as many of them formerly were, from other Countries [s]. She has the entire Profit, be that what it will, of whatever is exported. She is benefited by the Navigation,

[o] At the latter End of the laſt Century we imported annually about Five hundred Tuns of Vitriol, and we now export upwards of Two thouſand Tons.

[p] It is no eaſy Matter to procure the Materials on which ſuch a Calculation might be founded. If they could be had with any Degree of Exactneſs, I am perſuaded the Objection would be effectually removed, and the Value of theſe Articles be acknowledged to exceed our Expectations. Until this can be gained we have the Satisfaction of being ſure, that though the Amount of theſe Benefits may be unknown, they are not unfelt by the Nation.

[q] Who among our Forefathers would have conſidered a few Clay-pits as an Eſtate; thought of picking Wealth out of a bare Rock; or ſuppoſed it poſſible to raiſe a Fortune by boiling rotten Wood and ruſty Stones caſt on Shore by the Sea? yet this is now the Caſe, and which highly enhances the Value, it is by the Encouragement of Induſtry theſe Advantages are obtained.

[r] Whatever multiplies Mouths and employs Hands muſt encourage and extend Agriculture, for Men of all Conditions draw their Food from the Field.

[s] In order to ſee this in its true Light, we muſt conſider that many of the Commodities are conſumed in our moſt valuable Manufactures; and that if theſe were not our own Produce, it is more than probable we never had ſucceeded in theſe Manufactures; to this we may add, that if we were deprived of theſe Materials, and forced to import them from foreign Countries, it may be doubted whether we could keep them.

and in many other Inſtances; frequently by the Returns for theſe Goods in raw Commodities, which after being manufactured here are again exported. There were ſeveral important Reaſons for ſtating fully, and explaining clearly theſe Points, ſo as to make them thoroughly underſtood. Firſt, becauſe it does Honour or rather Juſtice to the Excellence of our Country, and ſince Skill and Labour were exerted, and their Effects properly conſidered, to the Ingenuity, Induſtry, and indefatigable Perſeverance of our Countrymen[t]. It was in the next Place expedient, becauſe even ſince the Revolution theſe Benefits were ſo little regarded, and the Produce of them ſo little conſidered, as not to be admitted either in Whole or in Part into the Computation of our national Income[u]. Thirdly, becauſe it moſt clearly ſhews, how in various Caſes this Country has been, and of courſe ſtill may be improved; and in this Reſpect admirably illuſtrates, as well as plainly demonſtrates, what we have ſo frequently inculcated, that Induſtry, and Induſtry ſolely, conſtitutes the Riches of a Nation, and that Gold, Silver, and other arbitrary Signs of what Induſtry hath acquired, is only the Wealth of Individuals or private Men[w].

We have in this Country an amazing Quantity, and no leſs ſurprizing Variety of Stones fit for almoſt all Uſes. For ſcouring and poliſhing of Metals[x], for grinding and giving an Edge to all Sorts of Inſtruments[y], Mill Stones of every Kind[z], Fire Stone from Ryegate, Horſham, Bath, and other Places, excellent for the Conſtruction of Hearths, Ovens, and other

[t] Whoever reads Carew's Survey of Cornwall, King's Vale Royal of England, and Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, will ſee the Truth, and feel the Propriety of this Obſervation. The native Reſources of this Country were then the ſame as at preſent, but the Condition of the Inhabitants very different. This Difference ariſes from Skill and Labour (excited by a milder and more ſettled Government) calling theſe Reſources to our Aid, and thereby raiſing us to what we are at preſent.

[u] At that Period many of theſe were become Things of ſome Conſequence, but not enough to be looked upon as national Advantages, ſo that it was from this Time they gradually grew into Importance, and from thence we may diſcern, that thoſe ſtill in their Infancy will in a reaſonable Space become as conſiderable. An Idea which excites a Pleaſure ſuperior to the Poſſeſſion of Wealth in the Boſom of every true Lover of his Country.

[w] This is a Propoſition that cannot be controverted, if it be but underſtood. Money, or whatever has the Effects of Money, can operate only as a common Meaſure. In this Senſe Money is ſaid to anſwer all Things. As the Meaſure, there muſt be ſome Thing or Subſtance to which it may be applied, and thereby make known its Value. Induſtry produces Subſtance; Idleneſs produces nothing; therefore Money meaſures the Fruits of Induſtry; and where theſe are not, Money is uſeleſs. Whatever multiplies Subſtance increaſes what Money is to meaſure, or, in other Words, augments the Number of thoſe Things of which Money declares the Value; but as Worth belongs to Subſtance, and as this flows from Induſtry, here is the Source of national Wealth which Individuals meaſure by Money, that is, the Means of obtaining them.

[x] Theſe are Tripelas, and found in the Counties of Derby, Devon, Middleſex, Northampton, Salop, Somerſet, Stafford, Suſſex, and Wilts.

[y] In Cumberland, Derbyſhire, Northumberland, and other Places.

[z] Theſe are principally found in Angleſea, Derbyſhire, Flintſhire, and Lancaſhire.

Works of a like Nature [a]. Stones for paving and making of Floors; we have alſo many that ſerve for building, ſuch as Free Stone, Rag Stone, Ketton Stone [b], improperly called Kettering Stone, for there is really no Stone at all at this laſt mentioned Place; and ſeveral very durable and beautiful Sorts from the inexhauſtible Quarries of Purbeck and Portland [c]. We abound alſo in a Variety of Materials for the beſt LIME, which beſides its great Uſe in building, is ſerviceable in tanning and other Manufactures [d]. Add to theſe, the Plenty we have of ſubſtantial and elegant SLATES, which ſerve for many Purpoſes as well as for covering Houſes, in which the beſt Sorts will laſt not only for Years but for Ages [e].

IT is no Diminution of this national Wealth, no Impeachment of the Doctrine which we mean to deduce from it, that ſome other Countries have finer, more beautiful, more ſolid, and of courſe more valuable Stones than we, ſince Commerce puts even theſe alſo into our Poſſeſſion [f]. But if our Prepoſſeſſions ſhould abate, as from an Increaſe of Science they gradually muſt, we ſhould ſpeedily be convinced, that in regard to theſe Neceſſity has no great Share in their Importation. What we are pleaſed to call by the Name of Derbyſhire Stone, would in Italy be eſteemed Marble, and if brought from thence hither, would be held a very fine Marble; and as ſuch fetch a very high Price [g]. Beſides this, we have alſo different coloured Marbles, ſome finely veined, others ſpotted, and theſe not in ſmall Quantities, or in remote Corners, but in every Part of the Britiſh Territories [h]. We have likewiſe very fine Alabaſter, and it may be both Porphyry

[a] Plot's Oxfordſhire, p. 77, 78. Staffordſhire, p. 152. Morton's Northamptonſhire, p. 115, 116.

[b] Free Stone is ſo called from its being cut and worked in any Direction; Sand Stone, from its Appearance; Rag Stone ſeems to be a Sort of Marble; Ketton Stone, which is juſtly eſteemed one of the fineſt Free Stones we have, is from Ketton or Heath Quarries in Rutland, a few Miles South East from Stamford; though Dr. Hook in his Micrography, and Dr. Woodward, place it in Northamptonſhire.

[c] Stones for Paving and other Uſes, as well as Building, are brought in prodigious Quantities from theſe Quarries, and have furniſhed the Materials for moſt of the great Edifices in London.

[d] We have Lime of all Sorts, and fit for all Uſes, in all Parts of the Britiſh Dominions, which to whoever attentively conſiders it will appear an invaluable Advantage

[e] Theſe are found in Cornwall, Cumberland; Derbyſhire, Devonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Northamptonſhire, Shropſhire, Somerſetſhire; and alſo in North Britain and Ireland. The blue Slate has many Properties to recommend it as a Covering; it is beautiful, light, reſiſts the Weather, and is eaſily repaired. Horſham Stone is uſed for the ſame Purpoſe, but is not ſo light.

[f] Theſe being generally obtained in Exchange for our own Manufactures, and brought to us in our own Veſſels, leſſens the national Expence.

[g] It is certain that this has the eſſential Qualities of Marble, is very hard, and bears an high Poliſh. See Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 469.

[h] In Angleſea, of a dark Brown near Black; in Cornwall, Grey; in Cumberland, dark Green; in Devon, finely veined with Red and White; in Derbyſhire, of an Aſh Colour; in Kent, a Kind of Ophites, dark Brown with green Spots, Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 155, p. 463. In Somerſetſhire,

phyry and Granite, little if at all inferior to the Oriental [i]. It is of no great Conſequence, that Curioſities made of theſe are not acknowledged to be Britiſh Commodities when produced for Sale, but are extolled as foreign Rarities. This, I ſay, is of no great Conſequence, becauſe ſuch Impoſitions cannot long laſt, and whenever diſcovered are ſure to bring the Commodity into full Credit [k]. In Truth, the leading us to ſuch Enquiries has been in many Inſtances the Means of bringing us acquainted with our own Riches, which is the beſt Apology, or rather is the true political Reaſon for indulging, though under high Duties, the Importation of theſe foreign Luxuries, as by this Expedient a temporary Expence produces a certain, ſolid, and permanent national Advantage [l].

In regard to theſe, Slates excepted, there is but little exported, and yet infinite Benefit reſults from them to the Nation. Multitudes are employed in digging, burning, hewing, and other Labours in the Places from whence theſe Materials are brought [m]. The Land and Water Carriage of theſe bulky Commodities is very expenſive, that is, in other Words, contributes to the Subſiſtence of many more induſtrious Perſons. The coaſting Navigation is in that Reſpect yet more conſiderable [n]. When brought to the Place where they are uſed, they fall into the Hands of a new and numerous Set of Artiſts, who exert their Skill in the Conſtruction of thoſe Works, public or private, for which they are intended. But as all Buildings, and more eſpecially thoſe of Stone, are very laſting and valuable, ſo when finiſhed, they conſtitute real Wealth, and add ſo much to the public Stock [o].

ſetſhire, of a light Brown; in Suſſex, a grey Ground with a Caſt of Green; in Wales, a fine Black. See Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, tom. i. p. 20, 21. tom. ii. p. 6. 66. In many Parts alſo of North Britain and Ireland.

[i] Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, B. iii. chap. xv. Plot's Staffordſhire, p. 173, 174. Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, tom. ii. p. 6. Hill, p. 493. In Staffordſhire Plenty; in Cornwall as fine as the Oriental.

[k] Borlace's Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 97—101, called Moor Stone, but is truely Granite. Porphyry, which is only a cloſer grained Granite, is found (though hitherto in ſmall Pieces only) in Cornwall, and in the Northern Counties.

[l] By a judicious raiſing the Duty on Importation, without having Recourſe to a Prohibition, our own Commodities may, when their Natures, Quantities, and Qualities are once aſcertained, be eaſily introduced.

[m] Such as are thus employed become a robuſt, active, and vigorous Race of Men, are retained with their Poſterity in their own Countries, into which from Labour they draw a conſiderable and conſtant Supply of Money; and as this circulates in procuring Neceſſaries of every Kind, it thereby encourages Agriculture, Manufactures, and Inland Trade.

[n] Theſe Coaſting Veſſels furniſh a continual Supply of able Seamen for our Merchantmen and Ships of War.

[o] This is not only agreeable to common Senſe, but is ſupported by the Computations of all the political Arithmeticians.

THERE is indeed (as has been before obſerved) another Method by which we may be led to form a juſt Idea of the Emoluments ariſing from theſe ſubterraneous Riches; which is, by conſidering what would be the Conſequences of our wanting ſuch Reſources. We muſt then import them as ſome of them we formerly did from abroad, which would ſupport the Induſtry of other Countries and impoveriſh this. We muſt loſe ſeveral of our Manufactures; and after all have but a very ſmall Proportion of Houſes, and none of the moſt valuable of thoſe we actually have at preſent [p]. All this will appear in the ſtrongeſt Light, not a gratuitous Suppoſition, but a juſt Repreſentation of Facts, if we reflect on the State Things were in about three Centuries ago. For though undoubtedly our Anceſtors were well acquainted with our Quarries, and wrought admirably well in Stone, yet they confined themſelves to Cathedrals, Colleges, Churches, Caſtles, Bridges, Royal Palaces, and a few Noblemens Manor-houſes [q]. As for all the Reſt they were built of Timber; ſo that our Villages, and even our Towns, were in point of Beauty, Neatneſs, and Splendour, as much below as they are at preſent ſuperior to thoſe in moſt other Countries [r].

WE will now proceed to Things of more immediate, or at leaſt of more apparent Benefit. SALTS of almoſt all Sorts are made in Britain, and of ſome Sort or other in almoſt every Part of Britain. If we remember that this is a daily, as well as an indiſpenſable Neceſſary of Life, we muſt look upon it as a very great, and whenever we reflect on the frequent and manifold Uſes thereof, even in domeſtic Oeconomy, it muſt appear to be a very extenſive Bleſſing [s]. But if we farther enlarge our View, and advert to the great Utility of Salt in the preſerving ſuch Proviſions as are to be long laid up in Magazines, to be exported into diſtant Countries, or to be ſpent on board Ships, the Bounds ſeem to be exceedingly enlarged, or rather all Bounds are removed, and its Uſes may be ſtiled infinite almoſt

[p] Our Choice would be then reſtrained to the Alternative of one of theſe Wants, of Money if we purchaſed the Materials from abroad, or of commodious Dwellings by avoiding that Expence. By an Application of Skill and Labour; that is, the Abilities of Body and Mind to the Improvement of the Gifts of Providence, we avoid both. It would be well if in other Caſes we had Recourſe to the ſame Meaſure.

[q] Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, 1557. folio. Stowe's Survey of London, 1603, 4to. King's Vale Royal of England.

[r] With the Author's cited in the laſt Note, the Reader may conſult the Deſcription of ſmall Towns and Villages in Leland's Itinerary, Fines Morriſon's Travels. As alſo Camdeni Britan. p. 673.

[s] According to a Computation which I have ſeen, and which appeared to be very moderate, this Conſumption in South Britain was rated at upwards of Seventy thouſand Pounds a Year, eſtimating Salt at no more than eight Pence a Buſhell, and confined to our own Salt. There is no reaſon to doubt our domeſtic Conſumption is ſince increaſed.

without a Figure [t]. From this immenſe and continual Conſumption of Salt, we may form ſome Idea of the Number of Families maintained by the making, tranſporting, and vending of this valuable Article. It may be ſaid, and indeed it has been more than once admitted, that this hath been for Ages one of the known Commodities of this Country, though by the way it is not quite a Century ſince Rock Salt was diſcovered [u]. But the great Benefit ariſes from the Conſumption, which within this laſt Century has increaſed amazingly, and is ſtill increaſing, as manifeſtly appears by the public Revenue ariſing from it [w].

It may be alſo ſaid, and ſaid with Truth, that other Nations have Plenty of Salt as well as we, nay better Salt than we; and, which is ſtill more, that, with all our boaſted Abundance, we purchaſe, and are obliged to purchaſe much of this Commodity from our Neighbours [x]. Upon this ſome Remarks may be made which will ſet this Matter in a clearer Light. In the firſt Place, this being chiefly uſed in the Curing of Fiſh, it never can or ever could be looked upon as a dead Loſs to the Nation, but as a Diminution of her Profits in Trade. In the next Place, this very Circumſtance only is a demonſtrative Proof of the prodigious Benefit we receive from the Plenty of it beſtowed upon us by Nature, as it manifeſtly ſhews what a prodigious Saving this enables us to make, ſince the Expence would have been inſupportable if we had purchaſed the Whole, or even the greateſt Part of what is neceſſary for our extenſive Conſumption [y]. In the laſt Place, we muſt take Notice, that whatever this might be formerly it is now an unneceſſary Tribute; for we have not barely the Means, and all the Conveni-

[t] We learn from the accurate Dr. Hales, that in curing Beef for Sea Service (Pickle included) there is uſed half a Buſhell and half a Gallon of White, and one Gallon and a Quarter of Bay Salt, that is forty Pounds and ſomewhat more, to a hundred Weight of Fleſh; from whence we may form ſome Conception of the prodigious Quantity of this Commodity annually expended.

[u] In 1670, in the Lands of William Madbury, Eſq; of Madbury in Cheſhire, there have been ſince many more Works wrought by other Proprietors, who have moſt of them joined in a Company for that Purpoſe. This Rock Salt is ſent to Liverpool and many other Places, where by boiling it in Sea Water they Produce a fine white Salt, which they can ſometimes afford at twenty Shillings a Ton, excluſive of the Duty, and export it to the Plantations.

[w] According to the beſt Accounts I have been able to procure, the Groſs Duty on Salt made in South Britain amounts annually to Seven hundred thouſand Pounds.

[x] About ſixty Years ago this Importation amounted to One hundred thouſand Buſhells. Dr. Brownrig tells us, p. 191. that Bay Salt ſells at London for four Shillings and four Pence a Buſhell excluſive of Exciſe; which ſhews at how high a Rate we purchaſe, and how vaſt an Expence we muſt be at, if we were leſs happy in this Reſpect than we are; and it alſo ſhews how very much it imports us to remove ſo heavy a Burthen.

[y] We may from the Circumſtances mentioned in the former Note acquire a tolerable Conception of this Matter, taking in the Difference of Price between foreign Salt and ours. It is undoubtedly a wiſe Policy to grant a Drawback on foreign Salt employed in the Fiſhery. But would it be a leſs wiſe Policy to propoſe a Reward for making Salt here, as fit for curing Fiſh, as foreign Salt, and at a moderate Price?

encies for making Bay, and all other Kinds of Salt equal for all Purpoſes to any that we can purchaſe from abroad, but it is alſo known that we are able to make them cheaper [z].

GLASS is a Compoſition of the Salts of Plants, and of Sand, Pebbles, or Stone reduced to Powder. As it is thus compoſed of vegetable and terrene Subſtances, it may be conſidered under either Head; and as all the Materials of which this valuable Commodity is made are found throughout the Britiſh Dominions, it is of no great Conſequence under which Head it is conſidered. Glaſs, that is, the ordinary or coarſer Kinds of it, were made in England more than Two hundred Years ago [b]: But the finer Kinds, particularly Flint and Plate Glaſs, not more than half that Time [c]. We have ſince made many and great Improvements; ſo that our Glaſs is in general ſuperior to that in moſt, and hardly, if at all, inferior to what is made in any Country [d]: If we remember the Conſtituent Parts of this uſeful and admirable Subſtance, viz. Aſhes and Sand, and reflect again on the Value to which by the Skill and Induſtry of Men they are raiſed: If we contemplate the numerous Families to whom in a Variety of Ways it gives a plentiful Subſiſtence, and to ſome large Fortunes [e]: If we call to Mind how far as a Manufacture it has extended, that it is ſtill extending, and may yet extend through all the Britiſh Iſles: If we conſider, that, though exported without any Duty, it yields upon Home Conſumption a very large Revenue to the Crown [f]; we may, taking all this together, form a competent Notion of the Advantages we draw from this Manufacture, of

[z] Dr. Brownrig's Art of making Salt, p. 211—216. where this is made as evident as a Thing of this Nature can be made till verified from Facts.

[b] Charnock's Breviary of Philoſophy, chap. i. Stowe's Annals, p. 1040. Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, book iii. chap. 16.

[c] Plot's Oxfordſhire, p. 258. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 43. Plate Glaſs at the Expence of the Duke of Bucks, and Flint Glaſs by Mr. Ravenſcroft.

[d] As ſoon as the true Principles of making Glaſs were known through the Labours of Neri, Merret, and Kunckell, it became evident, that no Country in the World abounded more with all the Materials requiſite to this Manufacture, viz. white Sand, Flint, Pebles, Quartz, Marble Duſt, Kelp, Fern-aſhes (Barrillia might be had) and Manganeſe. We need not wonder therefore at our Succeſs, and we have as little Reaſon to fear we ſhall decline.

[e] It requires a great Fortune to embark in making Plate Glaſs; a Furnace is ſix Years in building, and coſts Three thouſand Five hundred Pounds before any Buſineſs can be done. The Burſting of a Pot of Glaſs in the Fire is the Loſs of Two hundred and Fifty Pounds. The Profits muſt needs be large to anſwer ſuch Hazard and Expence; and both Profits and Expence are clear Gain to the Nation, which is a Circumſtance of great Weight in regard to the Importance of this Manufacture.

[f] Stat. 19. Geor. II. cap. 12. § 1—30. a Duty was impoſed of nine Shillings and four Pence on every hundred Weight of Materials employed in making Crown, Flint, and Plate Glaſs, and two Shillings and four Pence on the Materials for Green Glaſs; which Duty of Exciſe produced in 1762 Seventy-one thouſand Seven hundred Forty-nine Pounds, and is a growing Duty.

which we ſend very large Quantities into other Countries, and even into ſome of thoſe from whichwe formerly received it [g].

In regard to this as well as the former Article, we ſhall comprehend the Matter ſtill more clearly, if we ſuffer ourſelves to ſpeculate on the prodigious Sums that muſt have gone out of this Country, in order to have furniſhed ourſelves with the neat, curious, and elegant Veſſels that are made of this Subſtance, if Providence had not furniſhed us ſo abundantly with the Materials, and the Means of making it in the utmoſt Plenty, and in the higheſt Beauty and Perfection [h]. This is ſaid in regard to the preſent State of this Manufacture here and through all the Reſt of Europe [i]. But it is far from being improbable, and much leſs is it impoſſible, that it may receive farther Improvements, not ſimply in Faſhion, in cutting, and other Ornaments, for ſuch it receives already every Day, but in reſpect to its Texture, Solidity, and other eſſential Qualities, of which it is ſtill capable, as many and ingenious and judicious Authors have remarked [k]. A Thing not at all unlikely, conſidering the numerous Advantages we have, joined to our Experience and Succeſs, the enterprizing Spirit of the preſent Age, and the immenſe Profits that would accrue, if Ways and Means can be found to improve, and thereby perhaps to enlarge the Conſumption of Glaſs as much in the next as it has been in the current Century [l].

Coals, though not an excluſive, yet may with great Propriety be ſtiled a peculiar Bleſſing to Britain, from their great Plenty, their acknowledged Excellence, and from their being found in ſuch Places as are conveniently diſpoſed for Exportation. It is certain, that they are not, as ſome have

[g] In the Year 1764 we exported to different Parts of Europe, Africa, and the Eaſt Indies, 33,203 cwt. and 411 Cheſts of Glaſs. We the ſame Year exported to our Plantations, 41,515 cwt. and 392 Cheſts. In all 74,718 cwt. and 803 Cheſts of Glaſs.

[h] The great and continual Conſumption of this brittle Ware, which is now a Source of Profit, would have been then a Drain. It was a Senſe of this that induced James I. and Charles I. as we ſee in Rymer, tom. xix. p. 663. to prohibit the Importation of foreign Glaſs. It was alſo to encourage Sir Robert Manſell, to whom the firſt of theſe Monarchs had granted an excluſive Patent for making Glaſs, in Conſideration of his having introduced Pit Coal inſtead of Wood.

[i] In France, for the Encouragement of the Manufacture of Plate Glaſs, and the eaſier to furniſh the Sums requiſite to ſupport ſo expenſive an Undertaking, it was by Lewis XIV. confined to the Nobleſſe or Gentry; ſo that while other Trades are ſuppoſed to derogate from, this of Glaſs is conſidered as a Mark of Gentility. By this, and by laying heavy Duties on foreign Glaſs, this Manufacture has been brought to bear in that Kingdom.

[k] Shaw's Lectures on Chemiſtry, p. 426. where he has ſhewn a Method of making a new Glaſs, much harder than any now in Uſe.

[l] Moſt of the Improvements already made were in conſequence of the Enlargement of Science; and it may be ſurely from thence inferred, that there is nothing abſurd in ſuppoſing that as Natural Hiſtory, Chemiſtry, and Mechaniſm are better underſtood, new Improvements may be made, more eſpecially if we reflect that this Manufacture was eſteemed perfect even before theſe late Improvements were introduced.

imagined,

imagined, the Lapis Obſidianus of Pliny [m], or the Gagates, Jet, or as ſome affect to call it Black Amber [n]; though, by the way, of this we have finer and in greater Abundance than in any other Country in the World. At Wirtembergh, where Jet is likewiſe found in conſiderable Quantities, they make many pretty Toys of it, which turn to no inconſiderable Amount [o]. It is however highly probable, that our Cannel Coal is the Lapis Ampelitis [p], or Vine Stone: It is common in ſeveral Counties [q], and if leſs common would probably turn to better Account; for it is ſmooth, ſolid, of a beautiful ſhining Black, is turned into Snuff-boxes, Salt-ſellers, ſmall Plates, and other Utenſils; but the far greateſt Part is burnt, and is in all Reſpects an excellent Fuel [r]. Beſides this, there are in general three Kinds of Coal, firſt, what paſſes commonly under the Name of Scots Coal, though improperly as being found in many Places [s]: It is ſmooth, ſplits eaſily, burns briſkly, with a white Flame, and conſumes entirely into white Aſhes. The ſecond is uſually ſtiled Welch Coal, which is more laſting, burns with little Smoak, and turns to Cinders [t]. The third is a ſtrong heavy Coal; which makes an excellent Fire, and is the common Newcaſtle or Sea-coal, of which there is alſo great Variety, as there are above forty different Sorts brought to London [u]. This uſeful Commodity is found not only in the

[m] Natural. Hiſtor. lib. xxxvi. cap. 26. Great Diſputes have been about this Subſtance, of which Auguſtus placed the Statues of four Elephants in the Temple of Concord.

[n] Some have taken Jet for the Lapis Obſidianus, but the Lightneſs and Texture ſhew plainly it is not either Stone or Coal. It is found frequently on the Sea Coaſts, and in the Clifts of the Rocks about Whitby, as alſo on the Coaſts of Norfolk. It is conſtantly bought up and ſent to London, and is here no Doubt wrought into Toys of ſome Kind or other.

[o] Selecta Phyſico Oeconimica, vol. i. p 442. They make Bracelets, Necklaces, Pendants, &c. which we formerly imported from Holland.

[p] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxvi. cap. 16. It is called the Vine Stone from its ſuppoſed Property of deſtroying Worms which infeſt Vines, and is ſtill uſed either in Subſtance or in Aſhes in the Palatinate as the fitteſt Manure for Vineyards. It does not appear that the Aſhes of Cannel Coal, for it produces no Cinders, were ever uſed for this Purpoſe in Britain. The Trial is however eaſy and ought certainly to be made.

[q] The learned Dr. Davies in his Dictionary ſays, it receives its Name from Canwyll, which in the old Britiſh Language ſignifies a Candle, the Want of which the bright Flame of this Coal ſupplies. It is chiefly found in Cheſhire, Cumberland, Lancaſhire (eſteemed the fineſt) and in Staffordſhire. It is ſaid by Camden, Britan. p. 600. to be found in the Biſhoprick of Durham.

[r] Camdeni Britan. p. 600. Plot's Staffordſhire, p. 125, 126. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 151. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 117. Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, vol. i. p. 165. ii. p. 17. Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 416. Mineralogie de Valmont-Bomare, tom. ii. p. 251, 252.

[s] Particularly about Lemmington in Warwickſhire, and not as ſome ſay in Hampſhire; in ſuch Abundance as to be known in that Part of the Country by the Name of Lemmington Coal.

[t] This Property of burning without Smoak renders them fit for making Malt, even without charring or making them into Coaks.

[u] Theſe Denominations are taken from the Colleries, and the Reader may ſee a Liſt of them in Hunter's Complete View of the Coal Trade, p. 186.

Eaſt, but on the Weſt Coaſt of England and Wales, and there are alſo very conſiderable Mines of it in Scotland and in Ireland [w].

Coals, though employed in ſeveral Manufactures for ſome hundred Years, were not brought into common Uſe till the Reign of Charles the First, and were then ſold here for about ſeventeen Shillings a Chaldron [x]. In ſome Years after the Reſtoration there were about Two hundred thouſand Chaldron burned in this Metropolis [y]. In 1670 about Two hundred and Seventy thouſand Chaldron [z]; at the Revolution upwards of Three hundred thouſand Chaldron [a]; at preſent between Five and Six hundred thouſand Chaldron, or perhaps full Six hundred thouſand are annually conſumed here [b]. There is beſides an immenſe Conſumption in different Parts of Great Britain and Ireland [c]. In foreign Countries our Coals are alſo not only known and eſteemed, but purchaſed likewiſe and conſumed, and this to a very large Amount [d]. Neither is this in any Danger of being even leſſened by the ſeveral Duties that have been laid upon them [e]; for this foreign Conſumption being founded in Neceſſity with regard to Manufactures, and in Oeconomy where they are uſed for Convenience, Wood and Turf being dearer than Coals with the Duty, we need therefore be in no Fear of the Markets declining [f]. There is juſt as little Room to be alarmed from the Apprehenſion of their being exhauſted, as the preſent Works are capable of ſupplying us for a long Series of Years, and there are many other Mines ready to be opened when

[w] In Angleſea, Carmaerthenſhire, Cheſhire, Cumberland, Derbyſhire, Durham, Flintſhire, Lancaſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Northumberland, Pembrokeſhire, Shropſhire, Somerſetſhire, Staffordſhire, Warwickſhire, and Yorkſhire.

[x] England's Grievance in relation to the Coal Trade, by Ralph Gardiner, London 1655, 4to. p. 53.

[y] As may be collected from the Writings of Mr. Evelyn, Sir P. Pet, Dr. Chamberlayne, and many others.

[z] Dr. Chamberlayne's Preſent State of England, 1671, p. 192.

[a] Taking an Average of the Years 1687, 1688, 1689. from the Cuſtom-houſe Entries, the Importation was 323,097 Chalders.

[b] Hunter's Complete View of the Coal Trade, p. 184. where he States it in 1755 at 535,342 Chalders. But in 1766 it was 614,242 Chalders.

[c] In North Britain they ſupply their own Conſumption, and alſo export. In Ireland though they have Coals, yet they take annually to the Value of £. 30,000 from England, and £. 12,000 from Scotland.

As far as I am able to collect, the Duty on Coals exported on board Britiſh Ships, including the new Duty of four Shillings, in 1757, amounts to ten Shillings every Chalder.

[e] The preſent Duty, as high as it may ſeem, is ſo little more than what is paid in London that this Aſſertion cannot appear improbable.

[f] Some French Patriots are very angry that their Smiths, Farriers, &c. will not uſe their own Coal (Houille); and in Holland they might have it from Liege, Roer, and other Places: But notwithſtanding the Dutch Duty is much lower on theſe than ours, yet in their Manufactures of Glaſs, Metals, in their Forges, Light-Houſes, and where a ſtrong Fire is requiſite, they uſe Houille d'Angleterre. This ſhows the Superiority of our Coal inconteſtibly.

any

any of these shall fail [g]. Besides, there are known to be Coals in many Parts of the three Kingdoms which hitherto they have had no Encouragement to work. We have had several Occasions of speaking on this Subject before, and have insisted pretty largely on the local Benefits derived from thence [h]; which however ought not to preclude us from giving a succinct and summary View of the numerous national Advantages resulting from this valuable Commodity.

They are in many Respects, and in a very high Degree, useful to the landed Interest, not only by raising exceedingly the real Value, and of course the Purchase of those Lands in which Coals are found, and those through which it is necessary to pass from the Works to the Places where they are embarked [i], but from the general Improvements they have occasioned; so that very few Counties are now better cultivated than Northumberland, and the same Effects they have had in a greater or less Degree in other Places [k]. Thousands of laborious People are maintained in and about the Mines, thousands more in conveying them to the Ports and on board the Ships; to say nothing of those that draw their Subsistence from the Carriage of them by Land. There are also great Numbers that live in a superior Station, as Stewards, Directors, Factors, Agents, Book-keepers, &c. To these we may add the extraordinary Encouragement given to ingenious Artists who have invented, and the numerous Workmen continually employed about those several curious and costly Machines, which for a Variety of Purposes are in continual Use, and of course in continual Wear [l]. We may join to these the Multitudes that obtain their Living from the many Manufactures in which they are employed, and which could not be carried on but by the Help and Cheapness of Coals. These taken together shew how very serviceable they have been in that important Article of Population [m].

[g] In respect to this (though the Fact is so generally admitted as to need no Proof) I have carefully inquired from the properest Judges, who all confirmed it.

[h] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 156. 163. 165. 308, 309.

[i] These are stiled emphatically WAY-LEAVES, and are let at as high Rents as any landed Property in Britain.

[k] In the same Manner they have contributed not a little to the Benefit of Leicestershire, Gloucestershire, and Shropshire; more still to Staffordshire, &c.

[l] All these are retained and comfortably supported in their native Country, have encreased as this Commodity grew into Demand, and have the Prospect of a permanent Establishment derived from it. Circumstances to which giddy, vain, and dissipated People, whatever their Rank, very seldom advert; but which Persons of a sedater Turn will attentively consider and contemplate with Pleasure.

[m] Numbers of stout robust Men subsisting themselves, and breeding up their Families by their own Industry and Labour, are the natural Strength and the greatest Honour to a Nation.

We have more than once celebrated their ſingular Utility in reference to the increaſing our Seamen, and augmenting our Navigation; as to which we may very ſafely and truly affirm, that the Number of Men, and Tonnage of the Veſſels employed in this Trade alone, is at this Time conſiderably more than the Nation could boaſt of employing in every Kind of Trade Two hundred Years ago [n]. The Produce of Coals exported, which amounts to a very conſiderable Sum, beſides being profitable to the Owners, Merchants, and Mariners, is ſo much clear Gain to the Nation; and is in fact the very ſame Thing, or ſomewhat better, than if by ſome myſterious Art they could be converted upon the Spot where they are raiſed into the Silver for which they ſell [o]. The Duties levied on thoſe conſumed at Home, produce an annual public Revenue, not much inferior to the Produce of a Land Tax of one Shilling in the Pound [p]. But in regard to this, as in the former Caſes, the ſureſt as well as the ſhorteſt Way of framing a true Notion of the Worth of what in this Reſpect we poſſeſs [q], is to weigh ſeriouſly what the Conſequences would be in all thoſe Reſpects which we have mentioned, if we were without this Bleſſing, and were compelled either to fetch Coals from other Countries, or to ſupply the Defect as well as we could by Timber and Turf [r].

We will next take Notice of ſome few, and thoſe the moſt remarkable of our Minerals, intending to conclude theſe Reſearches into the ſubterranean Riches of Britain with a ſuccinct Detail of thoſe to which hitherto that Title has been chiefly given, viz. Metals.

[n] As this may ſeem an extraordinary Aſſertion it ought to be explained. Sir William Monſon in his Naval Tracts, p. 279, gives us, from a Survey taken A. D. 1582, a State of the Ships and Seafaring People in England, according to which the Number of Veſſels was 1232, their Burthen 72,450 Tons, and the Number of Mariners 14,295. When the laſt Duty was granted for the Benefit of the Port of Whitby [1750] it was admitted that there were then ſhipped annually from the Port of Newcaſtle and its Members 500,000 Newcaſtle Chalders, equal to 1,250,000 Tons. Allowing the Veſſels employed to be 200 Tons, and to make one with another four Voyages, then there will be 1313 Ships, their Burthen 262,600 Tons, and 13,130 Men and Boys in this eaſtern Navigation only.

[o] A great Part of the Silver thus obtained might and probably would be ſpent on the idle and the profligate of both Sexes, who are ſo many Incumbrances and dead Weights on Society, inſtead of furniſhing Subſiſtence to Labourers, Keelmen, Sailors, and Traders, all induſtrious pains-taking People, who in their ſeveral Occupations are ſo many profitable Servants to the Publick.

[p] In this we would be underſtood to include all the Duties impoſed on Coals to whatever Purpoſe appropriated or where-ever received, as theſe Duties are deſtined to and expended for the Service of the Publick, and in that Light may be juſtly conſidered as Revenue. A Circumſtance of very great Weight when we conſider the national Advantages ariſing from this Commodity.

[q] We are apt to undervalue what we have, and to overate what we wiſh; it is reaſonable therefore to make theſe Suppoſitions in order to give us juſt Ideas of both.

[r] If the Reader deſires to purſue theſe Speculations farther, he may conſult Houghton's Collections, vol. iv. p. 259.

ANTIMONY is a mineral Subſtance frequently found in other Mines, and there are alſo Mines of Antimony in Cornwall from which any Quantities of it may be procured [s]. It is very eaſily ſeparated from its Ore, and is then ſtiled Crude Antimony, as being free from all the heterogeneous Matter which adhered to it in the Mine, and which give ſeveral, and thoſe very different Appearances to its Ore. Crude Antimony is compoſed of ſulphureous and reguline Subſtances. The former differs in nothing from Sulphur or Brimſtone, the latter has a bright ſhining metallic Appearance, is fuſible, indeed, runs the thinneſt of any Subſtance of this Kind, but is never malleable [t]. It is highly uſeful in many Reſpects. It is the Baſis of a great Variety of efficacious Medicines. The Chemiſts uſe it to facilitate the Fuſion of other Metals, in which Reſpects it would be ſtill more uſeful if it did not render them brittle [u]. The Refiners employ it to reduce Gold to its utmoſt Purity. It is uſed by the Opticians in grinding their Glaſſes; it is of Service to the Pewterers in giving Hardneſs to their Metal. The Bell Founders employ it for the ſame Purpoſe, and to render their Compoſition more ſonorous. The Letter Founders find it of great Utility in making their Types [w]. It is alſo in great Demand with the Dyers, and it was in their Favour that the Duty of twenty Shillings on every hundred Weight imported was repealed [x].

BISMUTH, is a Mineral of a ſparkling white Appearance, very ponderous, hard, and ſonorous, but which is incapable of receiving any Degree of Malleability [y]. It is found in ſeveral Parts, and in conſiderable Quantities in moſt of the Mine Counties in England, where it is commonly ſtiled by the Workmen TIN-GLASS. It is ſeparated from its Ore by a very gentle Heat; and the Earth left behind, when reduced into the Form of a Regulus being melted with the Powder of calcined Flints, becomes that beau-

[s] Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, vol. i. p. 184. vol. ii. p. 20. Borlace's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 129. Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 622.

[t] Reigeri Introductio ad Notitiam Rerum Naturalium & Arte Factarum, vol. ii. p. 639. Dictionaire de Chymie, vol. ii. p. 119. Mineralogie, tom. ii. p. 69. 72. 78. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. chap. ix.

[u] Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 128—140. Lazarus Erckerns's Aſſays tranſlated by Sir John Pettus, B. iv. chap. xvii. Beauſobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, des Finances, & du Commerce, vol. i. p. 123. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. i. p. 69.

[w] Philoſophical Tranſactions, No 138, p. 953. Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 132. Dictionaire Univerſelle d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 149. Macquer's Elements of Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 87. 155. 310. ii. 1. 23.

[x] This Duty was impoſed 3 and 4 Annæ, cap. iv. and was repealed by 8 Geo. I. cap. xv. § 10. very wiſely, as tending to heighten the Price of our Manufactures.

[y] Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 106. Lazarus Erckerns's Aſſays, iv. 10. Borlace's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 129. Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 624. Diſſertations Chymiques de M. Pott, tom. iii. diſſ. vi. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. x.

tiful and valuable blue Glaſs which is called SMALT [z]. It has many ſingular and ſurprizing Qualities that are known, and very probably poſſeſſes many more that are not yet diſcovered. It is of Uſe in making other metalline Subſtances flow with eaſe; but then, like Antimony, it renders them brittle. It hardens and adds a Silver Luſtre to Tin. It facilitates in a very remarkable Manner the Amalgamation of all Metals with Mercury [a]. As to the Uſes to which it has been hitherto applied, the making of Smalt excepted, they are not very numerous, or of any great Importance. The Magiſtery of Biſmuth is a famous, though not by any means an innocent Coſmetic; it is celebrated alſo for making a ſecret and inviſible Ink, which is rendered legible by holding it to the Fire, and becomes indiſcernable again as ſoon as it grows Cold [b]. The Pewterers and the Letter Founders make ſome uſe of it. There is however very little Reaſon to doubt, that in ſo inquiſitive an Age as this, a Mineral with ſuch uncommon Qualities will be ſtudiouſly and critically examined, and when, in conſequence of this, all its Properties are thoroughly known, will be applied to more beneficial Purpoſes [c].

CALAMINE, Lapis Calaminaris, or Cadmia Foſſilis, is found plentifully in Britain [d]. It is indeed true, that other Countries have it alſo in perhaps as great Abundance; but our Calamine is richer, and of a ſuperior Quality to any that comes from Abroad, as from Experiments the beſt Judges allow [e]. It is a ſpongy cavernous Body, of a greeniſh-grey Colour as it comes from the Mine, and ſometimes contains in it a little Lead. It is firſt baked or torrified, then ground ſmall, and frequently waſhed before it is fit for Uſe. It makes when cemented with Copper (for the Calamine never melts) the fineſt Braſs; and the Proof of the Richneſs of the Calamine ariſes from the Quantity that is taken up by the Copper [f]. Though we have always had this

[z] It ſhould ſeem that if this Mineral could be procured in Plenty, it might this way under proper Management yield great Profit.

[a] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 396. p. 193. Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 132. Macquer's Elements of Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 92. 156. ii. p. 50—56.

[b] Mr. Hellot has given a very full and curious Account of this ſingular Ink, which may be ſeen in the Book laſt cited; but it was orignally diſcovered by a Lady in Germany.

[c] Dictionaire de Chymie tom. i. p. 214. Mineralogie, tom. ii. p. 48—54. Beauſobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, tom. i. p. 123.

[d] Particularly in Derbyſhire, Glouceſterſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Somerſetſhire, as alſo in Wales.

[e] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 198. p. 672. L. Erckerns's Aſſays, iii. 28. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 55. Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, vol. i. p. 184, 185. vol. ii. p. 19, 20, 82. 106. Neuman's Works, p. 123. Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 626.

[f] The largeſt Quantity of Calaminaris taken up by Copper is about one third. Braſs may be made with Zink; and no doubt it is the Zink ſublimed from the Calamine that enters the Copper; but ſtill Experience ſhews, Calamine gives a better Colour, and the Braſs is more ductile than when made with Zink. A greater Quantity of our Calamine is taken up by Copper, and it contains more Zink, than any other, ſometimes one half.

Commodity,

Commodity, yet we have not made Braſs long before the Commencement of the preſent Century [g]. It is alſo uſed for other Purpoſes, particularly in Medicine, as a great Deſiccative, more eſpecially in the Inflammation and other Diſeaſes of the Eyes [h]. But the Credit, if not the Value of Calamine, is very much raiſed ſince an ingenious Countryman of ours diſcovered that was the true Mine of Zink [i]. This Mineral was indeed known before to our Miners by the Name of SPELTER; but they knew not that Spelter was Zink, or that it could be extracted from Lapis Calaminaris [k], much leſs had they any Conception, that this Spelter, which they deſpiſed as an Incumbrance, was in reality the ſame Thing as that boaſted Metal from China, ſo highly eſteemed under the ſounding Appellation of Tutenag [l]. Theſe however are indubitable Facts, which certainly do Honour to the Enquiries of the preſent Age, and ſuch as will turn highly to the Advantages of Ages that are to come. But even at preſent they fall within our Plan, as they are apparent Evidences of the natural and inherent Riches of this Country [m].

COBALT, is a denſe, ponderous, bright, ſtriated, ſhining Mineral, much reſembling ſome of the Ores of Antimony [n]. It is from this Mineral that White Arſenic is produced, as from a Mixture of this with Sulphur proceed Yellow and Red Arſenics. But the great Value of Cobalt does not ariſe from being the Matrix of theſe Poiſons, though even theſe have their Uſes and their Price [o]. It is from this Mineral that the fineſt Blues for enamelling,

[g] Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, ch. xviii. Maline's Lex Mercatoria, p. 59, 60. Roberts's Merchant's Map of Commerce, p. 293.

[h] Dictionaire Univerſelle d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 395. Diſſertations Chymiques deM. Pot, tom. iii. diſſ. vii. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. xi.

[i] The late ingenious Dr. Iſaac Lawſon, who died before he had made any Advantage of his Diſcovery.

[k] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 482, p. 670, where there is an Account of a Cylinder of a Fire Engine made of Spelter, which what it was, the Writer profeſſes he did not know. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 129. Yet in Blount's Gloſſographia, London 1681, 8vo. p. 604. we find, "Spelter a Kind of Metal not known to the Ancients, which the Germans call Zink". He probably took it from Sir John Pettus.

[l] This is the ſimpleſt and beſt Manner of Writing this Word. The principal Mine is in the Province of Hon quang in the very Center of China.

[m] If we compare the Sentiments of thoſe who recommended many Improvements a Century or two ago, and the Progreſs made in them at this Day, what is ſaid in the Text will appear highly probable. Tutenag was brought in Ballaſt by our Eaſt India Ships, and came to a good Market here. There was long a Prejudice abroad in Favour of the Indian Zink; but by Degrees the moſt eminent Metallurgiſts have declared in Favour of ours.

[n] Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 148—153. Macquer's Elements, vol. i. p. 158. ii. p. 70. Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 625. Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 396. p. 192. L. Erckerns's Aſſays.

[o] Arſenic is uſed in making ſome Sorts of Glaſs, in glazing, and by the Enamellers, which accounts for the Quantities that are conſumed.

painting, colouring China, and many other Purpoſes, not to mention waſhing and ſtarching, which, however, are very conſiderable Articles, are drawn [p]. It was from hence that the worthy Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Commerce, conſidering the large Sums which went annually out of theſe Kingdoms for ſuch neceſſary Commodities in daily and conſtant Uſe, were prompted to offer, as they very prudently did, a Premium for the diſcovering a COBALT MINE in South Britain, which was claimed ſome Years ago by a Gentleman in Cornwall, who upon due Proof received it [q]. This Mine however might be as well called a Mine of Biſmuth, there being as great Quantities of one Mineral found therein as of the other, and which is ſo far from being a Diſparagement, that it is an Advantage, both Minerals yielding a blue Colour [r]. Cobalt, being firſt freed from the Arſenic it contains, is then ſo treated in Furnaces properly contrived for the Purpoſe, as that being melted with a Quantity of powdered Flints, and then ſprinkled with Water, it forms a hard ſtony Subſtance called ZAFFRE or AZURE STONE [s]. The ſame Mineral being mixed with Pot-aſh and Sand in proper Quantities makes SMALT [t]; this being beaten ſmall becomes Powder Blue; and that ſifted very fine, and divided according to the different Height of its Colours, the deepeſt and fineſt of theſe is what is ſtiled Enamel Blue [u]. The Richneſs of the Cobalt is determined by the Quantity of the other Ingredients it abſorbs, which is at leaſt equal and never exceeds four Times its Quantity [w].

[p] Dictionaire de Chymie, tom. i. p. 269. Mineralogie, tom. ii. p. 36. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. i. p. 323.

[q] The Premium, which was thirty Guineas promiſed in 1754, and claimed in December the ſame Year, came to Francis Beauchamp, Eſq; in whoſe Lands at Gwenap it was diſcovered. We have little Reaſon to doubt, that on a careful Inſpection other Cobalt Mines might be diſcovered in the ſame County, and in other Parts of Britain.

[r] Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 152, 153. Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 625. Borlace's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 130, 131.

[s] It may be doubted whether this Subſtance be melted or only mixed with the Powder of calcined Flints and Water. It comes in Barrels, and takes the Shape of them, being very hard and firm, and thence called Azure Stone. Formerly this Name was given to Lapis Lazuli, and the blue Colour prepared from thence Ultramarine, but now it is confined to this Subſtance; and much of the Colour prepared from it being made in Holland, it is ſometimes ſtiled Dutch Ultramarine.

[t] As this is the capital Article, and may be made equally well from Biſmuth and Cobalt, it would be a national Advantage to eſtabliſh, which is certainly practicable, the Manufacture of it in Cornwall. The Importance of this will more clearly appear in a ſubſequent Note, in which we ſhall mention the great Advantages ariſing from the Mine of Cobalt (the only one wrought) in Saxony.

[u] It is the great Excellence of this Colour, that it does not ſuffer by Fire, which occaſions a great Conſumption in painting earthen Ware and Porcelain.

[w] Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 116. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 151, 152, 153. Macquer's Elements of Chemiſtry, vol. ii. p. 74, 75, 76.

BLACK Lead is what ſome have ſuppoſed with very little Reaſon to be the Molybdena or Galena of Pliny [x]; others ſtile it Plumbago. Our judicious Camden in whoſe Days it was a new Thing, would not venture to give it a Latin Name, but calls it a metallic Earth, or hard ſhining ſtony Subſtance; which whether it was the Pnigitis or Melanteria of Dioſcorides, or an Ochre burned to Blackneſs in the Earth, and ſo unknown to the Ancients, he left others to enquire [y]. Dr. Merret, from the Uſe to which it was firſt applied, named it Nigrica Fabrilis [z]. The learned Boyle is of Opinion that it has not any Thing metallic in its Nature [a]; relying upon which, we have ventured to give it a Place here. It is indeed a very ſingular Subſtance, but being very common, and conſequently very well known, it would be needleſs to deſcribe it. It is found, but in very trivial Quantities, in ſeveral Mines here, and it may be alſo in other Countries [b]. But the ſole Mine in which it is found by itſelf is on Barrowdale, about ſix Miles from Keſwick, in the County of Cumberland [c]. It is there called Wadd, and thoſe who are beſt acquainted with it, ſtile it a black, pinguid, ſhining Earth, which they ſuppoſe to be impregnated with Lead and Antimony [d].

WHEN it was firſt diſcovered the People uſed it to mark their Sheep [e]. It was afterwards introduced into Medicine, and taken in Powder for the Cure of the Cholic and the Gravel; but it has been ſince applied to many other Purpoſes. It ſerves to ſcour, to clean, and to give a Luſtre to wrought Iron, and to defend it from Ruſt; it is applied in the varniſhing Crucibles, and other earthen Veſſels that are to be expoſed to the fierceſt Fire, which end it anſwers effectually [f]. But after all, the great Conſumption of it is

[x] Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxiii cap. 6. xxxiv. cap. 18. It is impoſſible on reading the Deſcription of of Molybdena to conceive it has any Affinity to our Black Lead, though foreign Authors call by that Name a Subſtance found in Pruſſia, which ſerves for making Pencils, and comes from thence to be confounded with ours, which it in no other Circumſtance reſembles.

[y] Britan. p. 631. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 170, Sir John Pettus in his Eſſays on metallic Words, under Lead.

[z] Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 218.

[a] Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 27. He ſays it is a Mineral ſui generis, approaching to a Talc.

[b] Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 130. Dictionaire d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 459. Diſſertations Chymiques de M. Pott. tom. iv. diſſ. i.

[c] Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, vol. i. p. 185. 198.

[d] Robinſon's Natural Hiſtory of Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, p. 74, 75: he ſays it is a Mundick Metal. This is a Term extremely vague, uſed by the Miners in ſeveral Counties to expreſs a Variety of Mineral Subſtances, indeed any Subſtance they cannot explain the Nature of. Mr. Robinſon ſays alſo, that by a violent Heat a Regulus may be extracted from it reſembling Silver in Colour and Brightneſs, but not malleable.

[e] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 240, p. 183. where Dr. Plott obſerves it was called Nigra fabrilis, in Oppoſition to Rubrica fabrilis, or Ruddle.

[f] If theſe Circumſtances are maturely weighed, it may perhaps ſeem not improbable, that together with Talc there may be a Mixture of Zink.

in.

in two Articles, in Dyeing, to fix Blues ſo as that they may never change their Colour; and in Pencils [g]; and the being confined to this Country is ſo well known and ſo univerſally allowed, that they are from thence ſtiled abroad *Crayons d'Angleterre* [h]. It ariſes from hence, that the Nature of this Subſtance is little known to Foreigners, the moſt learned of whom ſpeak of it very confuſedly, and with much Incertainty [i]. Theſe farther Particulars we may venture to affirm concerning it, without any Danger of miſleading our Readers; That the Mine before mentioned is private Property, is opened but once in Seven Years, and the Quantity known to be equal to the Conſumption in that Space ſold at once; and as it is uſed without any Preparation, it is more valuable than the Ore of any Metal found in this Iſland. But there is nothing improbable, and much leſs impoſſible, in ſuppoſing that other, and it may be many other Uſes will be diſcovered in Medicine, Painting, Dyeing, Varniſhing or Pottery, which would certainly contribute to raiſe the Value of a Mineral peculiar to this Country, and with the Nature of which, though ſo long in our Poſſeſſion, we are ſtill ſo imperfectly acquainted.

It is very natural in ſpeaking of our Metals to give the Preference to Tin, which certainly made it firſt known, and as ſome very learned Men think, gave its Appellation to this Iſland [n]. Mines of Tin firſt rendered the Scilly Iſles, then Devonſhire and Cornwall, famous; to which laſt County they are now, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, chiefly confined [o]. Tin, though in itſelf the lighteſt, in its Ore is the heavieſt of Metals. It is very ſeldom if ever found pure, and the Appearances of its Ore are very different [p]. The fineſt and richeſt are ſtiled Tin-Grains, or Corns of Tin, being Cryſtals of a black Colour of different Sizes [q]. It is alſo found in a heavy black Stone, ſometimes in a more porous yellow coloured Stone, and is

[g] Robinſon's Natural Hiſtory of Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, p. 75, 76. Sir John Pettus under Lead, in his Eſſays on metallic Words.

[h] There are a Variety of Names for what Foreigners take to be black Lead, ſuch as Molybdene, Potelet, Mine de Plomb noire, ou Savonneuſe, Plomb de Mer, Plombagine, Plomb de Mine, Ceruſe-noire, Talc-blende, Fauſſe Galene, Mica des Peintres, or Crayon de Plomb. But whether theſe Names belong to any one Subſtance, and whether that is our Black Lead, is not at all clear. On the contrary, it is more probable that theſe Appellations belong to different Subſtances, none of which are the ſame with our Mineral.

[i] Dictionaire d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 458, 459. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. i. p. 401. Miſcellanea Berolinenſia, tom. vi. p. 29.

[n] Bochart. Canaan. lib. i. cap. xxxix. derives Britain from Barat Anac, i. e. Ager Stanni, a Land of Tin.

[o] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 343, 344.

[p] Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, vol. i. p. 199. ii. p. 30, 107. Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 628, 629. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 160.

[q] Though generally Black, they are not always ſo, but ſometimes white, aſh-coloured, or red, reſembling Glaſs, and very rich in Metal.

commonly

commonly intermixed with Spar, Arſenic, Lead, and other Bodies[r]. As Metal it is white, ſhining, melts with a gentle Heat; ductile, ſo as to ſpread under the Hammer into Leaf, which Iron and Copper will not do; but yet cannot be drawn into Wire as thoſe Metals may[s]. It is not ſonorous in itſelf, and yet makes other Metals ſo, when mixed with them[t]. In point of Gravity, it is as Seven to One in reſpect to Water, and as Seven to Nineteeen in regard to Gold[u]. Tin Mines are generally found on the Sides of Hills, though Veins ſometimes paſs through Vallies or Brooks between two Hills, and are followed to the oppoſite Hill[w]. They work with infinite Difficulty through hard Rocks, to the Depth of from three to ſeventy Fathoms; and it is no leſs troubleſome than dangerous, where the Earth is looſe and apt to crumble[x]. Great Quantities of Timber are conſumed in theſe ſubterraneous Works, which are freed from Water by the Help of Fire Engines, and other Contrivances. The Veins are of incertain Thickneſs from three Inches to three Feet[y]. Tin Grains, or Corns of Tin, yield Five Parts in Eight of Metal; whereas Tin Stones yield only from One in thirty, to One in Sixty, and to One in a Hundred and twenty, for even theſe are wrought to ſome ſmall Profit[z]. The Ore when collected is broke, waſhed, ſtamped by Mills, and otherwiſe treated to fit it for the Melting-Houſe, which is called Dreſſing; except the Tin Grains, which need no ſuch Preparation. After melting it is called BLACK TIN; but before it can be expoſed to Sale it is carried to one of the five coinage Towns, where after Examination of a Piece that is broke from a Corner of the Block, the

[r] Tin is alſo found in the Moor-ſtone or Granite, in the Elvan, a blue Stone very hard, in looſe Stones ſpread in Floors, in Mud, and in Sand waſhed in by the Sea.

[s] Lazarus Erckerns's Aſſays, iv. 10—16. Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 98. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 65. 90. Macquer's Elements of Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 69. 153. 370. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. vi.

[t] Dr. Shaw, in his curious and uſeful Notes on Boerhaave, hath ſome very juſt and inſtructive Remarks on this ſingular Circumſtance.

[u] This is the true Characteriſtic of Metals, by which they are diſtinguiſhed from other Subſtances, and one from another.

[w] Becauſe Mines are moſt common in mountainous Countries, the Veins being more readily diſcovered, and the Works eaſier carried on, this connects the Idea of Mines with Mountains, ſo that we can ſcarce ſeparate them. But in Nature they have no ſuch Connection; in America many rich Mines are in low Ground, and in our own, the Mines in Swale Dale in Yorkſhire, thoſe near Newland in Glouceſterſhire, and in Braſſington Moor in Derbyſhire, are in Plains.

[x] Hence they are Sources of much Labour and Expence, maintaining thereby Numbers of People comfortably by the Fruit of their own Induſtry.

[y] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 69, p. 2096. N°. 138, p. 949. Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, vol. i. p. 199. vol. ii. p. 30. 85. 107.

[z] The Principle which excites that indefatigable Induſtry viſible in this Country is the Profits being divided. The Lord of the Soil has commonly a clear Sixth. But in Mines wrought with Difficulty and Hazard, is often content with a Ninth, a Twelfth, or a Fifteenth, the Reſt being divided amongſt the Adventurers, and this it is that by keeping Hope alive, leſſens the Senſe of Labour, and ſupports the Spirit of Mining. A Circumſtance that deſerves the deepeſt Attention.

Arms

Arms of the Dutchy of Cornwall are impreſſed with a Hammer, and then it is called WHITE TIN [a]. The Duty on Coinage, which is four Shillings on the Hundred-weight, belongs to the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall, and produces a Revenue of upwards of Ten thouſand Pounds per Annum.

THE Uſes of Tin are many; it is ſometimes given in Medicine; Preparations from thence are employed as Coſmetics; it is uſed in varniſhing Earthen Ware; in Conjunction with Mercury it makes the Foliage ſpread on the Back of Looking-glaſſes; amalgamated with Quickſilver, Sulphur, and Sal ammoniac, it produces the Moſaic Gold [c]; the Calx poliſhes Glaſs, Steel, &c. the compound Calx is what we call Putty [d]; it is alſo uſed in Solder [e]: Another Manner in which it is uſed in this and in other Countries, is what is called Tinning, or as the French ſtile it Etamage, by which Copper Veſſels are rendered neater in Appearance, and ſafer in Uſe. When applied on thin Plates of Iron, which we did not practiſe here till the Beginning of the preſent Century, it becomes fit for many Uſes, and furniſhes a Variety of neat and wholeſome Utenſils; it enters into the Compoſition of Bell-metal, of Printers Types, and to it we owe the Elegance, Hardneſs, and Beauty of our Pewter, of which at Home and Abroad there is ſo great Conſumption [f]. Before we diſmiſs this Subject, we muſt obſerve, that the deep ruby Colour extracted from Gold uſed by Painters in Enamel, is made by precipitating the Solution of that Metal in Aqua Regia, with Calx of Tin, and in this Reſpect it is highly uſeful in ſtriking all Scarlet Dyes [g]. This Metal has been at all Times one of our Staple Commodities, and very profitable. At preſent there are good Grounds to believe the Mines in Cornwall produce of this Metal to the Amount of Two hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum, which is about four Times as much as they did at the Beginning of the laſt Century [h]. Tin is found in Saxony and

[a] For theſe Coinage Towns, ſee Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 345.

[b] Theſe Blocks weigh Three hundred and Twenty Pounds, the Stamp authenticates the Purity, and implies a Permiſſion to vend the Tin as being ſo.

[c] This Aurum Moſaicum or Muſivum, is a Pigment uſed in writing or embelliſhing Letters in a very beautiful Gold Colour; it is alſo uſed in ſtaining Glaſs and in marbling Paper.

[d] This is not the Glaziers or Painters Putty, but a Powder of calcined Tin, uſed in giving the laſt Poliſh to fine Works in Steel, &c. We had better write it Puty; the French call it Potée.

[e] It is of Conſequence to enumerate the principal Uſes of Metals, that an Idea may be better formed of their Value from the various Channels of Conſumption.

[f] We ſend annually to different Parts of Europe, Africa, and the Eaſt Indies about 8000 Cwt. and about the ſame Quantity to our Plantations.

[g] Tin imparts this Quality to Pewter, and for this Reaſon Vats of this Metal are uſed in general by the Scarlet Dyers. See Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 183.

[h] See the ingenious and worthy Dr. Borlaſe's natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 183. See alſo Maline's Lex Mercatoria, p. 59.

Bohemia

in Sweden and Bohemia, but in ſmall Quantities [i], and much inferior in Quality to ours, as Foreigners who are the moſt proper and impartial Judges unanimouſly allow [k]. In conſequence of this there is a conſtant and conſiderable Exportation both of wrought and unwrought Tin [l]. On the latter there is a Duty of three Shillings on every Hundred-weight; but the former is, as it ought to be, exported free [m]. It is more than probable, that by proper Attention, and a few neceſſary Regulations, the Exportation of this Metal might be rendered more beneficial to the Nation [n].

IRON, the moſt uſeful, and through the wiſe Diſtribution of Providence, the moſt common of all Metals, is plentifully found in all Parts of the Britiſh Dominions [o]. The Romans wrought, and it is probable were the firſt who wrought our Mines, as appears from their Medals found in the Heaps of Slags and Cinders, which are the only Monuments remaining of their Induſtry in this Particular [p]. The Ore hath many different Appearances. Some is ſtiled *Bruſh* Ore, as being compoſed of Threads growing on a red Kind of Earth, or hanging from the Tops of Caves or old Works. Some in Stones of a reddiſh, blueiſh, or grey Colours, ſometimes in a Sort of

[i] There were Tin Mines in Spain: Thoſe in Saxony were diſcovered in the thirteenth Century by an Engliſhman who fled from Cornwall, who taught the Saxons how to work their Mines and dreſs their Metal. It is found in Siam and in the Peninſula of Malacca in the Eaſt Indies, and in Japan. There are Tin Mines alſo in Spaniſh America, as Alonzo Barba informs us, but being in the Vicinity of richer Metals are ſeldom wrought.

[k] The Tinners in Cornwall have great Advantages, ſuch as the Number of their Mines, the great Quantities of Metal in their Ores, the Facility (in Compariſon of others) with which it is wrought; and, which ought to be the greateſt of all, the Superiority of their Metal authenticated by the Coinage Mark. But this avails us little, ſince, as Dr. Neuman obſerves, p. 89. there is not a Tin-founder in Holland who has not Engliſh Stamps, by the Help of which he paſſes his Compoſition, be it what it may, and come it from where it will, for Corniſh Block Tin. There cannot be a clearer or more convincing Proof than this of the Excellency of our Engliſh Tin, or a better Ground for hoping we ſhall continue in Poſſeſſion of this Staple.

[l] The Subſtances that enter into the Compoſition of wrought Tin or Pewter are, Martial Regulus of Antimony, Zink, Biſmuth, Copper, Iron, Princes-metal; of two or three of theſe (for every Pewterer has his particular Method of compounding) they put two or three Pounds to an Hundred-weight of Tin, and by this Means make an hard, ſonorous, ſilver-like Metal. When foreign Writers mention Engliſh Tin they often mean Pewter, as appears by their Deſcriptions.

[m] Stat. 8 & 9. William III. cap. xxxiv. § 1. and wrought Tin was declared free by 8 Geo. I. cap. xv.

[n] Borlaſe's Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 183.

[o] Iron is found in Cornwall, Cumberland, Derbyſhire, Devonſhire, Durham, Glouceſterſhire, Hampſhire, Kent, Lancaſhire, Monmouthſhire, Shropſhire, Somerſetſhire, Staffordſhire, Suſſex, Warwickſhire, Wiltſhire, Yorkſhire, and in many Parts of North Britain, Ireland, and in North America.

[p] See O. Walker's Greek and Roman Hiſtory, illuſtrated by Coins and Medals, in the Dedication to William Charleton, Eſq; Richardſon's Account of Antiquities in Yorkſhire, preſerved by Hearne in Leland's Itinerary, tom. i. p. 141. Remarks of the Rev. Mr. Francis Brokeſby, in his Travels through different Parts of England, in Leland's Itinerary, tom. vi. p. 95.

ſtiff unctuous Clay, and ſometimes in a black Sand [q]. When free from its Ore, the Metal is cloſe, hard, fuſible, ductile into Wire, ſonorous, and elaſtic [r]. In reſpect to Weight, it is in regard to Water as Seventy-eight to Ten, but to Gold as Seventy-eight to One hundred Ninety-ſix. The Mines are from Twelve to Fifty, and very rarely are more than Sixty Feet deep. The Veins or Loads, like thoſe of Tin, are of very different Dimenſions, and their Contents of very different Natures, which rather than their Size determine their Value. It is however found by Experience, that mixing together Ores of very different Qualities hath very good Effects [s]. It is wrought ſo as to render it fit for Uſe, with much Trouble and at no ſmall Expence.

Some Ore is roaſted before it can be ſmelted. This laſt Operation is performed in a large open Furnace, the Fuel and Ore being mixed, and the Fire kept to the greateſt Height by two Pair of large Bellows, moved by a Wheel driven by Water [t]. When the Metal is melted, it is let out of the Receivers into a Bed of Sand, which hath one large and ſeveral ſmall Diviſions, in which it lies and cools. The Iron in the large Diviſion is called a Sow, and in the ſmaller Pigs [u]. When the Furnace is once charged they keep it continually ſupplied with Ore and Fuel, and as Occaſion requires let out the Metal for ſeveral Months. In the Foreſt of Dean, the richeſt Ore produces an hard brittle Iron, but by mixing Slag and Cinders therewith, it becomes the toughеſt and beſt we have [w]. Pig Iron, though Metal, and fit for ſome Uſes, is not malleable [x]. In order to give the Me-

[q] Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, p. 159. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 215. Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, vol. i. p. 223—234. vol. ii. p. 36—38. 86. 108. Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 629. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 195. Beſides thoſe mentioned in the Text there are other Iron Ores, ſuch as Hæmatites or Bloodſtone, the Magnet or Loadſtone, Smiris or Emery, and Magneſia or Manganeſe, all of them found in Britain.

[r] Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 197. Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 93. Neuman's Works, p. 68—85. Macquer's Elements, vol. i. p. 63. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. v.

[s] In this Caſe they ſeem to act as Fluxes to each other; and it is ſaid that different Sorts of Ore, none of which ſeparately could have been wrought to much Profit, have anſwered well when mixed. See a very curious and remarkable Inſtance of this in Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. p. 301.

[t] It is from this and other Improvements that our Mines yield much more than formerly. In the old Times they ſcarce made in their Foot-blaſts or Bloomeries One Hundred-weight in a Day, and left as much or more Metal in their Slaggs; whereas they now make two or three Tons of Iron in the ſame Space, and leave a mere Cinder behind. It is ſaid that about a Century ago there were Eight hundred Forges in England.

[u] This is what the French call Fer en gueuſe, and alſo Fer de Fonte. Sows and Pigs are of different Sizes, thoſe which run firſt are ſmalleſt.

[w] This ſome have thought proceeded from the Attraction of the finer Parts of the Metal remaining in the Slagg by the new Iron, and combining therewith.

[x] Such as Pots, Kettles, Bullets, Bombs, Chimney Backs, and other coarſe Works; but this Iron is ſtill full of vitreous Impurities, which are expelled by repeated Operations.

tali

tal that neceſſary Quality, it is carried to the Forges, and there heated and hammered in every Direction, till the heterogeneous Matter being expelled, it is thoroughly incorporated, united, and as the Workmen call it welded together [y]. After this it is divided at the ſlitting Mills, and then it is ſtiled BAR IRON [z]. The Uſes of this moſt valuable Metal are by far too many to admit, and too well known to require an Explanation here [a].

STEEL is made from Iron by Cementation, and employed in all the finer Manufactures, in ſome of which by the Skill and Induſtry of the Artificers it is raiſed to a very high Value [b]. There is no Room to doubt, that in every one of the three Kingdoms there may be enough Iron found to ſupply all the Britiſh Dominions, and yet we import very large Quantities from the North, from Spain, and from America [c]. The Reaſon of this is, becauſe the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries can make it cheaper. For Iron being ſmelted in an open Fire, and hitherto in general with Charcoal only, the Oil of which is ſuppoſed to be uſeful in making the Metal tough; whereas Pit Coal, as is commonly thought, makes it hard and brittle, we cannot, except in ſome Places, afford that Expence [d]. It is therefore earneſtly to be wiſhed, that as it has been often propoſed and promiſed, the Uſe of Pit Coal could be generally introduced, ſo as to anſwer in all Reſpects as well as Charcoal, which would be of very great Service, and be very much to the Advantage of the Nation [e]. But before we conclude this Article it is very neceſſary to obſerve, that the Importation of foreign Iron turns highly to our

[y] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 137, p. 931. N°. 199. p. 695. N°. 403. p. 480. There are two Forges commonly under one Roof. The firſt is called the Finery (Affinerie) where it is heated and hammered alternately till rendered pure. The ſecond is ſtiled the Chafrey (Chauferie) where it is alſo heated and hammered into large Bars.

[z] In this State it is complete as a Commodity, and fit for Sale to the Manufacturers in Iron, who know how to diſtinguiſh the Sorts that are fitteſt for their reſpective Purpoſes.

[a] It furniſhes in Agriculture and in Arts all the Inſtruments for a vaſt Variety of Purpoſes; and if Utility was reſpected in Titles, had never been ſtiled a *baſe Metal*.

[b] In which the Time, Labour, and Skill of the Workmen are to be paid for, and of Courſe encreaſe the Price of the Metal. As in Buckles, Sciſſars, fine Inſtruments of all Kinds, Springs of different Sorts, particularly Watch Springs.

[c] In Countries where this Metal abounds, and can be made cheap, it is exported as a Commodity. Ruſſia exports annually 300,000 Pouds, or 6000 Tons. Sweden, 300,000 Schipponds, or 48,000 Tons. Norway to the Amount of 400,000 Rix Dollars. A great deal, and eſpecially Steel, comes from Tranſilvania, Hungary, and different Parts of Germany, and ſome from Holland, which is brought from Germany, and only wrought there into another Form.

[d] The Iron Works in Mendip Hills had long ſince deſtroyed the Oaks in that Foreſt. But in ſome Places Woods are preſerved for the Supply of the Iron Works.

[e] In Lancaſhire Time out of Mind they have uſed Turf with Charcoal, and prefer it to Charcoal alone. They tried Pit Coal but without Succeſs. Yet in 1746, Mr. Ford (in Colebroke Dale in Shropſhire) the ſame Perſon who made a Cylinder of Spelter, made Iron brittle or tough as he pleaſed with Pit Coal, both Ore and Fuel being found in the ſame Dale. At this Time, as I have been well informed, Iron is wrought with Pit Coal at the Carron Works in North Britain.

Advantage, for we import it in our own Bottoms, much of it from our own Colonies, and, except from theſe, under a Duty [f]; and when manufactured here, in which a vaſt Number of Hands in different Parts of the Iſland are continually employed; it furniſhes an immenſe Exportation, and no ſmall Part of this to the very Countries where the Iron was produced [g].

COPPER is plentifully found in all the Britiſh Territories [h]. Yet though known long before, our Mines have not been wrought above Two hundred Years, and not to any great Purpoſe till within the preſent Century [i]. This Metal is ſometimes found pure, or very nearly ſo, and that in ſo large Pieces as to make it neceſſary to break them in the Mine before they can be conveniently raiſed [k]. But in general, like other Metals, involved in ſtony Cruſts of all Colours [l], and even many of theſe are beautifully blended together, whence the Ore receives the Name of the Peacock's Tail [m]. This ſtony Ore is ſo intimately mixed with, and adheres ſo cloſely to the Metal, that it is extremely difficult to ſeparate them, which is one principal Cauſe of the Dearneſs of Copper. This Metal is of a bright orange Red, cloſe, hard, malleable, ductile into Wire, ſonorous, and elaſtic; and is not only wrought on by all Solvents, but even by Water, which makes it very apt to ruſt [n]. In point of Gravity, it is as Nine to One in reſpect to Water, and in regard to Gold as Nine to Nineteen [o]. The

[f] Theſe Duties are very judiciouſly regulated, for the Support of Commerce, and the promoting our own Manufacture.

[g] To Sweden, Spain, and America, through the ſuperior Dexterity of our Mechanics, and ſeveral Means employed in promoting Expedition.

[h] In great Plenty in Cardiganſhire, Cheſhire, Cornwall, Cumberland, Derbyſhire, Devonſhire, Lancaſhire, Iſle of Man, Northumberland, Shropſhire, Somerſetſhire, Staffordſhire, Yorkſhire, Wales, Warwickſhire, Weſtmorland, in North Britain, in Ireland, and in America.

[i] This was occaſioned chiefly by thoſe Errors and Incertainties in our Laws in regard to Mines, which are now happily removed.

[k] Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 203.

[l] Plot's Staffordſhire, p. 165. Woodward's Foſſils, vol. i. p. 193—198. vol. ii. p. 24—27. 83. 106. Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 91, 92. Macquer's Elements, vol. i. p. 59. Hill's Foſſils, p. 632. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. iv.

[m] L. Erckerns's Aſſays, the whole Third Book. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 67. He alſo aſſerts that Lapis Lazuli ought to be conſidered as a Copper Ore.

[n] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. i. P. ii. col. 1230, 1231. Diſſertations Chymiques de M. Pott, tom. iii. p. 297—586. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. iv. Dictionaire de Chymie, tom. i. p. 333. Mineralogie de Bomare, tom. i. p. 175—205. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. i. p. 411. Beauſobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, tom. i. p. 127.

[o] What we are told of Copper from Japon being heavier than any European Copper is not true; Swediſh Copper, according as it is refined, is ſometimes heavier and ſometimes a little lighter, in this Proportion, 8,834, 8,799, 8,734; the middle Number repreſenting the Japon Copper, and the firſt and third Swediſh, and Water eſteemed 1,000. At Amſterdam Swediſh fetches the ſame Price as Japon, that is about 70 Florins for 100 lb. An Halfpenny of the Coin of Charles II. weighed 9000, our Copper being when pure as heavy as any.

Mines are wrought to a great Depth, ſometimes to more than a hundred Fathom, often through a very hard Rock, and conſequently with much Labour and at a vaſt Expence [p]. The Veins or Loads are much wider, thicker, and richer than thoſe of either Tin or Iron; ſo that on the firſt opening of a Mine in Cornwall, it threw up, that is the Miners Term, as much Copper in a Fortnight as ſold for Five thouſand Seven hundred Pounds, and in the next three Weeks and two Days as much more as came to Nine thouſand Six hundred Pounds [q]. But this was a very extraordinary Caſe, and what is not often to be expected [r].

THE ſeparating the Metal from the Ore is a very arduous and intricate Operation; for firſt it is broken to Pieces in the Mine, then raiſed, ranged according to its Sizes, waſhed, picked, ſtamped, and ſorted [s]. When brought to the Melting-houſe, it is firſt roaſted, next ſtamped again, and then melted, when it is ſtiled RED COPPER [t], and having ſtill heterogeneous Subſtances mixed with it, melted over again perhaps more than once, and then it is ſtiled BLACK COPPER [u]; if it is ſuſpected to hold Silver, as it frequently does, it is returned to the Furnace, where a Proportion of Lead is added, and then it is expoſed only to ſuch a Degree of Heat as is ſufficient to melt the Lead, which attracts and carries away the Silver, leaving the Block of Copper honey-combed [w]. This is afterwards melted, and becomes at laſt what is called ROSE COPPER, that is, perfectly fine and pure [x]. The Uſes of this Metal, like thoſe of Iron, are too numerous to be inſiſted on here; it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that its Malleability, Flexibility, Ductility, and Elaſticity, render it fit almoſt for every Thing to

[p] This is to be underſtood of our Mines, for in foreign Countries there are ſome much deeper, as having been longer wrought.

[q] Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 206. This Mine is in Huel Virgin, in the Pariſh of Gwenap, and the Fact happened in July and Auguſt 1757.

[r] It might contribute to the rendering theſe Mines more valuable, if, as in Germany, we were aſſiduous in extracting the richer Metals from the Copper, which though it might be formerly very prudently declined, from the Fear of its being ſeized as a Mine-royal, yet now when there are no ſuch Apprehenſions, private and publick Intereſt unite in recommending ſuch Endeavours.

[s] Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 203, 204, 205. Yet our Ores are by no Means ſo refractory as in ſome other Countries.

[t] In this Fuſion a proper Flux is uſed to diſpoſe the Metal to ſeparate from the earthy, ſtony, ſulphureous, and arſenical Particles with which it is intermixed.

[u] The Copper in this State continues ſtill mixed, but mixed with metallic Particles, chiefly Lead and Iron, from which it muſt be alſo purified.

[w] In Germany Copper is frequently mixed with Silver, which they are very dextrous in diſcovering, from the Appearance of the Ore, as alſo in the Block.

[x] In ſome of the richeſt Mines in Hungary their Copper requires fourteen Meltings to render it fine.

which Metal can be applied [y]. Beſides we are to remember, that from Copper Braſs is made, and from thence all the numberleſs Articles that are manufactured for public and private Uſe, from our heavy Artillery down to the Furniture of our Kitchens, and which Occaſions no ſmall Conſumption drawn into Wire for Pins [z].

Verdigrise might be alſo made in this as well as in other Countries, and it is really amazing that we have hitherto neglected ſo obvious and at the ſame Time ſo valuable an Improvement [a]. Yet the not making any Uſe of Waters highly impregnated with Metal from the Copper Mines, after the immenſe Profit that has been made by throwing old Iron into them in Ireland [b], is ſtill more amazing, eſpecially as very fine blue Vitriol hath been obtained from thoſe Waters in Cornwall, and is a Thing not attempted any where elſe [c]. In reference to the Value of our Copper Mines we can only form Conjectures, and theſe may very eaſily deceive us. We are told that the Copper Ore raiſed in Cornwall produces Two hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum [d]; and ſome have gueſſed, with what Accuracy I cannot pretend to ſay; that the Corniſh Mines do not yield more than a fifth of what is produced in Britain. It is alſo very certain, that there are many Veins of Copper well known, that are not wrought on account of the great Expences attending ſuch Undertakings, more eſpecially at the be-

[y] The Ancients ſurpaſſed us in giving a Temper and an Edge to Copper. M. de Caylus, having communicated his Sentiments on this Subject to Mr. Geoffroy the younger, that ingenious Chemiſt undertook and accompliſhed the Diſcovery or Revival of this loſt Art. We are told this by the Count de Caylus himſelf, to whom the World is indebted for ſo many learned Works.

[z] Theſe little Implements are made of Braſs Wire blanched. The Manufacture is curious, and gives Bread to Multitudes, ſince from the Wire to the Pin there are twenty-five Hands employed.

[a] It is ſaid ſome Trials have been made with ſo great Succeſs, as that Verdigriſe made here was equal to any imported.

[b] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 118. where the Facts are related from indiſputable Authority, and are indeed of publick Notoriety.

[c] Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 207. where he informs us that this was diſcovered by Mr. Rouby at Plymouth, and in conſequence of this a Vitriol Manufacture ſet up at Redruth in Cornwall. It is from hence this ingenious Gentleman, to whom his native County ſtands ſo much indebted, takes Occaſion to recommend the Method of procuring Copper by diſſolving Iron in vitriolick Waters.

[d] Id. ibid. p. 207. where he ſays it has produced to Cornwall 160,000 Pounds annually for ten Years paſt. But whoever reads and conſiders the Method in which the Ore is ſold according to his Account, will not think the Copper of Cornwall overvalued at £. 200,000, more eſpecially if he reflects on the Price of fine Copper at Amſterdam. Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 345. There is a Miſtake as to Coals paying Duty; for the Copper as well as Tin Works enjoy the Benefit of a Drawback in virtue of the Statutes, 9 Ann. cap. 6. § 54. and 14 Geo. II. cap. 41. § 3. We export annually to different Parts of the World and our own Colonies about 21,000 Cwt. of this Metal annually.

ginning.

ginning [e]. In Proceſs of Time, however, it is more than probable they will be opened as more Markets ſhall be found for their Produce.

LEAD is a Metal for which this Iſland was always famous. Our Mines were very probably wrought by the Britons, but certainly by the Romans; and one of their moſt learned Writers hath aſſured us, that the Produce was ſo great as to render it neceſſary to fix the Quantity that ſhould be raiſed [f]. The Saxons followed their Example, and indeed our Lead Mines were in all Ages amongſt the acknowledged Sources of our national Wealth, and ſo they ſtill remain. This Metal is very abundant in South Britain [g], North Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent Iſles. The Ore appears in many different Forms, and from thence receives ſeveral Names [h]. Sometimes from its Colour, it is ſtiled Grey, Blue, or White Ore; ſometimes from its Texture, it is called ſpringy, ſteel grained, and croſs grained Ore; and ſometimes from its Poſition, flat, plated, or bellied Ore. But the moſt common, is the diced, cubic, or teſſelated Ore [i]. In ſome Places it has been found ſo free from Spar, or other heterogeneous Matter, as to be almoſt pure, and this is called Naked Ore, and is very rich [k]. Lead when refined is the ſofteſt of all Metals, ſmooth, ductile, and little if at all ſonorous or elaſtic. It is in reference to Water as Eleven to One, and in reſpect to Gold as Eleven to Nineteen [l]. Mines of Lead are commonly on the Declivity of Hills, and thoſe in this Country are wrought from Ten to Seventy Fathom deep, cut with much Labour and with no ſmall Charge. The Veins are very irregular, ſometimes a few Inches only, and ſometimes ſeveral Feet in Extent [m]. The Ore is alſo ſometimes forced out of the Lead, and found looſe in pretty conſiderable Quantities, and at ſome Diſtance.

[e] It would contribute much to this if ſome Means could be found to leſſen the Number of Fuſions, or in other Reſpects to ſhorten the Proceſs of refining Copper.

[f] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxiv. cap. 17. where he ſays it was obtained with much Difficulty and Labour in France and Spain, but with great Facility in Britain.

[g] Cardiganſhire, Cheſhire, Cumberland, Derbyſhire, Devonſhire, Durham, Flintſhire, Glouceſterſhire, Lancaſhire, Iſle of Man, Monmouthſhire, Montgomeryſhire, Northumberland, Shropſhire, Somerſetſhire, Staffordſhire, Weſtmorland, and Yorkſhire.

[h] All Ores are ſubject to many accidental Alterations in the Earth, to which theſe different Appearances are to be referred; but the Metal when refined is preciſely the ſame.

[i] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 28. p. 535. N°. 39. p. 767. N°. 407. p. 22. L. Erckerns's Aſſays, Book iv. the firſt Nine Chapters. Plot's Staffordſhire, p. 166. 188, 189. Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 30. 34, 35. 644. Woodward's Foſſils, vol. i. p. 210—220. vol. ii. p. 27—30. 83—85. 107, 108. Hill's Foſſils, p. 635, 636.

[k] When ſmall, this very pure Ore is uſually ſtiled *Lead Grains*; when from the Size of ſmall Nuts to that of a Man's Fiſt *Naked Ore*, and in the North *Booſe Work*.

[l] Dictionaire d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. iv. p. 394. Diſſertations Chymiques de M. Pot, tom. i. p. 381. tom ii. p. 155—157. tom. iii. p. 126 286. 300. 304. 455. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. vii.

[m] Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 111, 112.

The Operation of ſeparating the Metal from the Ore is likewiſe attended with Trouble and Expence, though with leſs in both than Tin, Iron, or Copper [n]. In the firſt Place it is broke and beat to Pieces, next waſhed in a running Stream, then paſſed through Iron Sieves, and laſtly carried to the Furnace [o]. This is placed on a Hearth of Clay or Iron Stone, on which a Fire is made with Charcoal, and maintained with ſmall Wood. The Ore is thrown on this Fire, and as the Metal melts it runs down into a Receptacle prepared for it; thence, while liquid, it is lifted out in an Iron Ladle red-hot, and being caſt into a Bed of Sand it becomes, when cold, what they call a Pig of Lead [p]. There is a wide Difference in the Nature and Value of Ores, for ſome yield but thirty-five and others eighty Pound of Metal from One hundred of Ore [q]. But if they yield leſs than thirty-five they are not thought worth the Working, that is, unleſs the Ore is alſo known to hold Silver. In fact, all our Lead, or at leaſt almoſt all, holds Silver more or leſs; but the Term of holding Silver implies, that it holds a ſufficient Quantity to defray the Expence of extracting it with Profit; ſome Lead yields thirty Ounces of Silver in a Ton, ſome eighteen, and ſome only four Ounces [r]. The Ores richeſt in Lead hold none at all; that is, none that is worth extracting [s].

The Uſes to which this Metal is applied, either manufactured by itſelf, or in Compoſition with other Metals, would require and deſerve a particular Treatiſe, which would be in many Reſpects curious, entertaining, and inſtructive [t]. All that we ſhall ſay farther here is, that from Lead

[n] Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, B. iii. ch. xviii. Fuller's Worthies in Derbyſhire, p. 229, 230. Somerſetſhire, p. 17.

[o] This is the general Method; and though the Metal is eaſily obtained, yet Plenty making it cheap, none but rich Ores are ſmelted at preſent.

[p] Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 199—211. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 209. Brandſhagen's Trial of Ores and Minerals.

[q] Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 34, 35. Grew's Muſeum of the Royal Society, p. 329. Heton's Account of Mines, p. 155, 156.

[r] Junckeri Conſpectus Chemia, p. 777. Brauns Amœnetates Subterraneæ, Gloſſariæ, 1726, 4to. p. 51. Woodward's Foſſils, vol. ii. p. 29, 30. where he informs us, that a Lead Mine at Guarneck, in St. Allen's Pariſh, near Truro in Cornwall, produced One hundred and forty Ounces of Silver in a Ton, and was reputed the richeſt in England.

[s] Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. 207. Ray's Northern Words, p. 129. where there is an Account of the Manner of refining Lead, and extracting the Silver from it. This was done at that Time with white Coal and black, that is Charcoal and Twigs dried but not burnt. In 1692, a Company was incorporated for ſmelting and refining Lead with Pit Coal, which they have continued to do with great Succeſs.

[t] Until ſuch a Work appears the curious Reader may conſult Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 84—87. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 54—61. Macquer's Elements, vol. i. p. 7. 123. 153 379. vol. ii. p. 322. Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 224—239. Mineralogie de Bomare, tom. ii. p. 95—115. Dictionaire de Chymie, tom. ii. p. 263—271. Beauſobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, tom. i. p. 129.

ſome

ſome other Subſtances are produced, which from the large Conſumption of them may be regarded as Things of great Value. CERUSE, or WHITE LEAD, which is made by expoſing thin Plates of this Metal to the Fumes of Vinegar, which is the Baſis of ſeveral Kinds of Paint, ſerves for many other Purpoſes, and is alſo of ſome Uſe in Surgery, though not in Medicine[u]. There is likewiſe a very beautiful Colour made from the Calx of Lead, which paſſes commonly under the Name of YELLOW OCHRE[w]. Add to theſe MINIUM or RED LEAD, which is obtained by giving and continuing a certain high Degree of Heat to the Calx of Lead in a reverberatory Furnace[x]. It is in great Uſe as a fine red Pigment, enters into the Compoſition of deſiccative Plaiſters; and is a capital Article in the Commerce of the Venetians in the Levant[y]. It is very difficult, if not impoſſible, to form any probable Gueſs, at the Value of the Lead raiſed from our Mines[z]. But to balance this, we are very certain of the following Particulars, that within this laſt Century we have wrought many more of theſe Mines than formerly, that we ſtill continue to work many of the old Mines to greater Profit than in paſt Times, that our Knowledge in all Things regarding Metals is very highly improved, that moſt of the Impediments which retarded ſuch Works are removed, by rendering the Property in them certain and ſecure, and that our Lead is the very beſt in the World, which is not to be underſtood, as if there was any real Difference in Lead, when rendered thoroughly pure and fine, but that this is done with greater Eaſe, and that our Metal yields more in Proportion than in other Countries[a].

[u] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 138. p. 935. where there is an exact Account of the Manner in which they prepare it from our Lead at Venice. The coarſer Sort is what we commonly call White Lead, too frequently adulterated with Chalk and Whiting, and only the fineſt is ſtiled Ceruſe. It is employed by Painters of all Kinds, as in Truth there is no white Paint but this.

[w] This is alſo ſtiled Maſticot or Maſſicot, and is uſed to give a Body to Yellow, as Ceruſe does to white Paints; only the laſt is moſt in Uſe for the Reaſon above-mentioned.

[x] We commonly call this Red Lead, and the fineſt is often, though falſely called Vermillion; the various Uſes to which it is applied render the Conſumption conſiderable.

[y] The Venetians make all theſe much better than any other Nation. They diſtinguiſh three Sorts of Minium, or as they call it Minio; the fine, which is made by raiſing the Fire to a proper Height, from Ceruſe; the middle Sort, from the waſte Cakes left in making Ceruſe; the coarſe or worſt Sort, from Litharge; the Fire is uſually kept up three Days and Nights; but it is the Smoke paſſing over the Metal that produces the Colour.

[z] About a Century ago we raiſed in the whole about 8000 Ton. We now ſend near twice that Quantity to Holland, France, Italy, and other Parts of Europe, 3000 to the Eaſt Indies, near 1000 to the Weſt Indies and America, beſides ſupplying an extended and ſtill growing Conſumption of this Metal at Home.

[a] Prodigious Quantities of Britiſh Lead Ore are exported to Holland, and there ſmelted, the Silver extracted, and Ceruſe, Maſſicot, Minium, Litharge, &c. made from it, and ſent all over Europe. There is a Duty of Five per Cent on Lead Ore exported, but from what has been, and what will be ſaid, a Doubt may ariſe whether it may not be for the Intereſt of the Public to direct its being ſmelted before it is ſent abroad.

It ſeems equally ſtrange that our old Writers ſhould poſitively aſſert, that there was Plenty of Quickſilver and Cinnabar in England [b], and that the moſt judicious and inquiſitive of our modern Naturaliſts ſhould be as poſitive that there is neither [c]; and indeed there is no reaſon to doubt the Truth of what they ſay. It is not however impoſſible or even improbable, that though none is found or believed to be in this Iſland, yet if diligently ſought they might be met with [d], at leaſt in Quantities ſufficient for our own Conſumption [e]; for though Cinnabar is the principal Ore of Mercury, and muſt have been long ſince diſtinguiſhed if we had it, yet Mercury is alſo found in Stones of a black or ſaffron Colour, and alſo in Clays or ſoft Earth, out of which the Mercury is obtained with very little Trouble [f]. It is therefore judiciouſly recommended by the Corniſh Antiquary to his Countrymen, to examine carefully the Contents of their Mines with the View, that amongſt ſo many mineral and metallic Subſtances as daily occur in them, under different Appearances, this, if it be there, may be detected [g]. But after all, the moſt likely Method of finding it, is to offer a conſiderable Reward to the firſt Diſcoverer. Experience having ſhewn, that in all Enquiries of this Nature Intereſt affords the ſtrongeſt Light.

There are few Things that could be made clearer, if we depended only on Authority, than that there have been many rich Silver Mines in England; ſince we have not only credible Hiſtories [h], but authentic Records alſo which atteſt the Fact [i]. Yet if we admit theſe, we muſt take this Term in a general Senſe, for Mines affording Silver, and not in the uſual reſtrained Signification of Mines producing Silver Ore [k]. This Ambiguity was

[b] Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, B. iii. ch. xvi.

[c] Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 216. Sir John Pettus's Eſſays on metallic Words, under Metals and Quickſilver. Woodward's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 6. Hill's Foſſils, p. 627. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 213.

[d] It is a common Obſervation in the Mining Countries in Europe and in America, that there are few Copper Mines without Mercury more or leſs.

[e] If we conſider how much is annually conſumed in Phyſic, Surgery, Arts, Trades, &c. the diſcovering it will appear no deſpicable Acquiſition.

[f] Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 80—83. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 91—106. Hill's Foſſils, p. 627.

[g] Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 213. In Friuli they put the Earth into a Bottle with a long narrow Neck, which they ſtop with Moſs, they turn it then downwards, putting the Neck into that of a larger Bottle of the ſame make, which is ſet in the Ground. They next make a Fire round the upper Bottle, by the Heat of which the Mercury being releaſed, and put in Motion, falls through the Moſs into the Bottle below.

[h] Camdeni Britan. p. 151. 553. Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 183. Fuller's Worthies, Devonſhire, p. 245. Pettus's Fodinæ Regales, p. 33. Webſter's Hiſtory of Metals, p. 20, 21.

[i] Fuller's Worthies, Devonſhire, p. 245. where extracts from the Records are produced in reſpect to Comb-martin, which was a Lead Mine after all.

[k] Something may be ſaid in Favour of the old Acceptation, if, as ſome ſkilful Perſons (on their own Knowledge) have aſſerted, ſeveral of our Lead Mines are really richer in Silver than moſt

Silver

was introduced by the State of our Conſtitution in former Times; for then all Mines holding either Gold or Silver, which might be extracted to Profit, were allowed to be MINES ROYAL, and paſt in a common, or rather in a legal Acceptation for Gold or Silver Mines [l]. It was in conſequence of this, and of the Methods taken to ſupport the Prerogative of the Crown, that our Mines were in thoſe Times ſo indifferently known, and ſo little wrought, as, by the removing of theſe Impediments, they have been within leſs than a Century ſo much improved; ſo that at this Time we have actually more Silver extracted from our Lead than ever, though we hear nothing more of Silver Mines [m]. It is however indiſputably true, that ſome Pieces of pure Silver are now-and-then found in our Copper, Lead, and Tin Mines. But notwithſtanding this, and the ſuperior Skill of our Artiſts in aſſaying, we have not hitherto diſcovered any ſuch Thing as Silver Ore, which is what properly conſtitutes a Silver Mine [n]. But this by no means prove, there are none in the Iſland, or ought to diſcourage a Search for them.

IT is pretty much the ſame with regard to Gold Mines. We have Reports, and thoſe too with ſome, though no great Foundation, that ſuch were formerly, and even within our Memory diſcovered. For Inſtance, about fourſcore Years ago ſuch a Mine was ſuppoſed to be found in Bedfordſhire, at a Place called Pullock's Hill, within two Miles of Wreſt; and another at Little Tawnton in Glouceſterſhire, both of which were immediately, as Royal Mines, ſeized for the Crown, and let upon ſeparate Leaſes; in conſequence of which they were wrought for a little Time, and then quitted, their Produce under the Management of the Leſſees (though we know not the

Silver Mines. Malines, p. 182. ſpeaks of large Quantities of Ore brought from Scotland, ſome of which himſelf ſent abroad to a ſkilful Perſon, who extracted forty-two Ounces of Silver from an Hundred-weight, which is ſeventy Pounds from a Ton.

[l] In purſuance of this Principle, and by a legal Proceeding, Queen Elizabeth diſpoſſeſſed the Earl of Northumberland of his rich Copper Mines at Keſwick, and thereby raiſed a Diffidence, which impeded the working of Mines, except in Cornwall and Derbyſhire, for more than a Century. Towards the Cloſe of the laſt, on an Attempt to diſpoſſeſs Sir Carberry Price of his Lead Mine, notwithſtanding the Statute 1 W. and M. cap. 30. § 4. a new Law was made 5 W. and M. cap. vi. § 2, to which all future Improvements have been owing.

[m] It may poſſibly deſerve to be conſidered whether the Proviſo at the Cloſe of this Act, which reſerves to the Crown the Pre-emption of all Copper Ore at ſixteen Pounds a Ton, of Tin and Iron at forty Shillings, and of Lead at nine Pounds, which never has been beneficial thereto, ſhould not be repealed, as it may have a Tendency to prevent the extracting Gold or Silver from theſe Metals, which by diſcovering the Value muſt render the Property precarious.

[n] The wiſe Lord Verulam exceedingly regretted the Exportation of Lead and of Lead Ore to foreign Parts, or even its being conſumed at Home, without extracting the Silver, and with too much Reaſon. In his Time the annual Produce of our Lead Mines was Eight thouſand Tons, which at the moderate Computation of twenty Ounces in a Ton, would, in the Space of a Century, even ſuppoſing we had raiſed no more than we then did, have ſupplied us with four Millions of our own Specie.

Cauſe) turning to no Profit[o]. We have in another Place cited an Author, indefatigable in his Reſearches, well ſkilled in Ores and Metals, and from theſe Circumſtances of eſtabliſhed Credit, who affirms, and that too of his own Knowledge, that there is more Gold and Silver found in England than is commonly imagined[p]. It is indeed certain, that the Tinners in Cornwall pick up conſiderable Quantities of Gold in very ſmall Grains in their Works, and have done ſo for above a Century, perhaps for many Centuries paſt, and that ſome larger Pieces have been found in the Cruſts of their Tin Ore, and alſo in their Brooks[q]. Still greater Quantities were found in Crawford Moor in Clydſdale[r], and ſome Gold Duſt in a River in Dourneſſe in Caithneſs[s], and in ſome of the Iſlands dependant on North Britain[t]. In Ireland, if there be any Credit due to their moſt ancient Hiſtories, ſome of their Streams were very rich in this Metal[u], and modern Accounts likewiſe mention ſmall Quantities of Gold Duſt that have been found there[w].

These, taken together, are but a very ſmall Specimen of Britiſh Foſſils, ſince our learned Naturaliſts have not only diſtinguiſhed but deſcribed ſome thouſands[x]. We are not writing a Natural but a Political Hiſtory, and therefore a ſuccinct Account of ſuch of theſe as were immediately and conſiderably uſeful, or might probably become ſo, were all that entered

[o] Sir John Pettus in his Dictionary of Metallic Words under Metals. Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 181, mentions Gold Spar found at Brickell Hill, near Spilſby in Lincolnſhire. Our Records have a Mandamus to the Sheriff or Coroner of Eſſex in the Reign of Henry IV. May 11. Ann. Regn. 2. Rot. 34. in relation to a concealed Mine of Gold in that County.

[p] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 56, where the Words of Dr. Woodward are produced.

[q] Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 186, 187. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 7. Sir John Pettus, as above cited. Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 30. 196. Curioſities of England, p. 24. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, chap. xix.

[r] Leſl. Deſcript. Scotiæ, p. 12. Camdeni Britan. p. 695. Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 181, where he ſays, he ſaw eighteen Ounces of this Gold in Grains, brought from thence by Sir Bevis Bulmer. This Gold was twenty-two Carats fine, and the Method of collecting it is fully deſcribed by Sir Robert Sibbald in his Prodromus Naturalis Hiſtoriæ Scotiæ, lib. i. cap. xiii. See alſo Boyle's Works, vol. 5. p. 30.

[s] Oir-Neſs, corruptly Dourneſſe, i. e. Gold Cape. The beſt Account of the Gold in this Country is in the Appendix to Nicholſon's Scotiſh Hiſtorical Library.

[t] Martin's Deſcription of the Weſtern Iſlands, p. 339. The Iſlands he mentions are North Uiſt and Harries.

[u] Keating's General Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 127. 294. 433. Walſh's Proſpect of the State of Ireland, p. 443—447. Mac Curtin's Vindication of the Antiquity of Ireland, p. 53. 56. 173. 182. 193. 276. 297. All citing their ancient Hiſtories in their own Language, and inſiſting particularly on the Poll-tax laid on the Iriſh by the Danes of an Ounce of Gold. For the Nonpayment of which a Man was deprived of his Noſe, and therefore the Iriſh called this Airgiod Sron, or Noſe Rent.

[w] Boate's Ireland's Natural Hiſtory, chap. xvi. § 2. in a Rivulet called Miola in Nether Tirone. Stringer's Mineral Kingdom diſplay'd, p. 9.

[x] See Dr. Woodward's Preface to his Attempt towards a Hiſtory of Engliſh Foſſils, and alſo Dr. Hill's Preface, and his curious and inſtructive Table of Foſſils.

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into our Plan. It may however be very proper to remark, and what we have ſaid of Biſmuth, Cobalt, and Zink, will at once both juſtify and explain it, that Multitudes of our Spars, Pyrites, and Marcaſites, &c. may hereafter in a Variety of Inſtances come to be great Sources of national Profit, and in this View they are even now to be regarded as ſo many latent Treaſures, which the Skill, the Induſtry, and the inquiſitive Nature of Man will be daily calling out to Uſe [y]. We muſt likewiſe remember that the Spirit of Diſcovery prevails, and that very ſtrongly, in many other Parts of Europe, and that from the amazing Plenty of all Kinds of Foſſils through the three Kingdoms, whatever ſhall be produced from thence will ultimately become beneficial to us. All imaginable Means were uſed in Saxony to conceal the Manner of making Zaffer and Smalt; and the carrying Cobalt out of that Electorate was upon Principles of Policy prohibited under Pain of Death [z]. But none of theſe Precautions could hinder the finding a Mine of Cobalt in Cornwall; and it is much to be regretted that ſome public ſpirited Perſons have not proſecuted that Diſcovery with Effect [a]. There is no Doubt that ſeveral private People have lucrative Secrets, as well in working mineral Subſtances that are not commonly wrought, as in making conſiderable Profit by the peculiar Management of mineral Ores that are in every Body's Hands [b]. But if theſe Secrets were publickly known, they would, as new Sources of Induſtry, become a public Benefit, and thoſe to whom they belong at preſent would have a Right to a Reward from the Public for diſcloſing them [c].

In reſpect to Metals, it hath been ſhewn how long a Time it was before we came to make thoſe Uſes of them for which they were at all Times fit; and the many and great Advantages that have ſince been de-

[y] The judicious and indefatigable Boerhaave was actually working on different Specimens of our Mundics, ſent him by our Corniſh Antiquary, when Death put an End to all his Inquiries and Diſcoveries.

[z] The Produce of theſe Mines are of greater Value than thoſe of Silver in the ſame Electorate, though reſtricted to the raiſing annually only Six thouſand Quintals.

[a] This certainly deſerves Notice, if we conſider what we annually import, what we might export, and that in ſending it to China it would ſave ſending Silver. For though formerly the Chineſe prepared the blue Colour uſed in Painting their Porcelain, from Materials found in their own Empire, yet for many Years paſt they have been ſupplied from Europe.

[b] Dr. Borlaſe tells us (p. 130) that a Ton of Manganeſe, which was had in Cornwall for eighteen Pence, was ſhipped for Liverpool, carried forty Miles from thence to Boſlam, and ſold there for 5l. 8s. 6d. This, which is one of the Pooreſt of our Iron Ores, muſt have been employed to ſome very ſingular Purpoſe, or ſome valuable Subſtance extracted from it, to raiſe it to more than ſeventy Times its original Price.

[c] The Inſtance in the former Note is one only out of many, to ſhew the Advantages that would ariſe from making theſe concealed Proceſſes public.

rived from thence [d]. But though these are apparently very considerable, there want not good Grounds to believe that they may be still very much extended. It is not impossible that there may be some Relics yet remaining of the old Restraints; and from thence it may arise, that some Mines still continue unwrought, to the Prejudice of those in whose Lands they lie, and to the much greater Detriment of the Public [e]. These Bars, of whatever Kind they be, ought certainly to be removed, and all possible Liberty given for the improving to the utmost these Gifts of Nature for the Benefit of Society [f]. The two excellent Laws passed soon after the Revolution seem to breathe this Spirit, and the Consequences that have attended them cannot but be allowed strongly to recommend it [g]. Indeed the Tin Mines in Cornwall, the Mines of all Sorts in the Peak of Derby, and those in Mendip Hills in Somersetshire, which were all carried on when little of this Kind was done in other Places, owed this Distinction to their Immunities, and the Success with which they were carried on to the equitable Provision, that a proportionable Share of the Profits should fall to those by whose Labour they were procured [h]. It is not altogether improbable, that if Mines of Gold and Silver were put on a Level with other Mines, we should, if we have any such, speedily hear of them again [i], at least there would be no Reason left why they should be concealed. We know of none of either at present, and we know of no Method so like to bring them to Light as this [k]. If it should be objected that this Concession might give too much Wealth to Individuals, let us consider the Numbers that must be employed in working such Mines, and of course derive a Maintenance from thence [l], and let us also remember, that whatever Quantities of these precious Metals should be thus acquired, would enter into our Circulation [m], and it will then clearly appear, that the Public, without

[d] It is to shew this, that Comparisons have been made of the Quantities of Metals formerly, with the Produce of our Mines from the beginning of the present Century to this Time.

[e] In Bishop Gibson's Additions to Camden his Correspondent mentions this Mine; Heton in his Preface to his Account of Mines says, the working it was stopped by Law Suits.

[f] It is from the numerous Advantages which result from them to the Community, that Mines in a peculiar Manner claim the constant Notice and Protection of the State.

[g] All that is intended in the Text, is to suggest a strict and steady Adherence to the Spirit of those two Laws founded upon the justest Principles.

[h] These Franchises seem to have existed from Time immemorial, were recognized by all, and confirmed and extended by our wisest Princes.

[i] The surest Way of discovering these, is by making a strict and accurate Analysis of all the mineral Substances, the Contents of which are not already known.

[k] A Desire joined to a Security of quietly possessing a Gold or Silver Mine is a Premium (without Cost to the Public) sufficient to excite the most diligent Enquiry.

[l] Affording a comfortable Subsistence to the Industrious is the Share of the Public, and a Share of which at all Events she cannot be defrauded.

[m] At the Close of the Statute, Anno primo Gulielmi & Mariæ, there is a Proviso, that all Gold and Silver extracted from Copper, Lead, or Tin, shall be coined at the Mint, and the like Proviso

without running any Risk, or being at any Expence, would be at length the greatest Gainers.

We may hope, in regard to Metals as well as in regard to Minerals, that the great Progress the present Age hath made, and is daily making in useful and experimental Knowledge, may lead us to considerable Discoveries, and in consequence of them to various profitable Improvements [n]. It is not at all improbable, that among the numerous, splendid, and ponderous Substances that are at present looked on as the Incumbrances of our Mines, some new Ores might be distinguished and wrought to very valuable Purposes, the rather as Experiment does not seem at all repugnant to this Notion [o]. We may still farther propose without Fear of deviating into Absurdity, that we may possibly discover new Metals, at least Metals new to us, and which hitherto have not made any Part of our Treasures [p]. The Gifts of Nature are innumerable, and though we already possess very many, yet assiduous Enquiries, which helped us to some of these, may in Time reward our Diligence with more. The mechanical Part of this particular kind of Mining, though wonderfully improved, has never been reduced into a regular System, or the Principles of it laid down and explained like other Branches of Science, which if once it was brought into Order, and such a Plan well executed, would no doubt prove of no small Utility [q]. There are some Reasons to suspect that the common Methods of refining Ores and Metals are not yet become absolutely perfect, and that if they were such as are now esteemed poor Mines might be wrought to Profit; and even the rich to greater Profit than they are at present [r]. It has been also

Proviſoe ought to take Place if Gold and Silver Mines are ever allowed to become the Property of the Subject. This would be but a proper Acknowledgment for such a Conceſſion, and become at the same Time a Regiſter of its good Effects.

[n] In earlier Times all that was done in Mines was by mere Dint of Labour; but Science has mitigated that, and increased our Profits; and no doubt as Science enlarges, and becomes more diffused, its Effects will be greater and more conspicuous. What has been done within these few Years in respect to Coal Mines, the curious Machines introduced into the Silk Trade, and the admirable Engines daily invented for raising Water, leave us no Reason to question it.

[o] That Lapis Calaminaris is the Ore of Zink is a Discovery of no long Standing; about twelve Years ago a Foreigner first taught them in Cornwall to distinguish Bismuth, which till then they threw away; as they had done formerly a certain Kind of Copper Ore, which they called Poder, i. e. Dust or Yellow Mundic, now sold for twenty Pounds a Ton, and yields a fine Metal.

[p] Platina is a new Metal incontestibly, but it does not follow that it is the only one that remains to be discovered.

[q] An ingenious and regular-bred Engineer might render a lasting Service to his Country, and establish his own Reputation, by such a Work.

[r] We know that anciently they committed great Errors in melting, leaving their Slag and Cinders so rich as to be melted again with Profit, which induced an Opinion that Metals grew. In guarding against this, we may err also by raising our Fires too high. Besides, in stamping

alſo thought, that Methods might be ſallen upon for reducing the Quantity, and thereby the Expence of Fuel; and this appears ſo much the more probable, as the Uſe of Pit Coal hath been gradually introduced into many Operations, for which through a long Series of Years it was held utterly unfit [s]. Experience is very truly regarded as the Teſt of Reaſon, and repeated Experiments ſerve to correct thoſe Errors that we may have been led into by too haſty Concluſions from Experience itſelf.

The Apprehenſions that have been entertained from the Reports that in Countries abounding with the richeſt Mines the People in general, and more eſpecially the common Sort, are very poor and miſerable, ought by no means to intimidate us in our Reſearches. In the Spaniſh Mines they employ Slaves whom at dear Rates they purchaſe from Foreigners, and thoſe Wretches are truly miſerable, not ſo much from their Work as from their Condition. In Friuli and Hungary the Caſe is very little better, as many, if not moſt of the Miners are Criminals, and compelled to labour for a poor Subſiſtence. In theſe Countries there is alſo another Circumſtance that renders their Situation without Remedy; which is, that many of theſe Mines produce ſo little, that if they were wrought by any other People than theſe they would yield no Profit at all [t]. But in Countries where Freemen are invited to work, from the Conſideration of adequate Wages, the Opening of Mines muſt have very different Effects. For ſuch Men, when thus employed, there muſt be Towns to lodge, and Lands cultivated to afford them Subſiſtence. They muſt have Cloaths, Tools, and domeſtic Utenſils, which can only be ſupplied from Manufactures, and theſe will conſequently prove more and more conſiderable in Proportion to the Value of the Mines, and the Numbers employed therein, and maintained by them [u]. Thus Reaſon teaches us, that in ſuch Countries, more eſpecially if they have a great Commerce, and the Means thereby of exporting their Produce, Mines muſt be highly beneficial to the Community as certain

Ores to Powder, and expoſing them to the Action of Wāter and then of Fire, may not much Metal be loſt? Inquiries into the Proceedings in foreign Mines would ſoon determine this.

[s] In Places where Turf is to be had, might it not be uſed with Wood? Might not charred Turf or Dutch Turf, that is, made and dried as the Dutch Turf is, ſupply, where neither can be had, the Place of Wood or Coal? Dutch Turf has been uſed by Silverſmiths here. Would not Culm mixed in the making Dutch Turf produce a ſtrong Fire? Has the charring Pit-coal been properly attended to, or its Effects ſufficiently examined?

[t] Heton's Account of Mines, p. 67—71. Nothing can ſhew more clearly than this, that with us Mines are a national Advantage.

[u] All theſe Articles would be furniſhed by Labour only in this Country, in conſequence of a Mine's being wrought, and thereby a conſtant and regular Courſe of Circulation eſtabliſhed. This is not a ſimple Speculation. What has been already ſaid in relation to Coal Mines and their Conſequences prove it inconteſtibly a Fact. None who ſubſiſt purely by Labour live better than theſe People.

Sources

Sources of various and extenſive Improvements[w]. Upon theſe Grounds ſome have thought, that where Mines were too expenſive for private Purſes, or produced but a ſlender or precarious Profit, it might prove Oeconomy in the Public to indemnify the Proprietors on account of the Advantages, which, whether lucrative to them or not, the State is ſure to receive[x]. This Doctrine of the Benefit of Mines, when wrought under ſuch Circumſtances, being fully juſtified by Experience, we ought certainly to encourage and protect ſuch Enterprizes as much as poſſible[y]. We have now executed entirely the Deſign of this Chapter; and we truſt have therein fully ſhewn, that the internal Riches of the Britiſh Dominions are truly immenſe[z]; that from various Cauſes which have been explained, theſe were for many Ages much neglected; that in the two laſt Centuries we have in a ſignal Manner availed ourſelves of theſe Reſources; that with the Aſſiſtance of Labour only, we draw from theſe annually an amazing Revenue; and that inſtead of having any Grounds to apprehend the ſmalleſt Diminution of this Income, we have the ſtrongeſt Motives to expect, that new Advantages will continually ariſe, and thoſe derived from the preſent Funds continue at the ſame Time to increaſe.

[w] Theſe Improvements though in the firſt Inſtance due to Mines, come in a Courſe of Years to be able mutually to ſupport each other, even if the Mine ſhould fail.

[x] L'Homme deſintereſſé, p. 127, where the Author obſerves, that if a Million of Livres be annually ſpent in the working a Mine, which produces no more than Nine hundred thouſand, yet this laſt Sum, excluſive of all other Improvements, being juſt ſo much added to the public Stock, the Community may well afford to pay the Difference, or continue working under this apparent Diſadvantage.

[y] The State of the Counties in which Mines are wrought, compared with their Condition in former Periods, amounts on this Head to Demonſtration.

[z] Foſſils of every Kind are ſtrictly and truly what we have always ſtiled them, Bleſſings beſtowed by Providence. For though Men may raiſe Woods where there never was a Tree; render Fields fertile where Grain had never grown; or naturalize Animals in Countries where till imported they were never ſeen: Yet all the Skill and Induſtry of Men cannot conſtitute a Stratum of Clay, Chalk, or Gravel, a Quarry of Stone, or a Load, a Vein, or ſo much as a ſparry Lump of any kind of Metal. We may purify, refine, and fit them for Uſe, but the Things themſelves are pure Gifts of Nature, the peculiar Riches of thoſe Countries in which ſhe has placed them.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Productions of Great Britain as arising out of the Soil.

THE natural and artificial Causes of Fertility in different Countries. In the earliest Writers we find Commendations of the Corn Harvests in Britain. The Country and the Inhabitants equally improved while under the Dominion of the Romans. The Saxons, when once they became fully Masters, were in this Respect also very industrious. In consequence of this they carried on a large and lucrative Commerce with their Neighbours. How this State of Things came to be altered, the People impoverished, and the Country ruined. The untoward State of Cultivation, and the Loss of Markets under the Normans. In the Reigns of Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, Grazing generally preferred to Tillage. Various unsuccessful Attempts under Elizabeth and the succeeding Reigns to correct this Error. Methods taken by Parliament in the Reign of Charles the Second for more effectually encouraging the Cultivation of Corn. The Bounties on the several Species of Corn revived and thoroughly settled after the Revolution. A succinct Account of Wheat, and its many Uses in Food, and in other Respects. Benefits which in various Ways result from thence to Great Britain. The like in regard to Rye, and the Uses to which it is applied. Reasons why more Attention should be shewn to the Culture of this kind of Corn. The History of Barley and Malt, with an Account of the Quantities annually produced of both. The Benefits that arise from hence to Individuals and the Community. The Cultivation, Produce, and Nature of Oats, with the several Uses of that Grain briefly stated. Remarks on the increased and increasing Consumption, and the Means of supplying it. The different Sorts of Peas, their Uses, and the singular Advantages arising from them. A like Account of Beans, Tares, Lentils, and the Emoluments that result from these Productions. Why they are worthy of Notice though no exact Estimate can be formed of the Quantities raised and consumed. The Means by which our Knowledge in Agriculture came to be extended and improved. Clover introduced here from Flanders, at what Time, and in what Manner. The Method of cultivating it as an intermediate Crop, and the great Importance of that Cultivation; an Idea of the Profits that have arisen from this valuable Improvement. The Field Culture of Turnips brought likewise into this Country from Flanders. The extensive Progress and immense Advantages derived from this new Husbandry. This has excited not the Admiration,

miration barely, but the Emulation alſo of other Nations. An Account of Carrots from the Time that they were brought amongſt us by the Flemings. The Extenſion and Manner of their Cultivation for the Uſe of Cattle. The Produce and great Benefits that are like to follow from this Improvement. Parſneps propoſed in the ſame Intention with Probability. The Prudence ſhewn in the encouraging ſuch kind of Attempts for the public Good. The Hiſtory of Hops, and their Cultivation in different Places. The many ſignal Emoluments that have ariſen from this Improvement. The Culture of Hemp, and the Capacity of this Country to produce it in the higheſt Perfection. The Produce and inconteſtable Benefits that flow, and that might flow from its Cultivation. Flax grows in every Reſpect through all the Britiſh Iſles as well as in any Part of Europe. The many Advantages that are, and may be derived from thence to the Landholders, the induſtrious Poor, and the Community in general. Rape and Cole Seeds ſingular and ſubſtantial Improvements; the Emoluments ariſing from theſe and other Cultivations of the ſame Nature. A ſuccinct Account of the extenſive Culture of Potatoes, and the Benefits derived from them. Seeds and Roots cultivated for their Uſes in Medicine. The Manner of planting, and the great Profit derived from Liquorice. The Nature, Cultivation and Value of Saffron. Teaſles, their Uſes, and the Advantages ariſing from their Propagation. The Hiſtory and Culture of Madder, with the Emoluments expected from thence. Safflower ſown in ſome Places, and for what Purpoſes. The Culture of Weld or Dyers Weed; its Uſes, and the Profits ariſing from it. The curious Method of cultivating Woad, and the Benefits attending it. Of Meadows and Paſtures, and the very different State of them in paſt and in preſent Times. The Hiſtory of Saint Foin; its Culture and Produce: The ſame with regard to Lucerne, of Burnet, and various other new Improvements. Obſervations on the Benefits ariſing from the Application of Philoſophic Principles in conducting and improving the Arts. The preſent State of Timber in theſe Iſlands, and the more obvious Cauſes of its Decay. Remarks thereupon, and ſome Hints as to the Remedies that may be applied. A retroſpective View of the Contents of this Chapter.

THE Excellence of Soil and Climate are Bleſſings beſtowed by Providence; but like all other Bleſſings, as we have often obſerved before, are capable of being augmented or impaired, according as they are either neglected or improved. In ſome Countries, where Humidity and Heat exceedingly abound, we ſtill ſee a luxurious and ſpontaneous Vegetation, reſembling at leaſt, to a certain Degree, the Fictions of the Golden Age, when Nature ſupplying the whole Expence, Men lived without Toil, and relying ſolely upon her Bounty, enjoyed all Things in com-

mon[a]. But there is another, and yet more general Principle of Fertility, which is the Application of Man, by which many, if not moſt of theſe beneficial Productions which naturally ſpring up in one Country, may be tranſported into, and cultivated with Succeſs in another[b]. Indeed if this had not been ever the Caſe, Mankind could not have ſpread over the Face of the Earth, but the far greater Part of the World would have remained in a State of Nature, void of Improvement and of Cultivation. It is true, that this Power hath its Limits, inſomuch that ſome Spices, Trees, and medicinal Plants are not to be removed out of certain Climates[c]. But Things of more general Utility may, and this in ſuch a Meaſure as to excite a Doubt whether Countries, naturally of exuberant Fertility, are ſuch as from thence are capable of being rendered the moſt populous[d]. Be this as it will, it admits of no Diſpute, that the Capacity of producing, when directed by Skill, and ſupported by Labour, extends the Bounties of Providence, and that in ſuch a Manner, as that both Soils and Climates may in Proceſs of Time be beneficially altered by a vigorous and aſſiduous Attention to their Improvement[e].

We may with more Probability therefore admit, that Britain was very early known to the Phœnicians, ſince in the firſt Accounts we have from the Greeks, who derived their Knowledge from them, it is celebrated for its Fertility, a certain Proof that it had been long inhabited[f]. Julius Cæſar

[a] Strab. Geog. lib. xv. p. 715, in the Speech of the Brachman Calanus. Virgil. Ecl. iv. Ovid. lib. iii. Eleg. which ſhew the Antiquity and Univerſality of the Tradition of Paradiſe, whence the principal Vegetables created for the Uſe of Man were to be removed, as they probably were, before the Deluge, and after that, upon the Diſperſion of Mankind, gradually improved by them in all the inhabited Regions of the Earth.

[b] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xv. cap. 13, 14. 18. 22. 25. Are not all Vegetables ſpontaneous in their Growth in ſome Country or other? Muſt they not have been tranſplanted from theſe into different Regions? Were not Ceres, Triptolemus, Bacchus, &c. deified by the Ancients for thus extending the Benefits beſtowed by Providence? Has not this been the Caſe in Countries now famed for Fertility? Is it not remarkably ſo in our own?

[c] But even theſe Limits are not ſo confined as is generally believed. Cinnamon and Cloves would grow in Tobago. Sugar does grow in Spain, Sicily, and in Egypt. Oranges have been naturalized in Portugal, that were originally the Production of China. Curioſity and Luxury however, in reſpect to modern Importations, have done more than the nobler Principles of Oeconomy and public Spirit.

[d] L'Eſprit des Loix, liv. xviii. ch. 3, 4. 9. He obſerves, that in Countries naturally abundant the People are idle, feeble, and timid.

[e] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvii. cap. 4. where he obſerves, that the Soil about Philippi being drained by Sluices, the Climate was altered and became drier. The ſame has been obſerved in Ireland, and in our Plantations. I ſay obſerved, for in Truth the Caſe is the ſame every where, only every where it has not been obſerved. The Converſe of this Propoſition is alſo true, for in Countries long neglected the Climate becomes unhealthy, and the Soil barren.

[f] If we confide in the Sentiment of Camden, Orpheus calls this the Royal Court of Ceres. See alſo Strabo, Geog. lib. iii. p. 200. Diod. Sicul. lib. v. p. 209. Authors, who though they wrote after Cæſar, yet drew their Materials from Greek Geographers and Hiſtorians, who lived long before him.

allows,

allows, that in the maritime Provinces of this our Isle, the People were well furnished with Corn; but at the same Time asserts, that in the interior Countries they lived chiefly on Flesh and Milk [g]. The first he undoubtedly might know with Certainty, but the second he could only learn from Report. Cornelius Tacitus, a cautious and correct Author, from the Information of his Father-in-law Julius Agricola, than whom no Man of his Time knew this Country so well, or could describe it better, acknowledges the Mildness of the Climate, and the Richness of the Soil, which except the Olive, the Vine, and other Plants, which he judged to be peculiar to warmer Countries, produced every Thing else in the greatest Plenty. He also observed, that though the Springs were forward, yet that the Grain ripened slowly [h]. This he attributed to frequent Rains, and the Humidity of the Air and Soil. We see no Reason to doubt either of the Truth of the Representation, or of the Justice of the Remark [i]. The Britons were but just beginning to learn the true Principles of Agriculture. Their own Skill, such as it was, enabled them to provide sufficiently for their own Subsistence in the Manner in which they lived, and hitherto they had looked no farther.

By the Romans, who continued here the greatest Part of five Centuries, the Britons were well instructed in all the Arts requisite to civil Life. They taught them to construct Roads, to open Canals, to work Mines, to improve their Ports, and, above all, to cultivate their Country in the best Manner, by which they rendered it a Region of exquisite Beauty and flowing Abundance, while themselves were not only an elegant and polite, but at the same Time an active, industrious, and opulent People. Britain was in those Days another Sicily to the Empire; and as the former supplied Italy, so the latter furnished the Roman Armies in Germany and in Gaul with Corn and other Provisions [k]. It was this rendered our Island of so great Consequence to, and so much considered by, these Sovereigns of the World. It was this put it in the Power of Carausius, himself a Briton, to constrain Maximinian and Diocletian to allow his assuming the imperial Title [l]. It was this that induced the Panegyrists to compliment Constan-

[g] De Bello Gal. lib. v. cap. x. He acknowledges however that the Climate was less severe than in Gaul. Cic. de Legibus, lib. ii. gives us the Reason, because of the tepid Vapours from the surrounding Sea.

[h] In Vita Agricolæ, cap. xii. His whole Relation shews him to have been diligent and exact in his Inquiries, very sensible and impartial in his Reports.

[i] The same that has been said of Ireland, our Hebrides, and the West Indies, and from the same Causes, i. e. the Want of Cultivation.

[k] Zosim. Hist. lib. iii. Camden. Britan. Viti Hist. Britan. lib. i. p. 9. Seldeni Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 3—8. Huet Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, chap. 58, 59.

[l] Sext. Aurel. Victor. Eutrop. Breviario Romanæ Hist. lib. ix. c. 13, 14. Card. Noris in Explicatione Nummi Diocletiani, p. 29.

tius Chlorus, and his Son Conſtantine the Great, in ſuch ſwelling and pompous Terms on their recovering Britain, and thereby providing for the Subſiſtence and the Security of the Frontier Provinces [m].

On the coming of Julian with the Title of Cæſar into Gaul, when he found thoſe Provinces in the utmoſt Diſtreſs, as well as in the greateſt Danger, his firſt Care was to ſettle the Peace, and reſtore the Commerce of Britain, from whence he drew more than once Eight hundred Ship Loads of Corn, without which he could never have extricated himſelf from the Difficulties he was in, or attained ſuch a Degree of Power as lifted him to the Empire [n]. New Troubles ariſing, and new Emperors being ſet up, ſome of them here, the whole Strength of the Iſland, after numerous Armies raiſed in, and frequently when tranſported abroad recruited and reinforced from hence, was at length totally exhauſted, and the Country ſo depopulated, as inſtead of affording, as formerly, a continual Support to, it became a Burthen on a declining Empire; in which State the Romans gradually and unwillingly abandoned it [o]. The continual Irruptions of the barbarous Nations into the Roman Provinces in Britain, quickly completed their Ruin, ſo that it was not only ſpoiled and rendered deſart, but the very People, and with them the Arts they had acquired, were in a great meaſure exterminated and extinguiſhed [p].

It was more than a Century before theſe Troubles totally ſubſided, and the Saxons, who were invited as Auxiliaries, becoming more cruel Enemies than the Picts and Scots, fixed themſelves fully in their reſpective Principalities, and then in the firſt Intervals of Peace began to improve them [q]. But when they once ſet about this, and more eſpecially after they embraced the Chriſtian Religion, they made a great Progreſs, and ſoon revived the Credit of this Country for Plenty and Hoſpitality. The Excellence of their Conſtitution, the Juſtice of their Laws, their regular Plan of Policy, but above all, their equal Diſtribution of Land, not only produced but ſecured a general, conſtant, and thorough Cultivation [r]. We preſerve more certain Proofs of this than even the moſt authentic Hiſtories could afford, in the

[m] The Reader may find large Citations from theſe florid Deſcriptions of Britain, in Camden, Speed, and in other Authors; and making juſt Allowances for the Genius of that Age, the Stile peculiar to ſuch Pieces, and the Motives they had to paint all the Advantages of this Iſland in the moſt lively Colours, we may derive from them very conſiderable Information.

[n] Eutrop. Breviario Romanæ Hiſt. lib. x. cap. vii. Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. iii. Ammian Marcel. Hiſt. lib. xx.

[o] Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. vi. Procop. de Bel. Vandal. lib. i. Sigon. de Occiden. Imper. lib. x.

[p] Hiſt. Gild. cap. 14—17. Nennii Hiſt. Briton. cap. 27, 28. Chron. Saxon, p. 11.

[q] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. Chron. Saxon. Alured. Beverlacenſ. Aſſerii Chron. Rogeri Hovenden. Annal.

[r] See the Collections of Saxon Laws by Bromton, Lambard, and Selden.

Number

Number of Cities and great Towns, and the almoſt innumerable Villages raiſed, and many of them named, by theſe intelligent and induſtrious People [s]. In the Cathedrals, Colleges, and Monaſteries, which they erected and endowed with Lands, which their Eccleſiaſtics took care to improve to the utmoſt [t]. In the Syſtem of their rural Oeconomy, which they eſtabliſhed, and which ſtill in a great meaſure ſubſiſts, and in the Terms made uſe of in all Things relative to Huſbandry, which moſt of them, at leaſt, are retained amongſt us to this Day [u].

We have alſo ſufficient Evidence to convince us, that though this Country was then fully peopled, our Harveſts not only ſufficed to feed them plentifully, but ſupplied alſo a very large Exportation [w]. Hence it was the Emperor Charles the Great called Britain the Granary of the Weſtern World [x]. This Commerce enabled the renowned King Edgar to form thoſe numerous Fleets that were at once the Guard and Glory of his Dominions [y]. In ſucceeding and leſs happy Times the Wealth accumulated by this lucrative Trade, for Riches, or rather the Signs of Riches, that is, Gold and Silver, could be brought hither no other Way, enabled his Succeſſors to procure ſome temporary Reliefs to their Subjects by thoſe Subſidies which bore the Title of Danegeld [z].

It is now neceſſary to relate how this State of Things came to be altered, and that too in ſuch a Degree as almoſt induced a Doubt, as to the Capacity of this Country to produce ſo much Grain, and made it a Queſtion whether the Hiſtories of the amazing Plenty in Britain in ancient Times were not

[s] Conſult Spelman's Villare, or Lambard's Dictionary, or Dr. Gibſon late Biſhop of London's Map, entitled Britannia Saxonica.

[t] See Camden's Preface to his Britannia, Sir William Dugdale's Monaſticon, and Biſhop Tanner's learned and curious Preface to his Notitia.

[u] Somner's, Junius's, Spelman's, and other Gloſſaries. Theſe derive in Truth their great Utility from this very Circumſtance.

[w] Our old Hiſtorians are very deficient in what regards Commerce. Lambard has preſerved a Law by which it was honoured and encouraged. King Alfred, in his Saxon Tranſlation of Oroſius, has recorded a very exact Account of the remoteſt Countries in the North, by Perſons whom he ſent to diſcover a Paſſage that Way to the Indies. He ſent Alms to the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in the Eaſt, and received Preſents from them. W. Malmeſb. de Geſt. Pontiff. lib. ii.

[x] This induced him to live in the ſtricteſt Friendſhip with Offa King of Mercia, to whom he wrote with equal Kindneſs and Reſpect. Will. Malmeſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. i. p. 32.

[y] Chron. Saxon. p. 122. Chron. de Mailros, p. 150. Will. Malmeſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. ii. p. 57. and many other Authorities that might be cited.

[z] This Tax was raiſed for different Purpoſes, ſometimes to engage the Danes to retire, ſometimes to raiſe Forces againſt them, and at Length as an ordinary Revenue. The Rate alſo was different. Originally Two, afterwards Four, and even Six Shillings on every Hide or Plow-land in the Kingdom. It is for this I cite it, to ſhew that the Saxons relied on their Land and its Produce. The Reader who would be better informed may conſult Mr. Webb's learned Diſcourſe on Danegeld.

much exaggerated, if not entirely fabulous [a]. Under the Saxons this Country, as we have already obſerved, was fully peopled, and fully cultivated, the Nation in general rich, happy, and in ſome Degree luxurious [b]. This tempted the Danes, who made a Profeſſion of Piracy, to make Deſcents on different Parts of the Sea Coaſts in order to plunder. Encouraged by Succeſs, they invaded and made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral Spots in the Maritime Countries, and from thence harraſſed, depopulated, and in a great meaſure deſtroyed the Whole [c]. Theſe Diſtractions with little Intermiſſion continued for three Centuries, and had ſuch an Effect on the Country as well as on the People, that, together with the great Changes in the Genius and Spirit of the Government, by the coming in firſt of the Danes, and then of the Normans, as in the Midſt of an impoveriſhed and deſolated Nation, left a bitter Remembrance of paſt Plenty and Proſperity, with ſcarce any Proſpect of future Recovery [d]. We have a very ſingular and deciſive Inſtance of the Truth of this, in the Satisfaction and Admiration expreſſed by a judicious Author in thoſe Times on the Deſcription of a Saxon Monaſtery, and the Country round it, which from the Peculiarity of its Situation had eſcaped the almoſt univerſal Ruin [e].

AFTER the Norman Government became ſomewhat more ſettled, Agriculture was either ſo little encouraged, or ſo indifferently underſtood, that what from the Variation of Seaſons, from the Frequency of civil Commotions, and repeated foreign Wars, there was a continual Fluctuation between great, but very tranſient Periods of Plenty and extreme Scarcity;

[a] We ſhall hereafter ſee, that not above two Centuries ago ſome of the wiſeſt Men in the Kingdom doubted the Poſſibility of rendering this Iſle ſo fertile in Corn, as not to be in a continual State of Dependence in this Reſpect on its Neighbours. On this Principle they oppoſed Laws for promoting Agriculture, as oppreſſive and vexatious to the People, as directing their Views to an Object which their utmoſt Induſtry could never attain.

[b] This was after the Days of Edgar, ſurnamed the Engliſh Solomon, who raiſed the Saxon Monarchy to the higheſt Degree of Splendour. In conſequence of this many Strangers frequented his Court, foreign Cuſtoms were introduced, and People affected a magnificent and expenſive Way of Living unknown to their Anceſtors.

[c] Aſſer. de rebus Geſt. Ælfridi, p. 32, 33. Chron. Saxon. p. 141. Ingulphi Hiſtoria, p. 24. 56, 57. Henr. Huntindon. p. 358.

[d] Chron. Saxon. p. 139. Johan. Glaſton de rebus Glaſton. p. 143. Chron. de Mailroſs, p. 153. Heming Chartular. vol. i. p. 248. See alſo Sir John Spelman's Preface to his Life of Alfred, where he not only acknowledges, but fully proves, that none of the Invaders of this Country were in any Degree ſo fatal to it as the Danes, who before they had a Proſpect of Conqueſt ſeemed to aim only at Deſolation.

[e] Will. Malmeſb. de Geſt. Pontif. Angl. lib. iv. prope fin. The whole Paſſage is tranſcribed by Camden. See Biſhop Gibſon's Tranſlation, col. 494, 495. The ſame Place is deſcribed by the Archdeacon of Huntingdon Hiſt. lib. v. p. 357. This was Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeſhire, made a perfect Paradiſe by the Monks, adorned with ſtately Woods, noble Orchards, ſpacious Vineyards, delightful Lawns, and elegant Buildings, in the Midſt of Fens and Marſhes.

nay,

nay, ſometimes downright Famine [x]; and as an Inſtance of this, in the ſhort Space of fourteen Years, Wheat was once at Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence, twice at Sixteen Shillings, and once at Twenty-four Shillings a Quarter, though once within that Space ſo low as Two Shillings [y]. Neither were thoſe before-mentioned the higheſt Prices, for in twelve Years after this Period, Wheat was Four Pounds Sixteen Shillings a Quarter, and at ſome Times and in ſome Places it went even higher [z]. In theſe Circumſtances they had not only a Notion of importing to relieve their Neceſſities, but of exporting alſo to keep up the Price of their own Grain. But both being ſubject to Licences and other Incumbrances they neither of them anſwered any general or public Purpoſe [a]. The ſame may be truly ſaid of a Law that promiſed better, by fixing a Price at which Grain might be imported from abroad, which looked like declaring what was then regarded as the ſtandard and moderate Price of the Commodity [b].

In the Time of Henry the Seventh a Notion began to prevail amongſt the Nobility and Gentry, then by far the principal Land-owners in the Kingdom, that their Eſtates might be rendered much more valuable to them by being employed in Grazing than in Tillage [c]. This Humour continued to ſpread during the two ſucceeding Reigns, though viſibly contrary to the public Intereſt; and in the Days of Edward the Sixth excited a Rebellion, in which the common People, who were expoſed to all the Hardſhips without ſharing in the Profits, ſharpened by Indigence and Oppreſſion, demoliſhed in many Counties the greateſt Part of the Incloſures [d].

[x] A. D. 1005. Chron. Saxon. p. 134. A. D. 1041. ibid. 156. A. D. 1043 Hen. Huntind. Hiſt. lib. vi. A. D. 1069. R. Hoveden Annal. A. D. 1089. Chron. Johan. Abbat. St. Pet. de Burgo, p. 52. All theſe, and poſſibly more, happened in one Century. But if the Reader would know more particularly to what Height theſe Famines roſe in ancient Times, he may find an Account at large of that in A. D. 1316, in Baker, p. 113. Echard, B. ii. chap. iii. p. 137. Rapin, vol. i. p. 193. Wheat was then Forty-four Shillings a Quarter.

[y] This was from A. D. 1244 to 1258. In A. D. 1270, it was at 4 l. 16 s. which amounts nearly to 13 l 19 s. of our Money.

[z] Fleetwood's Chron. Precioſ. p. 63. which ſhews plainly theſe ſudden and ſignal Variations were owing to the Want of ſound Policy.

[a] In the Reign of Edward III. many Reſtraints were laid on Exportation, often on the Requeſt of the Commons. Cotton's Records, p. 18. 100. 135. Statute 17 Ric ii. c. 7. the Subject may export Corn freely, at his Pleaſure. Stat 4. Hen. vi. c. 5. allows this to be reſtrained by King and Council. Revived by 15 Hen. VI. cap. ii.; and by Stat. 23 of the ſame Reign made perpetual.

[b] Stat. 3. Edw. IV. cap. ii. afterwards repealed. It ſhews however that it was at this Time thought neceſſary to limit Importation as well as Exportation.

[c] Stat. 4 Hen. VII. cap. 19. Sir Thomas More's Utopia, Book i. Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 39.

[d] Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 345. a. Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1301—1310. Sir John Hayward's Reign of Edward VI. in Kennet's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 292—308.

This however did not remove the Evil any more than the Laws had done which were made againſt Foreſtallers and Ingroſſers [e].

In the Reign of Elizabeth ſomewhat more was attempted, but little or nothing accompliſhed by the Acts for promoting and encouraging Tillage, which were warmly ſupported on Principles of true, rational, and conſiſtent Policy by the wiſe Sir Francis Bacon, and as vehemently oppoſed on very plauſible Grounds of Experience and Obſervation by the able Sir Walter Ralegh, who really thought it was impoſſible to render Grain a Staple Commodity in this Country. In this Opinion, as ſtrange as it may now ſeem, that great Man was by no means ſingular [f]. Under the two next Reigns Proclamations and Laws were not wanting to encourage both Importation and Exportation, but with little Effect [g]. During the civil War, and under Cromwell, there was much actual Scarcity [h], though a true Spirit of Induſtry and Agriculture began then to riſe, which afterwards had ſuch happy Conſequences. But there ſtill wanted ſome judicious, ſolid, and permanent Regulation, which might give a Spring and Support to conſtant Cultivation, in order thereby to eſtabliſh certain, ſettled, and ſuitable Markets [i].

Immediately after the Return of Charles the Second, when the Principles of our domeſtic Intereſt, and the true Nature of foreign Commerce, through the indefatigable Labours of many intelligent and public ſpirited

[e] Stat. 5th & 6th Edw. VI. cap. xiv. A Law certainly well intended, and in its Motives juſt; but from the Number of Exceptions and Proviſoes difficult to be carried into Execution, and therefore, by ſeveral Statutes, has been ſince, for the Improvement of Tillage, and with a View to general Circulation, in many Reſpects repealed.

[f] Sir Simmons Dewe's, Journals, p. 551, where there is a long Speech of Sir Francis Bacon, p. 674. Sir Walter Ralegh on the other Side urged, that poor Farmers could not purchaſe Seed to ſow the Land which the Law required to be ſown. That France offered the Queen to ſupply Ireland at two Shillings a Buſhel, at which Price our Farmers would be Beggars. That Spain would buy no Corn from us if we could ſupply them. And that after all, the Dutch had Plenty of Corn without troubling their People about Tillage. Sir R. Cecil eſpouſed *the Plough*; he ſaid it raiſed People as well as Corn: That theſe were ſtout, honeſt, and laborious People; and that as we were forced through Want to buy Corn, ſo no doubt, if we had it, we could ſell. By an Act 39 Eliz. theſe Tillage Laws were repealed.

[g] See the Statutes, 1 Jac. I. cap. xiii. 21 Jac. I. cap. xxviii. 3 Car. I. cap. iv. all in Favour of Exportation, which the laſt allows till Wheat is above Thirty-two Shillings.

[h] Hartlib's Legacy of Huſbandry, p. 93. where he ſays in A. D. 1651, that without Supplies from abroad the Nation muſt have been brought to the utmoſt Diſtreſs. We have no Reaſon to doubt this, for in A. D. 1648, Wheat was 4 l. 5 s. A. D. 1649, 4 l. A. D. 1650, 3 l. 16 s. 8 d. A. D. 1651, 3 l. 13 s. 4 d per Quarter, the Loweſt of which Prices is much higher than it has been for Half a Century paſt.

[i] Theſe Alterations in the Laws ſhewed they none of them had anſwered the End deſired, which was to encreaſe the Quantity of Corn. This could be no otherwiſe done, than by finding ſome effectual Means to encourage the Grower, by affording him a conſtant Proſpect of an adequate Return for his Labour and Expence, which hitherto had been never attained.

Perſons,

Perſons, came to be better and more clearly underſtood [k], there were ſeveral well intended Statutes made relative to this important Point. By the Firſt of theſe, the Exportation of Wheat was permitted under certain Duties till it came to be Forty Shillings a Quarter [l]. By the Second, Exportation was allowed till it was Forty-eight Shillings, with ſome Alteration upon the Rates on Importation [m]. By the Third, it was permitted to export even when above Forty-eight Shillings, paying the Cuſtom [n]. But the Fourth, though a temporary Act, continuing in Force only for the Space of three Years, was the moſt remarkable, ſince by this a Bounty was given on Grain at a certain Price when exported [o]. This Indulgence is in the Body of the Act expreſsly ſaid to be on account of the low Rate at which Corn then ſold abroad, had a very good Effect, and was conſidered by the moſt intelligent Perſons in thoſe Days as an Experiment, which having anſwered ſo well deſerved to be followed [p].

In the next Reign there was a Law paſſed, which has been ſince on mature Deliberation more than once confirmed, for regulating the Manner of eſtabliſhing the Prices, according to which Cuſtoms were to be paid on Importation [q]. Immediately after the Revolution the Bounties on the ſeveral Species of Corn were eſtabliſhed (as except when for the public Security the Power of Parliament interferes) they ſtill ſubſiſt [r]. Such have been the Acts of the Legiſlature with an Intent, by encouraging the Cultivation, to increaſe the Quantity of Grain, and thereby, as far as human Policy can, contributing to preſerve Plenty. Let us now ſee what have been the Conſequences, that in the Courſe of upwards of Seventy Years theſe Laws have produced.

Wheat, as it affords in various Ways the moſt general and neceſſary Subſiſtence to the Human Race, ſo through the peculiar Beneficence of Di-

[k] Particularly ſuch as Prince Rupert, Sir Robert Moray, the Hon. Robert Boyle, John Evelyn, Eſq; Dr. Beal, Mr. Hartlib, Mr. Ray, Major Grant, Sir William Petty, Dr. Nehemiah Grew, Sir Peter Pet, Mr. Pepys, Sir Dudley North, Sir William Temple, and many others.

[l] Stat. 12 Car. II. cap. iv. § 11.

[m] Stat. 15. Car. II. cap. vii. § 2, 3, 4. Wheat imported to pay 5 s. 4 d. Poundage.

[n] Stat. 22 Car. II. cap. 13. Wheat imported, when at 53 s. 4 d. a Quarter, to pay 16 s.; when at Four Pounds, 8 s. a Quarter.

[o] Stat. 25 Car. II. cap. i. § 37. A Bounty is granted on Wheat at 48 s. or under, of 5 s. a Quarter; on Barley or Malt, at or under 24 s. of 2 s. and 6 d.; and on Rye, at or under 32 s. of 3 s. and 6 d. a Quarter.

[p] Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Huſbandry and Trade, vol. iv. p. 389. where he aſſures us that in one Year the Bounty amounted to more than 61,000 l.

[q] Stat. 1 Jac. II. cap. xix. continued by ſeveral Statutes, and made perpetual by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. vii.

[r] Stat. 1 W. and M. cap. xii. § 2. commonly conſidered as the firſt Bounty Act, but gives the ſame Sums and at the ſame Prices as 25 Car. II. cap. i. § 37.

vine Providence we find it capable, with proper Skill and Induſtry, of being raiſed and cultivated in moſt Soils and Climates through the four Quarters of the Globe [s]. Beſides thoſe different Uſes to which it is applied in Food, it is ſometimes malted, and in that Form enters largely into the Compoſition of ſeveral Liquors, and more particularly of Mum [t]. The Diſtillers alſo make Uſe of conſiderable Quantities, as they find that it yields great Plenty of a fine ſtrong Spirit [u]. Starch, of which in different Ways there is a conſtant and large Conſumption, is likewiſe manufactured from it, and this to a very great Value [w]. The Bran, of which there are ſeveral Sorts ſeparated from the Flour, when Ground, ſerves ſeveral Purpoſes in Manufactures as well as in Medicine, and is afterwards found by Experience to be a very profitable Manure [x].

In theſe our Britiſh Iſlands, excluſive of that unceaſing Attention it deſerves as an indiſpenſable Neceſſary of Life, it is in a national Senſe of very great Conſequence in affording conſtant Employment, and of Courſe Maintenance to Multitudes, in its Cultivation [y]; and in that Reſpect as well as in many others, it may be conſidered as a Manufacture, and the Baſis of other Manufactures [z]. It is become now, notwithſtanding the Opinion entertained

[s] In Europe Wheat grows in Norway as well as in France and Sicily; in moſt Parts of Aſia; but that of Smyrna or the Archipelago is fitteſt for our new Huſbandry. See Tull, p. 104. 136. In regard to Africa, the Harveſts of Egypt and Barbary, in point of Quantity and Quality, are equally famous. Shaw's Travels, p. 230, 406. In reſpect to America, in the Kingdom of Chili in the South, Ovalle, lib. i. cap. 3. in great Plenty and Perfection; and as to North America I need cite no Authority.

[t] Stat. 5 Ann. cap. xxix. § 15. A Bounty on Exportation of 5 s. a Quarter is given on Wheat-Malt, ground or unground, when Wheat is at or under 2 l. 8 s. a Quarter.

[u] On the firſt Apprehenſion of Scarcity the Diſtillers are prohibited the Uſe of Wheat; but in Seaſons of Plenty, Exportation and the Diſtillery ſupercede the Neceſſity, and conſequently ſave the Expence of Granaries, the Ends of which are immediately and effectually anſwered by ſuch temporary Prohibitions; becauſe the Quantities uſed by both are brought to Market for home Conſumption, in Bread and other Kind of Proviſions.

[w] Starch is made by ſteeping Bran or damaged Wheat in ſoft Water for a Week or ten Days in the Sun; the Sediment properly prepared is turned into this Commodity, of which we make about Forty thouſand Hundred-weight, and the Duty amounts annually to Thirty thouſand Pounds, but is drawn back on Exportation. The French under ſevere Penalties prohibit the uſing good Wheat in making Starch; they alſo make very conſiderable Quantities.

[x] Bran is much uſed by the Dyers, who boil it in Water, to which it gives an Acidity, and makes it fit for ſcouring; when preſſed after ſteeping, it is ſold for Dung.

[y] For the Hiſtory of Wheat conſult Columel de re Ruſtica, lib. ii. cap. vi. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. vii. Raii Hiſt. lib. xxii. cap. i. Plot's Oxfordſhire, p. 153—155. Morton's Hiſtory of Northamptonſhire, p. 476, 477, 478. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 87, 88. Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 39. 53. Mortimer's Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 127—130. 149. 332. Tull's Horſe-hoeing Huſbandry, chap. ix.

[z] If we conſider the Number of Perſons employed in this Huſbandry, the Expence of Cattle, and the Wear and Tear of Country Utenſils, we may quickly ſee that there is no Impropriety in Stiling the Culture of Wheat a Manufacture. Indeed in ſome Reſpects it ſurpaſſes moſt Manufactures,

tertained by our Anceſtors, a very valuable and much envied Article in foreign Commerce, and conſidered in that Light hath brought within the Compaſs of a few Years immenſe Sums into the Nation [a]. About the Time the Bounty was effectually eſtabliſhed, Mr. Gregory King's very curious and accurate Calculations were made public, which ſhew what at that Period was the Produce of England in this Grain, which, ſo ſoon were the good Effects of the Law either felt or foreſeen, began even then to be conſidered as a Staple [b]. We have the Satisfaction however to ſee, that from that Time we have gone on increaſing in the Culture and Production of this valuable Grain, and at preſent produce a far greater Quantity; ſo that of courſe the Nation is in this Reſpect ſo much richer, larger Tracts of Land have been brought into Tillage [c]; and we have, and may certainly continue to have, a more extenſive Exportation. It is true, that there ſtill ſometimes happens Seaſons of Scarcity, but theſe fall out much ſeldomer, and in Reſpect to Severity are in no Degree comparable to what were felt in former Times [d]. Beſides even theſe have their Utility, inaſmuch as they ſerve to inform us, that there is yet ſufficient Room for Improvement, and not the leaſt Ground to doubt, that Markets may and will be found for the increaſed Produce, even if it ſhould be carried, which ſurely is far from being impoſſible, much beyond its preſent State.

Rye is a Kind of farinaceous Grain, which grows very tall, on a thin, dry, and gravelly Soil, and will, generally ſpeaking, ſucceed where other

factures, as it ſupplies conſtant Employment, and though moderate yet competent Wages, which the Fruit of their Labour always ſupports, as Corn is an Article never ſuffers from Faſhion.

[a] Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 136. It appears that in Nineteen Years from A. D. 1746 to 1765, deducting the Value of Wheat imported within that Space, we exported in that Grain to the Amount of £. 10,365,606, which at an Average is £. 545,558 per Annum. All in our own Shipping, which is another and very great Advantage.

[b] Publiſhed by Dr. Davenant in his Eſſay upon the probable Means of making a People Gainers in the Balance of Trade, London, 1699, p. 71. He ſtates the Produce of Wheat at 14,000,000 of Buſhels.

[c] The Vouchers for this are taken from the Collections of the accurate, ingenious, and induſtrious Author of the Tracts on the Corn Trade. He makes the annual Growth of Wheat 32,372,824 Buſhels. Of this he computes there is ſpent in Bread 30,000,000, for other Uſes he allows 720,000, and fixes the Exportation at 1,652,824 Buſhels. In regard to Weight, a Buſhel contains from Fifty-ſix to Sixty Pounds. In the Counties where they meaſure nine Gallons to the Buſhel, as for Inſtance, in Staffordſhire, they reckon from Seventy to Seventy-five Pounds a Buſhel. The Mealmen who chooſe to buy rather by Weight than Meaſure agree, that a Sack (which ſhould contain three Buſhels) ſhall weigh two hundred and twenty Pounds.

[d] Dr. Davenant in the Book above-mentioned, p. 81. ſays, that in Edward III's Reign, Corn once roſe to thirteen Times the common Value. If we call Four Shillings a Buſhel the common Value of Wheat, then we may truly affirm, that in Sixty Years it never roſe to double the Value, and not above once came near it. In ſome Parts of England this may be contradicted from Experience; but enquiring into, and comparing Meaſures will re-eſtabliſh the Fact.

Corn would not [e]. It is next in Price to Wheat, which, though inferior to it in many Reſpects, in ſome others it very much reſembles [f]. In ſeveral Places this Grain with an early Kind of Wheat are ſown and reaped together [g]. The general Uſe of Rye is for Bread, of which there was much more formerly eaten than at preſent, and yet there is ſtill more of it conſumed in this Way than of Barley [h]. Rye-bread in the Opinion of good Judges, is rather unwholeſome than unpleaſant. It is conceived to be of very difficult Digeſtion, and therefore only fit for hard-working and laborious People [i]. Beſides this, it is black, heavy, and by no Means pleaſing to thoſe who are not uſed to it; but, as appears from their continuing in the Uſe of it, very acceptable, and agrees well with ſuch as have been accuſtomed to it from their Youth [k]. But this Grain being mixed with Wheat, is thought from its Clammineſs to contribute to keep the Bread made of it long moiſt, to give it an agreeable Flavour, and to make it go farther, and to ſave the Trouble of frequent baking [l]. It yields a great deal of fine and ſtrong Spirit, and ſome Uſe is made of it by the Tanners [m].

Upon the Whole, as the chief Conſumption of Rye was in Bread, and as for more than Half a Century paſt this has been continually diminiſhing, ſo we at preſent grow leſs of it than in Times paſt, though we export more of it

[e] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xviii. cap. xvi. Camdeni Britan. p. 546. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xxii. cap. 2. Markham's Farewell to Huſbandry, p. 79. 93. Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 40. 54. Mortimer's Huſbandry, p. 125. 149. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 87, 88. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 270. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 213.

[f] It riſes higher than Wheat, the Ear is ſmaller, with ſhorter, ſharper, and rougher Awns, the Grain is leſs in Size, thinner and darker, the Root not ſo buſhy as that of Wheat, and therefore does not ſo much exhauſt the Soil; it is earlier in the Ear by a Month. It is next in Weight to Wheat, the Buſhel being from 56 to 59 Pounds; where they allow nine Pecks to a Buſhel it ſometimes reaches to 67 Pounds.

[g] This mixed Corn is commonly called Maſlin (Miſcellane) and alſo Mung-corn or Munk-corn, corruptly for Monk-corn, becauſe Bread made of it was commonly eat in Monaſteries. Profeſſor Bradley aſſures us, that this was the ſweeteſt and moiſteſt Bread he ever taſted. Many others are of his Opinion in this Reſpect. But in the Article of Bread, we are at preſent rather governed by the Sight than the Taſte.

[h] Mr. King eſtimates the Produce of Rye in his Time at 10,000,000 of Buſhels. We grow at preſent 8,509,216 Buſhels, of which 7,992,000 are ſpent in Bread, 248,000 are conſumed in other Uſes, and 269,216 Buſhels are annually exported. This Amounts to 283,798 l. whereas in the laſt Century, though we grew more, we imported conſiderable Quantities, and conſequently the Nation gains very conſiderably by this Grain.

[i] In Germany Rye is as much uſed as in any Country in Europe, and the People who eat it are very robuſt, and go through a great deal of Labour, which they think they could not do without it.

[k] Uſe in this Reſpect has wonderful Effects, inſomuch that thoſe who have long eat Rye-bread have little Reliſh for Wheat.

[l] When this was the Bread, as it once was of the common People, Wheat went much farther, which is the Reaſon, that notwithſtanding the Difference of Money, Wheat is now thought dear at what was then eſteemed a moderate Price.

[m] Rye parched and ground has been uſed as a Subſtitute for Coffee; it is leſs heating, but has not the Flavour or any other Properties of the Mocha Bean.

than

than we formerly did [n]. It may however deſerve ſome Conſideration, whether for ſeveral weighty Reaſons the Culture of this Grain ſhould not be more attended to and encouraged, and, amongſt others, for theſe that follow. Becauſe it will grow almoſt every where, and on any Soil, not only with little Trouble, but, which is a Circumſtance not unworthy of Notice, with leſs Danger of failing than almoſt any other Crop [o]. Becauſe though leſs eaten here than in former Times, yet it is ſtill in great Eſteem abroad, more eſpecially in the Northern Parts of Europe, where the Conſumption of it is large, and it ſells at a conſiderable Price [p]. Laſtly, becauſe our Rye is thought wholeſome, and much leſs if indeed at all expoſed to that dreadful and deplorable Malady the French call ERGOT [q], which frequently renders the eating it very dangerous and deſtructive, not to Man only, but to all Animals, and of courſe our Rye from this fortunate Circumſtance will preſerve a Preference in foreign Markets.

BARLEY is ſaid to have been the firſt Grain introduced for the Suſtenance of Man, the Cultivation of which was taught by the Goddeſs ISIS to the Ægyptians, according to the moſt ancient Hiſtories of that Nation [r]. It grows on worſe Land than Wheat, and the different Kinds thereof agreeing with various Soils, we find moſt Sorts of it raiſed with great Succeſs, more eſpecially within the Space of the current Century throughout all the Britiſh Iſlands; to the Inhabitants of which it is a Grain highly valuable, on account of the many and important Uſes to which it is converted [s]. It was anciently made into Bread, and much eſteemed in many Countries. It was ſo even in this, and though now Wheat-Bread very much, as well as very generally prevails, yet it is ſtill the common Food of at leaſt the ordinary Sort of People in ſeveral Counties, where Experience ſhews it to be very

[n] The French very wiſely and ſucceſsfully practiſe a Huſbandry which they learned from us (Dictionaire Univerſelle d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. v. p. 209.) they ſplit the Ridges of Wheat-ſtubble, and ſow it with Rye, which in April and May they cut for their Black Cattle (whereas we feed Sheep and Lambs); and if the Weather proves favourable they mow it three Times, which at that Seaſon is highly beneficial.

[o] Rye does well in mountainous Countries, and ripens almoſt without ſeeing the Sun in light ſandy Soils, and alſo in tolerably good Ground thrives wonderfully.

[p] Often above, and very ſeldom under a Guinea a Quarter, uſually at a higher Price than Barley, and about two Thirds the Price of Wheat.

[q] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. cxxx. p. 758. It is a moſt horrid Diſtemper, ending frequently in an incurable Gangrene.

[r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. p. 9. Plutarch. de Iſid. & Oſirid. Reimm. Id. Antiquit. Egypt. § 25, p. 54. It deſerves ſome Conſideration what this Invention was. It appears from the firſt cited Author, that Iſis found the Plants of Barley and Wheat growing in the Woods, and that ſhe taught Men how to collect, ſow, and cultivate them, ſo as to increaſe the Quantity, and at the ſame Time to meliorate the Grain.

[s] The Produce of Barley, as ſtated by Mr. King, was 27,000,000 of Buſhels. At preſent the the annual Produce is 38,826,176 Buſhels in a common Year.

wholeſome,

wholeſome, hearty, and nouriſhing [t]. There is particularly a certain Sort of it ſtiled Naked or Wheat Barley, the Flour of which anſwers better than any other for that Purpoſe [u]. But Barley in general, on account of its being more incumbered with Bran, is now chiefly employed for the making MALT, which is a very uſeful, extenſive, and curious Manufacture, by which Multitudes are maintained [w]. Malt is brewed into Beer and Ale of different Kinds, the Uſe of which is as general in reſpect to Drink, as that of Wheat in regard to Bread [x], and from hence ariſes great Profit to Individuals, and a very large Revenue to the Public [y]. Beſides this there is a very large Conſumption of Malt by the Diſtillers, who draw from thence amazing Quantities of Spirits, on which likewiſe there are very conſiderable Duties [z].

IN ſome Countries in Europe Barley is uſed as Oats are with us in feeding Horſes [a]. It ſerves alſo admirably well for fatting Hogs, Poultry, and other Animals [b]. We export, after ſupplying our own large Demands of all theſe different Kinds, both in Grain and Malt, to a very conſiderable Amount [c]. We grow at preſent about one Fourth of this Grain more than we did at

[t] The Conſumption of this Grain in Bread is computed at 8,129,000 Buſhels. It is allowed that thoſe who eat Barley-Bread eat one with another eleven Buſhels in a Year, whereas People uſually eat but eight Buſhels of Wheat. This is highly probable, ſince Barley commonly weighs but from Forty-four to Forty-ſeven Pounds a Buſhel; in the Counties where nine Pecks are computed to a Buſhel it ſometimes weighs Fifty-eight Pounds.

[u] Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xxii. § i. cap. 3, 4. Plot's Staffordſhire, p. 343. Hordeum Nudum, or Zeopyrum, this by the Botaniſts is called Tritico-Speltum. At Rowley, where it grows plentifully, they call it French Barley. It produces largely, makes Bread very near as good as Wheat, and Malt not inferior to any Barley.

[w] The annual Quantity of Barley made into Malt is computed to be 26,400,000 Buſhels, and the Duty on Malt in 1762 amounted to £. 1,011,701.

[x] It appears from hence, if there were no other Arguments to prove it, that Agriculture is the great Support of the Nation, in which every Individual is intereſted for the moſt material Articles of his daily Subſiſtence in Food and in Drink; in this Reſpect all Manufactures depend upon it; from its Produce it is the chief Stay of the Landed Intereſt; it contributes largely to Navigation and Commerce, and in various Ways; and, taking all theſe together, to a vaſt Amount towards the Maintenance of Government. All theſe Benefits, important as they are, become exceedingly more ſo, from the Conſideration that they are ſtable and permanent, the Work of Prudence and Perſeverance, and which can never decline but through Indolence and Folly.

[y] The groſs Duty on Malt in 1762 has been given above, and in 1764; the Quantity which paid Exciſe advanced to 28,000,000 of Buſhels.

[z] It is ſufficient to ſhew the Importance of the Diſtillery to the Public to remark, that every Quarter of Corn conſumed therein pays three Pounds or more in Duty.

[a] This was the Uſage of the Romans, and is ſtill ſo of the Spaniards, and of many other Nations who have it in Abundance, and make no Uſe of Malt.

[b] The Conſumption in this Way, conſidering how much better Animals for Food are now kept to what they were formerly, muſt be very large. It has been rated by good Judges at 936,000 Buſhels, which is rather certainly within than beyond the Truth.

the Beginning of the current Century [c]; that is, in South Britain; and it may be ſtill more in Proportion in North Britain and Ireland; in both which Countries it thrives exceedingly well, and it has been of late Years, as we have before obſerved, very aſſiduouſly cultivated [d]. As the Bran of Wheat, ſo the Duſt of Malt, is found by Experience to be a moſt excellent Manure; and indeed the Grains and the very Lees of Malt Liquors are converted to profitable Uſes [e].

Oats are of different Kinds, diſtinguiſhed commonly from their Colours into black, grey, red, and white Oats; and as a very uſeful and profitable Grain, cultivated throughout all the Britiſh Iſlands [f]. In the County of Cornwall, and in the Biſhoprick of Durham, it may be alſo in other Counties, there is a Sort of naked Oats, which very much reſembles Wheat, and is ſaid to ſell almoſt as dear, as we have already mentioned elſewhere [g]. This Grain is ſtill uſed in making Bread in Wales, over the greateſt Part of Scotland, and in the North of Ireland, and the People who eat it are ſtrong, active, and healthy [h]. It ſerves in other Reſpects as a neceſſary and ſalubrious Article both in Food and in Phyſic to the Inhabitants of the whole Iſland, and great Quantities of it are continually uſed at Sea [i]. But the principal Conſumption, more eſpecially of late Years, and particularly in South Britain, hath been for the Feeding of Horſes, being from Experience found the wholeſomeſt and fitteſt for that Uſe;

[c] It has been computed that we annually export in Barley 299,184 Buſhels, in Malt 1,806,840 Buſhels, and our Exports in both continue to increaſe.

[d] For the Hiſtory of this Grain, ſee Columel de re Ruſtica, lib. ii. cap. ix. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. vii. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xxii. § 1. cap. v. Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 155. Staffordſhire, p. 343. Childrey's Britan. Baconica, p. 11. Morton's Natural Hiſtory of Northamptonſhire, p. 479. Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 39. 53. Mortimer's Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 130. 151. 333. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 271—289. Borlaſe's Cornwall, p. 87, 88.

[e] Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 50, 51, where he ſhews the Uſes, explains the Reaſons, and aſſigns the Quantities of this Manure.

[f] For the Hiſtory of Oats, ſee Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xvii. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xxii. cap. xiii. Sibbaldi Scotia illuſtrata, lib. i. P. i. cap. xiv. Worlidge's Syſtem of Huſbandry, p. 40, 41. 54. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 134. 151. 354. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 289—295. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 209.

[g] Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, p. 344, 345. Mortimer's Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 136. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 87.

[h] It is generally held, that in South Britain fewer People eat Oat than either Barley or Rye-bread, and yet the annual Conſumption of Oats in this Way amounts to 14,329,800 Buſhels, which falls only ſhort 1,791,200 Buſhels of the Rye and Barley uſed in Bread put together. This ariſes from the different Quantities which are requiſite for Subſiſtence. A ſingle Perſon eating of this Bread within a Buſhel of three Quarters in a Year. The common Weight of the Buſhel ſeldom exceeds forty Pounds, and where it contains nine Pecks riſes but to forty-five.

[i] Markham's Complete Engliſh Houſe-wife, B. ii. chap. viii. p. 175. where there is a large Account of the Uſes made of Oats in his Time, which is curious.

and in regard to this, it is at preſent become a very conſiderable Object [k]. Oats are likewiſe very much uſed for the Fatting of Poultry and other Animals, and were formerly preferred to all other Grain for this Purpoſe. They may be, and in Times paſt were frequently malted, and made a very good, pleaſant, and wholeſome Drink, yielding likewiſe a very fine Spirit [l].

In the Opinion of ſome it is not at all impoſſible that their Hulls might be employed as the Bran of Wheat is in making Starch [m]. As there was no Bounty allowed upon the Exportation of this Grain in the firſt Statutes, the Defect was afterwards ſupplied [n]. But notwithſtanding this, it has been thought by the beſt Judges, that there ſtill remain ſome Defects which ought to be remedied, and this it is conceived might be eaſily done, by putting Oats on a proper Proportion with other Grain, which would very much facilitate the free Circulation both of the Corn and Meal here at Home, and thereby prevent a Monopoly of ſome Parts of the Kingdom againſt the Reſt, and might alſo promote a farther Cultivation [o]; which ſeems to be a Thing extremely neceſſary, ſince though we grow at preſent more than double the Quantity that we did about Sixty Years ago [p], yet the Demand is ſo much increaſed as to occaſion frequent and large Importations, and this too (which deſerves Notice) at a Price ſo high as to be viſibly inconſiſtent with the public Intereſt [q], and which by the Amendments above propoſed might very probably be prevented.

Besides theſe different Kinds of Grain, there are ſeveral Sorts of Pulſe that are ſet or ſown for intermediate Crops in what is ſtiled Arable

[k] It is computed that for the Maintenance of Horſes, and in other Uſes, we ſpend yearly 19,692,000 Buſhels. But our whole Growth amounts to no leſs than 33,927,576 Buſhels; whereas Mr. King ſtates the Produce of Oats at 16,000,000 Buſhels. But our uſual Conſumption amounts to 34,021,800 Buſhels, which is ſupplied by an annual Importation of this Grain, which ſeems to be ſtill encreaſing.

[l] Mr. Gervaſe Markham in the Work before cited, B. ii. chap. vii. gives the Method of malting Oats, which in his Time he ſays was commonly practiſed in Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, Derbyſhire, Devonſhire, Cornwall, and elſewhere. Mr. Mortimer aſſures us, that in Kent they commonly brewed with one half Barley and the other Oat-malt.

[m] This Obſervation has ariſen from conſidering the Reſemblance between boiled Starch and Flummery, which is beſt made from the Hulls of Oats ſteeped in Water; and from the Likeneſs of the Thing produced, and the Similarity of the Proceſs in making it, a Preſumption appears, that this Grain might be applied as well as Wheat in this Manufacture, which, if Experience ſhould juſtify this, would be of Utility.

[n] Stat. 5 Ann. cap. xxix. § 10. gives a Bounty of 2 s. 6 d. a Quarter on Oats exported, when Oats are under fifteen Shillings a Quarter.

[o] It has been ſuggeſted, that inſtead of 15 s. Exportation ſhould be permitted till Oats are 20 s. a Quarter, but this Merits mature Conſideration.

[p] We have before ſtated the preſent Growth, from the Tracts on the Corn Trade to what is mentioned by Mr. King, to be as 17 to 8, and yet we fall ſhort of the Demand.

[q] In A. D. 1763, was the greateſt Importation, which amounted in Oats and Oat-meal to 219,310 Quarters, or 1,754,480 Buſhels, which muſt coſt about £. 175,448.

Land,

Land, from an ancient, well founded, and ſtill prevailing Opinion, that inſtead of impoveriſhing or exhauſting, they nouriſh and improve the Soil [r], turning alſo in their own Produce to very conſiderable Advantage. Amongſt theſe we may in the firſt Place very juſtly reckon PEASE, that is Field Peaſe, of which in the common Eſtimation there are a great many Kinds, denominated ſometimes from their different Colours, and ſometimes from the Places in which from their ſucceeding beſt they are moſt eſteemed. But a very able Writer of our own Country very judiciouſly obſerves, that they may be all reduced to two Sorts, diſtinguiſhed by their Size, the leſſer and the larger [s]. They are likewiſe held to be very tickliſh, and incertain in their Succeſs, for which the ſame Author aſſigns very probable Reaſons [t]. However of ſome Sort or other they are univerſally cultivated, and ſerve for a great Variety of Uſes. Large Quantities in a Diverſity of Ways are conſumed annually in our Kitchens, ſtill larger in Sea Proviſions, and much more than both theſe taken together in the Fattening of Hogs, which creates a conſtant, conſiderable, and continual Demand [u].

NEXT to theſe we may reckon BEANS, which ſerve likewiſe for much the ſame Purpoſes [w], are exported for the Food of the Negroes in our Plantations, employed in feeding Horſes at Home; ſo that altogether they are in daily Uſe, and moſt certainly turn to a very conſiderable Amount [x]. VETCHES or TARES of various Denominations are likewiſe ſown for the Sake of yielding early Fodder for Cattle while green, and when ripe afford excellent Food for Pigeons [y]; as LENTILS, which the common People call

[r] Columel. de re Ruſtica, lib. ii. cap. x. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, chap. xi. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 317, 318, 319.

[s] Columel. ubi ſupra. Plin Hiſt. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xii. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xviii. cap. ii. p. 890. Langham's Garden of Health, p. 473. Markham's Farewell to Huſbandry, p. 93. 106, 107. Mortimer's Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 137. 355.

[t] Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 300—315, where he obſerves, that beſides the Diſtinction of Size mentioned in the Text, there is another Diſtinction which reſpects both the leſſer and the larger, and this is their being tender or hardy, and by having a due Regard in the Choice of the Lands on which, and of the Time in which, they are ſown, by adverting to theſe Diſtinctions, all Incertainty may be in a great meaſure at leaſt, if not wholly prevented.

[u] We have enumerated the principal Uſes of Peaſe, of which there is a great, and alſo growing Conſumption in Town and Country, immenſe Quantities annually put on board our Ships, a great deal uſed in Hoſpitals, Infirmaries, and Workhouſes; ſo that one cannot well conceive we ſhould uſe leſs than we did formerly; and yet Mr. King's Computation of 7,000,000 of Buſhels ſeems beyond the Truth: If, as it is not at all impoſſible, this ſhould be the Caſe in regard to ſome of his other Eſtimates, it will turn the more in Favour of our modern Improvements.

[w] The ancient Writers as before, as alſo Markham. Worlidge's Syſtem of Huſbandry, p. 42. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 296—300. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 543.

[x] Mr. King ſtates the annual Growth of theſe Vegetables at 4,000,000 of Buſhels, in which poſſibly there may be ſome Miſtake.

[y] Columel. de re Ruſtica lib. ii. cap. xi. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xv. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xviii. § 1. cap. ix. p. 900. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 315—323. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 543.

Tills, do both for Pigeons and for Calves, and therefore in ſome Counties are in great Requeſt [z]. All theſe are raiſed with very little Trouble, grow when Seaſons are favourable luxuriantly, yield conſequently quick and large Returns, and, when brought to Market, are one with another ſold as dear or dearer than Barley, which makes them no inconſiderable Object to the Farmer, in Addition to his other Grain [a].

It is on this Principle they find a Place here by Way of Appendix to the Produce of Corn Lands. It is not poſſible, however, from any Inquiries, or indeed from the Nature of the Subjects themſelves, to enter into ſo much as a probable Calculation of their reſpective or comparative Values [b]. Yet we may venture to aſſert, without Fear of injuring Truth, that in Proportion to the greater Extent of our Corn Lands, and the Increaſe of all Sorts of Animals that are nouriſhed for Food, the Quantities of all Kinds of Pulſe muſt have been gradually very conſiderably augmented.

All theſe have an apparent Relation to the ancient Stile in Agriculture, and no ſmall Part might poſſibly be preſerved, by what ſeems to have been the Law of Farmers, a conſtant Tradition from the Times when our Lands were ſo ſucceſsfully cultivated by, or at leaſt under the Direction of the Romans, who as their learned and judicious Writings plainly ſhew, were very ſtudious in, and had a juſt Reverence and Eſteem for, this moſt uſeful and profitable Science [c]. In ſucceeding Ages there is no Queſtion, that in conſequence of the Travels of our obſerving and public-ſpirited Countrymen, and the Knowledge they obtained from their frequent Expeditions into foreign Countries, we borrowed new Lights from ſome of the moſt intelligent of our Neighbours, and more eſpecially from the Flemings [d], who for a long Time were very highly and very deſervedly famous for being one of the moſt ingenious, as well as one of the moſt induſtrious Nations in Europe, and with whom in different Periods we had very cloſe Connections [e].

[z] Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, chap. xi. Markham's Farewell to Huſbandry, p. 98. Mortimer's Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 140.

[a] An Acre for Example, that when ſowed with Wheat produces Three Quarters, when with Barley Four Quarters, with white Oats Three Quarters, will the ſucceeding Year bring a Load and a Half of Tares, and leave the Land fit with proper Tillage to carry a Crop of Wheat again the next Year. This ſhews the great Conſequence of theſe ſeemingly inconſiderable Articles.

[b] Computations when founded ſolely on Conjecture, as in theſe Caſes they muſt be, though intended only to explain, may probably miſlead, and for this Reaſon we decline them.

[c] Columel. de re Ruſtica, lib. i. cap. i. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 290. Eſſays on Huſbandry, p. 41—45.

[d] They were equally diſtinguiſhed by their accurate Skill in Agriculture, their ſingular Ability in Manufactures, and their wonderful Dexterity in Commerce.

[e] At firſt in regard to political Concerns, and afterwards from our commercial Intercourſe, as our Staple was eſtabliſhed at Antwerp.

It was from them ſomewhat more than a Century ago, as near as can be collected, that we learned the Nature, Value, and the Culture of Clover [f]. But it was notwithſtanding a great many Years after it had been thus introduced, that we came to make Uſe of this very valuable Acquiſition, as an intermediate Crop, which occaſions the Mention of it here [g]. In this View it is ſown about the Beginning of the Month of April, to the Quantity of Ten or rather of Twelve Pounds of Seed, though ſome ſay Twenty Pounds, upon an Acre [h], in Land naturally rich and warm, or on Lands that have been highly manured with Dung, Lime, or Marl [i]. About the End of May it will be fit for mowing, or, which is held better or more advantageous, may be then employed in feeding Cattle; and notwithſtanding this it will ſeed ſometime in the Month of June, ſooner at ſometimes and in ſome Places than in others, according to the Nature of the Soil, and Benignity or Backwardneſs of Seaſons; and then being again mowed, it is even after that, more eſpecially if the Weather is favourable, ſtill of ſome Value in feeding [k].

It is often luxuriant in its Growth, and proves conſequently a very profitable, but is ever an incertain and precarious Crop. It may, and ſometimes does yield five Buſhels of Seed; but three on an Acre is more common, and even then all the Advantages derived from it being computed and conſidered, it is not thought inferior in the Value of its Produce to Wheat [l]. The Seed is threſhed out of the Hay with no ſmall Trouble about March, and is always a ſaleable Commodity, though ſometimes at a

[f] Directions for the Improvement of barren Lands, London 1670, 4to. p. 11, 12, 13. This curious Piece was written by Sir Richard Weſton of Sutton in Surry, and by him addreſſed to his Sons. Samuel Hartlib had publiſhed Two Editions before under the Title of a Diſcourſe of the Huſbandry uſed in Brabant and Flanders. Mr. Hartlib has much more on this Subject in his Letters to the Honourable Robert Boyle, printed in the laſt Volume of his Works.

[g] The inquiſitive Reader, by conſulting the Authors cited in the next Note, may learn the Hiſtory and Progreſs of this valuable Improvement.

[h] Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xviii. § 3. cap. i. p. 944. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 2, 3, 4. Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. 205. v. p. 260. 267. Blith's Engliſh Improver Improved, p. 179—186. Worlidge's Syſtem of Huſbandry, p. 26—29. Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Huſbandry, vol. iv. p. 18. Mortimer's Huſbandry, B. i. ch. iv. p. 32—36. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. ii. p. 39—57. Tull's Horſe-hoeing Huſbandry, p. 188. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 553.

[i] It is looked upon as a great Improver of Clay Ground, chiefly by feeding it, and in this View it has been very much cultivated in Suſſex and other deep Soils.

[k] The feeding before it is mowed for Seed, according to the beſt Information I could obtain, may be eſtimated at a Guinea an Acre, and after mowing at about Three Shillings.

[l] It will appear from the foregoing and the following Note, that an Acre yielding Three Buſhels of Clover Seed, at 1 l. 5 s. is worth near a Fifth more than an ordinary Crop of Wheat at Thirty Shillings a Quarter, excluſive of the different Expence in raiſing the Two Crops, which is likewiſe in Favour of Clover.

higher,

higher, ſometimes at a lower Price [m]. Both by growing and feeding it ſo improves the Soil, that the Farmer ſeldom fails with due Care and Culture of reaping a good Crop of Wheat from the ſame Land the next Year [n]; and this Circumſtance, as in Juſtice it ought, is a ſtrong Recommendation; and therefore Clover is very likely to maintain that Credit in which in this Reſpect it has ſo long ſtood amongſt thoſe who are its only proper Judges; that is, the judicious and experienced Practitioners of Huſbandry [o]. Theſe are now much increaſed in Number, which is an Event equally favourable to the Art and to the Nation.

We owe to the ſame Country, and to the ſame Neighbours, another Improvement of the ſame Kind in reſpect to Turneps. The Value of them, even in the Manner in which we uſe them, though looked on as a new Species of Huſbandry, was however very far from being unknown to the Ancients, for Columella and Pliny both ſay, that they were generally eſteemed next in point of Value to Corn in their Produce; and the former aſſures us, that they fed their Cattle with them in Gaul in his Time [p]. But certain it is, that the firſt Notion of what has been ſince ſo generally and ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed by us, came, as we have ſaid, from Flanders at the ſame Time with Clover [q]. But at firſt, which has been too frequently the Caſe in Things of this Nature, it ſeems to have been overlooked, and even neglected for many Years [r], and then again propoſed, explained, and recommended with better Succeſs [s]. For it ſo fell out, which proved the

[m] When Clover was firſt introduced, and we had our Seed from abroad, it was ſometimes extravagantly dear, and, which was worſe, ſeldom to be depended upon. But ſince we found out that our own was the beſt, it has ſold (according to the Scarcity or Plenty) at or from One to Four Pounds a Buſhel; the beſt is of a greeniſh Yellow, and when ſpoiled becomes Black.

[n] Clover may be ſown after any Crop, it will feed many more Cattle than common Graſs, and when mowed for Seed the Crop is removed in good Time.

[o] Experience is the Farmer's only Guide, and yet he can ſeldom ſpare Time or Money to make Experiments. The Society by their Premiums have removed, at leaſt, in a great meaſure this Difficulty. In doing this they have done more than was ever done towards promoting the Progreſs of Agriculture, and thereby merit highly of their Country.

[p] Columel. de re Ruſtica, lib. ii. cap. x. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xiii. lib. xix. cap. v. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 166.

[q] Directions for the Improvement of barren and heathy Land, p. 21, 22, where Sir Richard Weſton gives as full and plain Directions as can be deſired.

[r] The Edition of the Book, cited in the former Note, was publiſhed by one Gabriel Reeve, with an Epiſtle, dated Hackney, April 14th, 1670, to Kenrick Eyton of the Inner Temple, Eſq; He has prefixed Sir Richard Weſton's Letter to his Sons, but without his Name, or any Intimation that it had been printed Twenty Years before.

[s] Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xvi. § 1. p. 800. Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society, N°. cccIx, p. 974. Worlidge's Syſtem of Huſbandry, p. 46. Mortimer's Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 131. 157. Houghton's Collections, vol. iv. p. 144. Tull's Horſe-hoeing Huſbandry, chap. viii. p. 79. Liſle's Obſervations on Huſbandry, vol. ii. p. 26—36. Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxii. p. 453. 501. xxiii. p. 69. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 525.

principal Cauſe of its ſucceeding Progreſs, that the firſt effectual Trial of this enlarged Cultivation was made in a Country the fitteſt of all others for the Reception of ſuch an Improvement, where it ſucceeded as well as could be wiſhed; and yet, notwithſtanding this was ſo well known and much admired, ſo backward were People in thoſe Days in Things of this Nature, that it was ſome Time before it travelled out of Norfolk into the next County, Suffolk, and from thence into Eſſex [t]. In the ſame Proportion as the Turnep Culture prevailed, it was rendered more and more uſeful, by correcting ſeveral Inconveniencies with which at its firſt Introduction it was attended [u]. But for many Years paſt it has been continually ſpreading, not only into moſt Parts of South, but alſo into North Britain and Ireland, where its Utility is ſo apparent that it continues to extend itſelf every Day [w].

TURNEPS carefully cultivated, more eſpecially according to the new Huſbandry [x], grow to a large Size, many of them from Six to Fourteen Pounds a Turnep, or more [y]. We may the leſs wonder at this, ſince Pliny ſpeaks of Forty Pounds, and other Writers mention Turneps of far greater Weight [z]. It is not however their Size only, but the Quantity of Turneps which render the Crops of them ſo highly beneficial. Fifty or even Sixty of theſe large Roots are in the new Huſbandry frequent on a ſquare Perch,

[t] There is a wide Difference between an Improvements being known and publiſhed, and its coming into general Uſe; in reſpect to which, an Hiſtory of Britiſh Huſbandry would be of great Utility. As to this particular Huſbandry, it came into Norfolk about the Beginning of this Century, and in about Twenty Years grew into general Uſe there, where it ſtill continues to flouriſh, and is proſecuted with increaſing Succeſs every Year.

[u] See an Account of theſe Inconveniencies and their Remedies in Tull's Horſe-hoeing Huſbandry, p. 91, 92. An Engine has been invented for ſlicing of Turneps, and the Society offered a Premium to make ſuch an Engine uſeful and cheap. In Ireland alſo ſuch Inſtruments have been brought into Uſe by the Care of their Society, the laudable Endeavours of which for the Improvement of their Country are univerſally known, and as univerſally applauded.

[w] In many Parts of the South of Scotland they cultivate Turneps with Aſſiduity and Succeſs. In Ireland alſo they are falling into this Huſbandry. In both Countries as Improvements are made by or under the Inſpection of Perſons of Property, they are commonly carefully and effectually performed.

[x] The great Lord Viſcount Townſhend, a Practiſer as well as Patron of Agriculture, made a Trial of both Methods in the ſame Field, when the Difference appeared to be no leſs than One Ton and an Half in the Produce of an Acre, in Favour of the New or Drill Huſbandry. Beſides the Roots raiſed in this Way are perfectly ſweet, free from that Rankneſs which attends the Uſe of Dung, and of courſe communicates no bad Taſte to the Milk or Fleſh of the Cattle that feed upon them.

[y] Mr. Tull ſays he has heard of ſome 19 lb. but has often known them of 16 lb. However, in 1758, there was one pulled up near Tudenham in Norfolk upwards of 29 lb. Weight.

[z] Hiſt. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xiii. He ſays the beſt grew in the Country of the Sabines, and were worth at Rome a Seſtertius or Two Pence a Piece.

which

which amounts to about Eighty Quarters on an Acre [a]. In moſt Soils, with due Attention, Turneps do remarkably well, but moſt ſo in light, warm, gravelly Grounds, and in Sand, where they are thought to meliorate the Soil [b]. The great Profit that almoſt conſtantly accrues from them, ariſes from their being excellent Food for all Sorts of Cattle. Ewes, Lambs, Sheep, Oxen, and even Hogs, are not only fed but fattened by them, properly managed, and with the Addition of a very little dry Food [c].

THE very great and continued Succeſs attending this Huſbandry hath, as will be preſently explained, opened a Field to farther Improvements of a like Nature [d]. It may be, that even in regard to theſe already valuable Roots in this inquiſitive Age, and when ſo great Attention is ſhewn to every Thing of this Nature, ſome farther Progreſs may be ſtill made [e]. But even as Things now ſtand, there is no one Branch of Engliſh Huſbandry that hath been more admired and eſteemed by Foreigners than this, and in which they have teſtified a greater Inclination to imitate us, more eſpecially in Germany and in France [f].

CARROTS ſeem to be as early if not earlier brought into this Country than Turneps, for, as in another Place we have already obſerved, the Flemings, who fled hither in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, finding the Soil

[a] Tull's Horſe-hoeing Huſbandry, p. 89. Dr. Deſaguliers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions before cited ſhews, that an ounce of Turnep Seed contains between Fourteen and Fifteen thouſand Grains; and he farther ſhews, that ſuppoſing the Growth always uniform, a Turnep may increaſe Fifteen Times its own Weight in a Minute.

[b] It was this that gained them ſo much Credit in Norfolk; and the Money gained by this, as it put Wealth in the Farmers Purſes, ſo it gave them a Turn to ſeveral other Improvements, and a Capacity as well as a Spirit to purſue them; which ſo changed the Face of Things in that County, that an Eſtate at Sculthorpe, which had been let to a Warrener for Eighteen Pounds, in no very long Space came to be worth 240 l. per Annum.

[c] The Number of Cattle fed and fattened by this Means is in may Reſpects beneficial to the Public as well as the Proprietors, and has contributed not a little to the Improvements before mentioned.

[d] Amongſt theſe we may include the Trial made by Dr. Hill in regard to the Naper or Norway Turnep, which grows to a large Size on Hillocks raiſed upon Bogs. This, though of no great Conſequence in a fertile Country, may be found of great Utility in Moors and Moraſſes, till they fall into the Hands of ſuch as can afford to drain and cultivate them in a better Manner. All Experiments of this Nature ought to be made as much known as poſſible.

[e] The Romans boiled and eat the green Leaves, as has alſo been done here in hard Froſts. In Times of Scarcity they formerly boiled Turneps, and after preſſing kneaded them with an equal Quantity of Wheat Flour into what was called Turnep Bread. The many Uſes to which they are applied in Medicine are well known, and ſtrongly ſupported by Experience.

[f] His late Majeſty cauſed an Abſtract of the Norfolk Huſbandry to be publiſhed for the Uſe of his Subjects in Hanover. The French have alſo introduced and made many Experiments for the Advancement of this Improvement.

remarkably

remarkably fit for them, introduced them about Sandwich [g]. They grew quickly into Eſteem as an edible Root, and, conſidered as ſuch, were propagated through, and carefully cultivated in moſt Parts of the Iſland [h]. They were afterwards ſown in Fields, and chiefly employed in the Fattening of Swine and Geeſe. But the principal Object aimed at by this enlarged Cultivation was their Seed, which bore a great Price, and for which there was a conſtant Market [i]. This was practiſed in the laſt Century, particulary in Northamptonſhire, where the ſandy Soil agreeing well with the Root, proved favourable for this Improvement, and conſequently diffuſed the Practice conſiderably. At length, in the Eaſtern Part of Suffolk, encouraged by the Succeſs of the Norfolk Farmers in regard to Turneps, they began to grow Carrots, for which their Soil was better adapted, and applying them to the ſame Purpoſes met with like Succeſs [k]. In this County they might have continued long unheeded, and been looked upon as a mere local Improvement, if the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Arts had not, by the Promiſe of a Premium [l], called the extenſive Cultivation of this uſeful Root into a Point of public View, and have thereby excited thereto a ſtronger Degree of Attention.

It was in conſequence of this that an active, ſenſible, and induſtrious Farmer in Norfolk, after making a few leading Experiments, ventured to ſow upwards of Thirty Acres, and which was equally ſerviceable to the Public, gave a clear, plain, and diſtinct Account of his whole Management in the Courſe of this Undertaking, which gave much Satisfaction [m]. Carrots

[g] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 398, from which Sandwich Carrots are ſtill famous, as in the laſt Age were Sandwich Peaſe.

[h] Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. ix. § 3. cap. xix. p. 465. Langham's Garden of Health, p. 123, 124. Muffet on Foods, p. 218. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 461. Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 164. Moreton's Natural Hiſtory of Northamptonſhire, p. 484. Mortimer's Huſbandry, B. v. chap. xxii. p. 201. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. ii. p. 283. Miller's Gardiners Dictionary.

[i] The Markets fluctuated from Five to Twelve Pounds an Hundred. Mr. Mortimer informs us, that a Farmer in Eſſex grubbed an Orchard of a ſingle Acre, dug it up, ſowed it with Carrots, which produced Ten Hundred-weight of Seed, which he ſold at London for Ten Pounds an Hundred.

[k] This Culture prevailed chiefly about Woodbridge, where the Soil is moſtly Sand with a ſmall Mixture of Loam. Carrots grew there to a very large Size, and they had commonly Twenty Loads or more upon an Acre. They uſed them chiefly for Feeding their Horſes, and ſometimes when they had very large Crops ſent conſiderable Quantities by Sea to London.

[l] The Society promiſe Three Premiums of Twenty, Fifteen, and Ten Pounds for the greateſt Quantities of Land ſowed with Carrots, not leſs than Ten, Eight, and Six Acres, to obtain theſe Premiums reſpectively, and promiſe a Gold Medal for the beſt Account that ſhall be given of the moſt profitable Method of cultivating them, which Premiums are extended to North Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies in North America.

[m] The Title of this little Piece is, "An Account of the Culture of Carrots, and their great Uſe in feeding and fattening Cattle, by Robert Billing, Farmer, at Weaſenham in Norfolk, London, 1765,"

rots affect a light, warm, ſandy Soil, and the nearer the Land on which they are cultivated approaches to this ſo much the better. If it hath borne a Crop of Turneps the preceding Year it is ploughed twice, otherwiſe thrice at leaſt, and muſt be alſo properly dunged. The firſt ploughing early, that is about November, in a ſlight Manner, but the ſecond as deep as the Staple of the Earth will allow [n]. The Seed being ſmall and very apt to cling together, it is firſt preſſed through a fine Chaff Sieve, and then carefully ſown, about Four Pounds upon an Acre. Sometimes immediately after Lady Day, but always in the Courſe of the Month of April. In about Three Weeks the Carrots begin to appear, and in Six or Seven are fit for the Hoe. In the Space of a Fortnight after, they are harrowed, and if the Weather be rainy, the hoeing and harrowing muſt be repeated [o]. Towards the Cloſe of October the Carrots are drawn either with a four-tined Fork, or a narrow ſhared Wheel Plough going ſlowly, followed by a Boy who picks up the Carrots, and lays them in Heaps. The hoeing, harrowing, and drawing, as we have intimated already, are attended with a conſiderable Charge [p].

The Produce is from Ten to Seventeen, to Twenty, to Twenty-two, and even Twenty-four Loads of Carrots on an Acre [q]. In regard to the Uſes of this Improvement, they are numerous and of ſome Conſequence. Cows feeding on them give much Milk, from whence excellent Butter is made, well taſted, and of a fine Colour. Calves thrive admirably on

1765," 8vo. The Account was publiſhed by the Deſire of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Extracts from it were inſerted in moſt of the periodical Collections, and thereby the Hiſtory of this Improvement extenſively diffuſed.

[n] There is much Streſs laid upon the Ploughing. Some recommend doing it early in Autumn, laying it in high Ridges that it may be mellowed by the Froſt. It is to be croſs-ploughed in February, and the third Ploughing in March for the Reception of the Seed. Some uſe two Ploughs, one following the other in the ſame Furrow, and the latter looſening the Earth, a Foot and an Half deep. Others, inſtead of the ſecond Plough, have a Man following the firſt Plough with a Spade.

[o] The firſt Hoeing Mr. Billing ſays coſt him Ten or Twelve, the ſecond Five Shillings an Acre. This with the Harrowing makes the Culture expenſive. But as Carrots are not expoſed like Turneps to the Fly or to the Caterpillar, which make them a more certain, and in their Nature they are a more beneficial Crop. This being the Caſe, the Farmer will have no great Reaſon to complain, and with regard to the Public the more poor People who are employed ſo much the better.

[p] In the former Note it hath been ſhewn, that this is no very ſtrong, much leſs an inſurmountable Difficulty. But we ought alſo to conſider, that as this Improvement advances theſe Objections will be removed. As People are more uſed to Hoeing, they will do it quicker and cheaper; add to this, that Farmers themſelves will fall upon Methods of Leſſening the Trouble which naturally, indeed neceſſarily, attends any new Undertaking.

[q] Mr. Billing gives a very diſtinct and clear Account of his Crop. On Thirty Acres and an Half, he aſſures us he had Five hundred and Ten Loads of Carrots, many of them Two Feet in Length, and from Ten, to Twelve, to Fourteen, and even to Sixteen Inches in Circumference at the Top. This he judges to have been equal to One thouſand Load of Turneps, and went as far as Three-hundred Load of Hay, which was, as he alſo tells us, at that Time worth One Pound Five Shillings a Load.

theſe

theſe Roots, and Bullocks fatten upon them expeditiouſly. They agree equally well with Sheep. Horſes will perform all ordinary Work without any other Suſtenance. Swine eat them readily, increaſe in Fleſh, and require only a few Buſhels of Peaſe to harden their Fat, and are therebe made fit either for Pork or Bacon [r]. They ſerve alſo wonderfully well for Poultry. They are ſtrongly recommended for Dogs, and in hard Winters they have been found highly ſerviceable in preſerving Deer [s]. But after mentioning theſe Advantages, it is but juſt to allow, that the Cultivation of Carrots is attended with ſome Inconveniencies. All Lands that bear Turneps will not ſerve for Carrots, their Culture, for the Reaſons before aſſigned, is more expenſive, and in caſe of Froſt they are with great Difficulty drawn out of the Ground [t]. On the other Hand, they are allowed to be a more certain, and a more profitable Crop. They keep better, and the Method of raiſing them out of the Earth by the Plough, beſides other Advantages, prepares the Soil for any other Crop, which in caſe of their being followed by Barley particularly, hath been remarkably plentiful [u]. Upon the Whole, this is certainly a valuable Acquiſition, as it affords us a new and cheap Suſtenance for Animals, and at the ſame Time furniſhes an admirable Precedent for future Improvements [w].

[r] All theſe Facts are alſo taken from Mr. B's Account, where he enters fully into Particulars, ſo as to leave no Doubt that what he wrote was from his own Experience and well conſidered. This ſhews the Importance of this new Huſbandry, and it is hoped will juſtify the Pains taken here to ſet it in a proper point of Light. It is very ſeldom that in Matters of this Nature one has ſuch authentic and concluſive Evidence.

[s] In reference to Horſes, the Virtues of Carrots in preſerving and reſtoring their Wind had been long known and practiſed as a Secret before it was introduced as their common Food in Suffolk. It may be this afforded a Hint for giving them to Dogs, as better and cheaper than what they are uſually fed with. It is alſo probable that Carrots may keep them cool, and prove in ſome Degree a Preſervative from Madneſs. Mr. Miller ſpeaks of their Utility in reſpect to Deer.

[t] The proper Time for drawing Carrots is when their Leaves change Colour. As to their ſuffering by Froſt, it probably happens but ſeldom, and it ſeems to be a Proof of this, that the Culture continued many Years in Suffolk, which it would ſcarce have done if this Accident had been frequent. When through Practice in different Soils, the Management of theſe Roots comes to be thoroughly underſtood, Means will probably be found to guard againſt it.

[u] It ſeems to deſerve Notice, that the Reaſon aſſigned by Mr. B. for Ploughing but twice for this Carrot Crop the Land that bore Turneps is, that it was thoroughly clean from the Cultivation and Summer Hoeing of the preceding Crop. Neither was there any Dunging but what proceeded from the Feeding off the Turneps, yet he had Sixteen Loads of Carrots on an Acre. He ſays he had Three Loads of Barley on an Acre after the Carrots. He farther tells us, that in a former Year having ſown the Two Ends of a large Cloſe with Carrots without Dung, and the Middle with Turneps, for which the Land was well dunged, when the Whole was the next Year ſown with Barley, that after the Carrots was the beſt.

[w] This hath been ſo much inſiſted upon for many Reaſons. As a new Huſbandry it deſerved to be particularly explained. It ſhews how long an Improvement of this Kind may be overlooked and neglected. It proves laſtly, what prodigious Advantages are in our Days derived from arable Land, for the Maintenance of Cattle and other Animals. Advantages to which our Forefathers were utter Strangers.

PARSNEPS, as they have a great Reſemblance to Carrots, have like them been many Years in our Kitchen Gardens, and eſteemed equally pleaſant and nutritive as Food [x]. But hitherto no Trials have been made how far they might be acceptable to Animals. On the Knowledge, however, that in this View they had been cultivated in the neighbouring Country of Bretagne with ſome Degree of Succeſs [y], the Society for Encouraging Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, very generouſly gave a Premium to facilitate the Culture of theſe Roots for the like Purpoſe here. How far this will ſucceed Time muſt determine. It ſeems however certain, that being inferior in point of Profit to Carrots, they are by no Means likely to ſupplant them. But if what a very intelligent and judicious Writer aſſerts, that they thrive beſt in a Soil directly oppoſite to that which is moſt proper for Carrots [z], ſhould be found a Fact, they may then be cultivated in ſome Places where the Land is unfit for Carrots to conſiderable Advantage. At all Events the Conduct of the Society merits much from the Public, as by their Interpoſition a Trial will probably be made, from which the Poſſibility of this Culture in this Country will be aſcertained, and the real Value of it rendered apparent [a].

UPON the ſame judicious Principle they have in like Manner given Encouragement to ſeveral other Attempts, ſuch as the Sowing of Parſley in Fields for the Feeding of Sheep, which is ſaid to have been tried many Years ago, and not without Succeſs, in Hampſhire [b], and beſides is a Thing very reaſonable in

[x] Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. ix. § 1. cap. ii. p. 409, 410. Langham's Garden of Health, p. 464. Hartlib's Legacy of Huſbandry, p. 11. Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 165. Mortimer's Huſbandry, vol. ii. p. 156. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. ii. p. 283. Miller's Gardiners Dictionary. Dictionaire Oeconomique, vol. ii. col. 404, 405. Dictionaire Univerſelle d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. iv. p. 141.

[y] Corps d'Obſervations de la Societe d'Agriculture, de Commerce, et des Arts etablie par les Etats de Bretagne, p. 141. The Society were acquainted with this Huſbandry by M. le Brigant, who ſays the Seed is ſown in February or March, raiſed out of the Ground in October, or rather in November. He ſays that Cattle and Hogs thrive equally well on theſe Roots, and that Horſes would eat them, but that they render them dull, and ruin their Eyes and their Limbs.

[z] The ingenious Mr. Liſle ſays, that Carrots and Parſneps delight in different Soils, viz. Carrots in ſandy and the lighteſt Grounds, Parſneps in the ſtrongeſt Land. In ſupport of this he cites the learned Mr. Ray, who uſes the ſame Terms. One might conclude from hence, that one or other of theſe Improvements may be introduced in moſt Places. The great Point is whether both are alike wholeſome, and this muſt be decided from Experience.

[a] Before we part with this Subject abſolutely it may not be improper to remark, that Mr. Houghton in his Collections, vol. ii. p. 461, acquaints us that a Patent was obtained for diſtilling Spirits from Carrots and Parſneps, but that the Spirits from Parſneps came neareſt French Brandy. Mr. Hartlib and Mr. Mortimer both ſay, that Peaſe yield Plenty of a ſtrong and fine Spirit, more than two Gallons out of a Buſhel; the Proceſs may be found in the Art of Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 355.

[b] This Trial was made in the Neighbourhood of Portſmouth, and ſtands reported by Mr. Houghton in his Collections, vol. iv. p. 142, where many Reaſons are given in Favour of this Culture.

in itſelf, and which may very probably be attended with various Advantages when once it ſhall be brought into public Notice, as the Fleſh of Sheep fed upon this Herb is ſaid to derive from thence a very agreeable Flavour [c]. Theſe pecuniary Encouragements muſt neceſſarily be productive of many beneficial Conſequences in the introducing and eſtabliſhing thoſe new Huſbandries, and thoſe only which are found practicable and profitable; and which is of no leſs Utility in detecting ſpecious but deceitful Projects, which have frequently a fair Appearance on Paper, but which fail notwithſtanding in the Execution. Beſides, which is no inconſiderable Advantage, the giving, what was never done before, an Opportunity to every knowing and ingenious Perſon to propoſe his Thoughts in reſpect to this uſeful Science, and to bring his Notions to the Teſt of Experiment. By Means like theſe Agriculture will be gradually reduced to certain and ſtable Principles, and as this moſt uſeful Art extends national Plenty and Proſperity will of courſe extend with it.

We come now to ſpeak of Things that are in their Produce of far greater Value, which for that Reaſon are raiſed, not as intermediate Crops but by themſelves. The Hop came like our other Improvements from Flanders, and was introduced into this Country about Two Centuries and a Half ago [d], and hath been from that Time cultivated, and of late Years more eſpecially, with equal Aſſiduity and Succeſs [e]. There are ſeveral Kinds of Hops; but notwithſtanding this we find, generally ſpeaking, Two Kinds only that are at preſent cultivated in our Grounds, which are diſtinguiſhed

Culture. Mortimer in his Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 62, mentions it as practiſed in Buckinghamſhire to preſerve their Sheep from the Rot. He alſo relates that a Farmer in Eſſex made a great Improvement by ſowing ſome Lands with Muſtard Seed for the ſame Purpoſe.

[d] It is impoſſible to judge in ſuch Caſes with any Degree of Certainty otherwiſe than by a Trial. Things from which little is expected have produced extraordinary Effects, and others of much more promiſing Appearance produced nothing. Mr. Aſhby ſent One Hundred-weight of Rice from China to Carolina towards the Cloſe of the laſt Century, and in the Beginning of the preſent we imported from thence ſeveral Hundred Tons. A fruitleſs Experiment leads ſometimes to another that pays the Coſt of both.

[d] Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 457, where he ſays he was informed from Maidſtone (in the Neighbourhood of which at the Cloſe of the laſt Century they returned £. 200,000 a Year for Hops) they were introduced A. D. 1524, the Fifteenth of Henry VIII. which agrees with our old Chronicles, but they were known and uſed long before. In a Statute in the Reign of Edward VI. relating to Incloſures, an Exception is made in favour of Hop Grounds. We ſtill continued importing the greateſt Part of the Hops we conſumed, and were ſo ill uſed in this Commodity, that in the Firſt of King James I. a Law was made for preventing Frauds in the Package of Hops, in which it is ſaid, that Two thirds of what was brought over were Sticks, Stones, and Dirt, ſo that the Nation was annually cheated of more than £. 20,000.

[e] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. xv. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. iv. § 1. P. i. cap. i. p. 156. Merret. Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 74. Langham's Garden of Health, p. 328. Fuller's Worthies in Eſſex, p. 317, 318. Markham's Farewell to Huſbandry, B. ii. chap. xx. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 110. Worlidge's Syſtema Agriculturæ, p. 145—157. Britan. Baconica, p. 68. Mortimer's Huſbandry, B. v. ch. 20. p. 70—201. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 378.

by the Names of the Long White and the Oval Hop, and are commonly mixed together [f]. This Plant pierces very deep into the Earth, ſometimes, as we are told, Four or Five Yards, which is very neceſſary to obtain that copious Supply of Juices requiſite for its Growth [g]. In different Counties, for the Culture of it is now very widely ſpread, they employ very different Soils; but it is commonly allowed, that Land inclining to a South Expoſition, low and warm, defended from the Fury of the Winds, either by Hills or Trees, of a deep Soil, and where Water may be commanded in the Summer, is the propereſt for a Hop Garden [h]. The Culture of this Vegetable, than which none requires greater Care or more conſtant Attention, proves frequently beneficial in a very conſiderable Degree to Individuals, and is always ſo to the Community.

A VERY conſiderable Number of Perſons, and theſe in different Ways, are employed in the Management of a Hop-Plantation, and almoſt at all Seaſons in ſetting, weeding, dreſſing, polling, picking, drying, and bagging of Hops. All of theſe are in themſelves very nice and curious Operations, on the exact and accurate Performance of which, independent of Seaſons, which are alſo of great Conſequence, the Succeſs of the Hop Planter in a great meaſure depends [i]. The Benefits derived from them are ſubject to great Incertainty, no Plant being more expoſed to Accidents, and independent of this too great Fertility is to the induſtrious Owner ſometimes as fatal as too ſlender a Crop. But thoſe who have Money, and of courſe are able to wait for a Market, avail themſelves of both [k]. It hath been computed by thoſe who

[f] Dr. Childrey in his Britannia Baconica, mentions Hops growing naturally in the Marſhes between Thanet and Sandwich. If he means wild Hops, they are found in many Places. In Kent ſome Oeconomiſts plant Apple and Cherry Trees at convenient Diſtances in their Hop-grounds. At the Cloſe of Ten Years, when the Cherries bear plentifully, they deſtroy or tranſplant the Hops, and in Thirty Years cut down the Cherry Trees, the Apples being then in full Perfection.

[g] This can be only in a few deep Soils. In Kent they find Hops proſper well in a fine hazle Mould, though there be a rocky Bottom but three Feet below the Surface.

[h] It is clear from Experience, that they will do well in different Soils if due Care is taken in their Cultivation. In Eſſex, in a moory Ground, dug deep, well drained, and properly prepared. In the Neighbourhood of Farnham in Surry, where there are or were as fine Hops as any in England, and in the adjacent County of Hants, they throve on various Soils. In ſome Grounds they ſet the Hills at twice the uſual Diſtance, and yet have as many Hops on an Acre.

[i] The inquiſitive Reader, if he deſires to ſee the Whole of this curious Subject more minutely diſcuſſed, may conſult the Article Lupulus in Miller's Gardiners Dictionary, where he will alſo find ſome ingenious Experiments made by the learned and judicious Dr. Hale. What is here offered is to ſhew the national Importance of this Improvement, which would have been leſs perſpicuous without a general Account of the Nature and Cultivation of this Vegetable.

[k] The great Hop Planter, if a Man of Skill and Subſtance, ſeldom fails of making or rather earning a large Eſtate. He is continually attentive to his Grounds, and by that Attention provides for the accurate Culture of them, at a ſmall, at leaſt at a moderate Expence. In a common Year his Profits are conſiderable. In a Year of Plenty he lays by a Stock, and when in the Courſe of Four or Five Years Crops in general fail, his Stock fetches a large Price, and he has a ſure Sale.

are eſteemed the beſt Judges, that in an Acre of Hops, producing to the Value of Thirty Pounds, one Moiety goes clear into the Pocket of the Proprietor, and that the other Moiety of it goes in diſcharge of the Rent, Tythe, and all other Expences [l], except the Duty by Exciſe, which is however drawn back on Exportation [m]; and the Duties on Hops imported are ſo high as to prevent their coming in, except in a Time of extreme Scarcity, when the Brewery might be otherwiſe injured; and in many other Reſpects Proviſions have been made by Law to render the Proprietors of ſo precarious a Commodity as ſafe as poſſible [n].

Hemp is a Plant ſo generally known, and has been ſo long and univerſally employed in a Variety of Ways for the Service of Mankind, that it is unneceſſary to enter into any Deſcription of it [o]. As it is every where of Uſe, ſo it grows or at leaſt would grow in moſt Climates. It ſeems to thrive, riſe higher and ſtronger in the Northern Parts of the World; but is fairer and finer in Southern Countries. However in reſpect to this, very much depends upon Cultivation, and on the primary Manufacture [p].

[l] This Computation proceeds on the Suppoſition, that in a Year of moderate Fertility an Acre produces Ten Hundred-weight of Hops, and that theſe are ſold at Three Pounds an Hundred. The Moiety is thus accounted for, the Rent One Pound, the Tythe Ten Shillings, Expence of Huſbandry Three Pounds, for the Wear of Poles Four Pounds, for Picking and Drying Five Pounds, and for Dung One Pound Ten Shillings. Thus the Produce goes into a Variety of Hands, and the Public pays and yet gains the Whole.

[m] This Duty, which is One Penny on every Pound Averdupois of Hops cured, was impoſed by Stat. 9 Annæ, cap. xii. § 1. made perpetual 1 Geo. I. cap. xii. and Part of the Aggregate Fund. On ſo incertain a Produce the Duty muſt of courſe vary, and that very conſiderably. In A. D. 1760, it amounted to £. 42,115; in 1761, to £. 118,513; in 1762 to £. 81,781. On theſe Facts many Remarks might be made, but theſe will occur to every diſcerning Reader, as we have not room to inſiſt upon them here. It may not however be amiſs to add, that for Thirty five Years, ending A. D. 1753, the net Duty on Hops paid into the Exchequer amounted to £. 1,891,981, which is nearly £. 54,056 per Annum.

[n] Stat. 9 Annæ, cap. xii. § 1. gives an additional Duty of Three Pence a Pound on foreign Hops. None but Britiſh Hops can be imported into Ireland under the ſevereſt Penalties. No Drawback is allowed on the Hops ſent to Ireland; and Mr. Dobbs computed, A. D. 1730, the annual Exportation thither at £. 40,000. The deſtroying Hops while growing hath been made Felony without Benefit of Clergy.

[o] Columel. lib. xvi. cap. ii. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xix. cap. ix. lib. xx. cap. xxiii. Dioſcor. lib. iii. cap. cxli. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. iv. § 1. P. i. cap. ii. p. 158. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 19. Hartlib's Legacy of Huſbandry, p. 39—43. Worlidge Syſtema Agriculturæ, p. 43. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, Book v. chap. ii. p. 152, 153. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 96, 97, 98. Gee's Obſervations on the Growth of Hemp and Flax, 8vo. Dictionaire Oeconomique, tom. i. p. 506—510. Dictionaire Univerſelle d'Hiſtoire naturelle, tom. i. p. 524—531. Corps d'Obſervations de la Societe d'Agriculture, de Commerce, et des Arts etablie par les Etats de Bretagne, p. 137—145.

[p] In this the moſt intelligent of our own and foreign Authors agree. In the firſt Place the Soil is to be regarded, and that being either by Nature or by Art rendered fertile, if the Thread is to be fine the Seed muſt be ſown thick, and the Summer Hemp, eſpecially if well dreſſed, will produce a Yarn as fine as Flax, and of an excellent Colour. But if Strength be required, then the Seed is to be thinner ſown, and the Winter Hemp particularly will have great Strength and Subſtance.

In

It delights certainly in a deep, rich, and warm Soil; but Experience ſhews, that with due Care and proper Manure there are few Soils in which it may not be raiſed to Profit. The Land employed for this Purpoſe muſt be ploughed as often, and rendered as fine as for Barley [q]. It is ſown in the Month of April, ſooner or later as the Seaſon directs, about Three Buſhels upon an Acre. It riſes ſpeedily out of the Earth, and by its own Strength defends itſelf pretty well from Weeds, notwithſtanding which in ſome Places they hoe it carefully, and it thrives the better for it [r]. It is liable to Accidents as well as other Crops, but ſuffers moſt from a very dry Seaſon. The Sexes of this Plant are ſo obvious as to have been always diſtinguiſhed, which, however, has not hindered their being commonly miſtaken [s]. The Summer Hemp, as it is commonly called, is pulled about the Beginning of Auguſt; but the ſtronger Hemp not till towards Michaelmas, and great Care is to be taken in he firſt pulling [t] not to injure what is left ſtanding.

As no Country conſumes more of the Manufactures made of Hemp than our own, ſo perhaps there is not any Soil or Climate that agrees better with it, or where it may be, or indeed is raiſed in greater Perfection [u]. In the Northern Parts of Great Britain it riſes as high, and is as ſtrong and tough as that from Riga, and in the South we have it as fine as in France. We will not ſpeak here of the particular Places, as having already pointed them

[q] Markham's Farewell to Huſbandry, B. ii. chap. xv. p. 66—69. Engliſh Houſewife, B. ii. chap. v. p. 129—135. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 386—397. Theſe old Books repreſent the Principles of the ancient Culture of Hemp in Marſhland, Iſle of Axholme, and other Parts of Lincolnſhire, where it has flouriſhed for Ages, and ſtill flouriſhes upon very different Soils, and is the great Staple in thoſe Parts, producing high Rents and large Profits.

[r] The Advocates for the new Huſbandry think (and indeed with great Appearance of Reaſon) that it would be exceedingly advantageous in this Culture. It is allowed that the Stalks of Hemp twice hoed looked brighter, roſe higher, and ſpread more than uſual; and it has been ſown in Drills with Succeſs. It would be certainly an uſeful Experiment to cultivate Hemp for three Years ſucceſſively, according to the new Huſbandry, on a Soil of moderate Fertility, as in Caſe of Succeſs it would remove thoſe Prejudices that have hitherto hindered a general Cultivation.

[s] The common People eſteem the *Fimble* or Summer Hemp to be the *Female*, but it is truly the *Male*; for it bears ſmall yellow Flowers, from whence proceeds that prolifick Duſt which impregnates the Seeds born by the other Plant. This latter is the *Karl* or Winter Hemp commonly reputed the *Male*, becauſe the Stalks are ſtronger and ſtouter, but is really the *Female*, as bearing the Seeds, which unleſs fecundated by the Duſt before-mentioned, will not grow or yield Oil.

[t] In this conſiſts the niceſt and moſt material Part of the Cultivation. If the Summer Hemp was allowed to ſtand a Fortnight longer, it might be pulled with greater Safety, and the Seed of the Plants left will be all full and fair, and amount to Three Quarters on an Acre.

[u] As to the ſuperior Quality of our Hemp, which is what I mean by Perfection, it appears from the Price, for when foreign Hemp ſells from 27 to 29 Shillings per Cwt. ours will fetch from 34 to 40 Shillings. We are not the only People who complain of this unjuſt Prepoſſeſſion. The French import Hemp from the North, yet the Inhabitants of Bretagne aſſerted theirs was better, and upon Trial before the beſt Judges in France ſo it was found. Upon this the States of Bretagne have taken the Cultivation of Hemp under their Protection.

out in this Work. But nothing is more certain than the Facts that have been advanced, ſo that it ſeems not a little ſtrange that we ſhould import annually ſuch large Quantities [w], unleſs it be the giving Bounties for the Production of it in our diſtant Colonies, when with a ſmall Degree of Attention we might ſupply even our large and conſtant Conſumption from the Growth of this Plant at Home [x]. It is, conſidered in this Light, and indeed in many others, a Thing that well deſerves the Notice and Encouragement of Government [y]. The Harveſt being late affords Employment for many poor People at a Seaſon when they ſtand moſt in need of it; for though it demands no great Attention while growing, yet the pulling, watering, beating, ſwingling, and heckling makes it paſs through many Hands, to whom it furniſhes a comfortable Subſiſtence, and the Produce of an Acre, when it has paſſed through theſe Operations, is very ſeldom leſs than Ten Pounds [z]. The Seed alſo is of great Value; but where this is principally regarded, the Plants ſhould be ſuffered to grow at a greater Diſtance from each other, and be alſo allowed to ſtand till they are thoroughly ripe.

FLAX

[w] Mr. Houghton tells us, we imported in A. D. 1695, 3573 Tons and 14 Cwt. In A. D. 1763, we received from Ruſſia as I have been informed, 764,874 Pouds of this Commodity, which makes about 12140 Tons, which ſhews the great Increaſe of our Manufactures, and the immenſe Saving that would ariſe if we could grow this, or the greater Part of it in the Britiſh Iſles; which their Extent, and the preſent Condition of many of them maturely conſidered, cannot be thought impracticable.

[x] The Two capital Objections to our growing Hemp in great Quantities, are, 1. That it requires the very beſt Land, which, as we have already obſerved, is not true. At Holme, in Spalding Moor, in the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire, the Soil is barren Sand, yet with proper Care and Culture it produces the fineſt Hemp in England, and large Crops of Flax alſo. 2. That it impoveriſhes the Land, ſo that it muſt reſt long before it can bear another Crop. This is beſt anſwered by a Fact. At Crowle in Axholm, there is one of the largeſt Fields in the whole Iſland, which hath not been fallowed Time immemorial. The Method purſued there is this; they manure their Barley Stubble in the Spring with freſh Horſe or Cow Dung, or both, and plough it under, then they ſow their Hemp Seed, and harrow it in with a ſhort-toothed light Harrow, and if the Seaſon be favourable have a good Crop. Hemp deſtroys all Vegetables, and leaving the Ground free from Weeds, it is by a Pin-fallow rendered fit for Flax in the Spring. As ſoon as the Flax is pulled they prepare the Ground for Wheat or Rye. After the Corn is got in they Pin fallow it, and in the Spring ſow Barley. Upon the Barley Stubble they manure and ſow Hemp as before. Thus they have Four Crops, and manure only once, and the Field which is a mere Sand never lies fallow. This Huſbandry is not confined to Crowle, but is practiſed in other Parts of the Iſland. See Mr. Gee's Obſervations on the Culture of Hemp and Flax, p. 12.

[y] If attentively conſidered, the Expediency of ſuch a Meaſure will be very apparent. It would be a Means of improving Land; it would employ a Number of Hands; it would be an immediate and immenſe Saving to the Nation. Beſides, there can ariſe no doubt as to its being practicable. If Hemp produced from Lands now in Cultivation had a Preference at the King's Yards, and a ſmall Bounty given on ſuch as grew on Land brought into Cultivation for that Purpoſe, we ſhould ſoon ſee the Effects.

[z] With ſuch Encouragement, it might afford full Subſiſtence to ſmall Farmers and their Families. Many Improvements would be quickly made in the Management, and particularly in the Dreſſing this Commodity. M. Marcandier, a Magiſtrate of Bourges, has wrote an excellent little Piece on this Subject, of which we have an accurate Tranſlation, intituled, A Treatiſe on Hemp, London,

Flax is a Vegetable well known, aſſiduouſly cultivated, and in the higheſt Eſteem from all Antiquity, being celebrated as one of the great Staples of Egypt, and from the Manufacture of which aroſe one of the moſt lucrative Branches of her Commerce [a]. It is thought to require a very deep, rich, and warm Land; but we know from Experience, that with proper Skill and Attention it will thrive exceedingly well on almoſt every Soil throughout the Britiſh Iſlands. It is indeed true, that the Ground which is to produce Flax ought to be ſeveral Times carefully ploughed, ſo as to render it perfectly fine, and muſt then be laid as ſmooth and even as poſſible [b]. It may be ſown about Three Buſhels on an Acre, in the firſt warm Weather after the Middle of March, and if Rain ſucceeds it muſt be kept free from Weeds till it riſes about Two Inches high [c]. In ſome Places they have ventured in this State to feed it with Sheep, and this without Prejudice. It is ripe ſomewhat later than Hemp, and when ripe is to be pulled as expeditiouſly as poſſible, and then laid in ſmall Parcels evenly with the Head towards the South that it may dry conveniently. It affords after this a great deal of Employment in watering, pilling, breaking, &c. which is certainly an Advantage, as it ſupplies Labour, and of courſe Subſiſtence to many poor People, and when all this is done the Profit is ſeldom leſs than Ten Pounds an Acre [d]. But when we conſider the Benefits that ariſe from this Commodity when it comes into the Hands of the Manufacturers, and the Multitudes that get their Bread in ſpinning, weaving, and bleaching it, it muſt appear to be a national Object of the greateſt Importance, and the more ſo, as there is not a Probability only, but, a Certainty that with pro-

1764. 8vo. This is with great Propriety dedicated to the Laudable Society for the Improvement of Arts Manufactures, and Commerce.

[a] Herodot. lib. ii. p. 56. Athen. Deipnos. lib. xiv. cap. dcxxvii. Plin. lib. xix. cap. i. The Scriptures alſo frequently mention the fine Linnen of Egypt. The principal Argument uſed to prove the People of Colchos were an Egytian Colony, was their Proficiency in this Manufacture. In Pliny's Time the Culture and even the Manufacture of Flax ſeem to have reached thoſe Countries, in which they ſtill flouriſh.

[b] This Notion, that Flax would ſucceed only in a rich fat Soil had ſunk ſo deep into the Mind of Sir Richard Weſton, who was a Gentleman well ſkilled in, as well as a great Lover of Huſbandry, that he was exceedingly amazed, when he found in Flanders they employed their rich Lands in producing Graſs, Barley, and Wheat, while their more valuable Crops of Flax, Turneps, and Clover, were raiſed by Dint of Cultivation out of barren Sands.

[c] Columel. de re Ruſtica, lib. ii. cap. x. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xix. § 2. cap. xi. p. 1072. Merretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 72, 73. Blith's Engliſh Improver Improved, cap. xli. p. 259. Markham's Farewell to Huſbandry, B. ii. ch. xv. p. 68. Moreton's Natural Hiſtory of Northamptonſhire, p. 485. Brabant Huſbandry by Sir R. W. Mortimer's Huſbandry, B. v. ch. xii. p. 154, 155. Tracts publiſhed by the Dublin Society.

[d] This Circumſtance of employing Numbers of induſtrious People in a kind of mixed Labour, in which Agriculture is compounded with Manufacture, ought to recommend the Culture of Hemp and Flax in an extraordinary Degree to intelligent Stateſmen, who muſt know how much the public Tranquillity depends on providing a conſtant and comfortable Subſiſtence every where, for ſuch as are diſpoſed to earn it, and at the ſame Time facilitates Settlements.

per Encouragement it might be made as much a Britiſh Staple as Wool [e]. On this Account it deſerves, and ſurely the Time is not far diſtant when it will meet with the utmoſt Attention, the only Thing requiſite to put it effectually in our Poſſeſſion.

It is owing chiefly to ſome ill-founded Prejudices that it is not already ſo, and a greater Service could not be rendered to the Public than by removing theſe Prejudices, not ſimply by Arguments, but by Experiments, which would put the Fact entirely out of Doubt [f]. The Dutch, who underſtand both the Culture and Manufacture of Flax better than any other Nation in the World, prefer their own Seed raiſed on the ſtiff Clays of Zealand to any that they receive from the Northern Parts of Europe, though they alſo drive a very great Trade in this. But the Flax employed in their Manufactures grows on a light, warm, gravelly Soil, and owes its Beauty and Fineneſs to their ſedulous Care in manuring, cultivating, making it properly in the Field, and in the Dreſſing it afterwards [g]. They likewiſe carefully guard againſt an Error into which we frequently fall, which is the pulling the Flax too green, by which in the firſt Place the Seed is loſt, and if preſerved is of little Value in reſpect to the producing another Crop. The Occaſion of this Error was the fairer Appearance of Flax when thus pulled than when ſuffered to ſtand longer. But this Advantage was ſimply in Appearance, ſince the green Flax loſes more in the Dreſſing, and has never that Strength in the Thread, which it would have if pulled in a more mature State [h]. We have the ſame Diverſity of Lands, and much more

[e] Another Circumſtance, which is no leſs in Favour of this Improvement is, that it muſt be both begun and continued in Country Places, and probably in different and diſtant Parts of the Country. This is actually the Caſe at preſent, in reſpect both to raiſing and manufacturing theſe Articles, more eſpecially in South Britain, where though great Quantities of Hemp and Flax are annually grown, and large Quantities of Homeſpun Linnen made, yet little of it goes to diſtant Markets.

[f] Theſe Experiments ſhould be made with great Care and Skill on Heaths, Moors, Commons, barren Sands, and other waſte Lands, of which in the Northern Parts of South, and in the North Weſt Parts of North Britain and the Iſlands, large Quantities which have been uſeleſs may be found. The bringing any Proportion of theſe into ſuch Cultivation would be a prodigious Acquiſition, and this would remove the Doubt as to the procuring Soil for ſo extenſive and ſo profitable an Improvement.

[g] When once the Way was broken, our People would quickly equal, and very poſſibly excel the Dutch. In purſuing this, our Cultivations of other Kinds, and of Corn particularly, inſtead of being leſſened would be increaſed. It is owned, that Flax is of all others the moſt lucrative Crop; but as the Land will not bear ſucceſſive Crops, we learn from the Inſtances of Spalding Moor and the Iſle of Axholm, that Wheat, Rye, and Barley muſt come in their Turns.

[h] In the former Notes we have ſhewn the Propriety, the Practicability, and Expediency of encouraging effectually the Growing of Flax in Great Britain. If we neglect this, our Linnen Manufacture muſt be ever at the Mercy of Strangers, who, putting what Price they pleaſe on the Material, will thereby put a Check on our Induſtry. Of this there are already great Complaints in ſome Parts of this Iſland, and great Apprehenſions expreſſed, that the Manufacture of coarſe Linnens (which

more of them than the Dutch, and therefore if we took equal Pains there is no reaſon to doubt that we might ſucceed as well as they; and that by changing our own Seeds, we might be releaſed from the Neceſſity of importing them as well as Flax for our own Uſe, and when the Conſequences of this ſhall be duly conſidered, there is very little room to fear that every Obſtacle may not be overcome [i]. In our Siſter Iſland this has been made an Object of national Attention; and the Succeſs which has followed that Attention, and which is daily increaſing, ought to recommed it to our Notice, and alſo to our Imitation [k].

Rape and Cole Seed, the Practice of Sowing which was brought to us from Flanders by thoſe Germans and Dutchmen who drained our Fens, and a very great and very profitable Improvement it is. We have already taken Notice, how highly advantageous this hath been, and ſtill is in Lincolnſhire, in the Iſle of Ely, and in general through the Fens [l]. An Opinion has prevailed from hence, that it will ſucceed only in ſuch deep miry Soils, but this however is no better than a popular Miſtake. In preparing the Land which is to receive it, Care muſt be taken to plough it in May, and again about Midſummer, making the Ground as fine, and laying it as ſmooth and even as poſſible. It is to be ſown the very Day of the laſt Ploughing about a

is of no ſmall Conſequence) will, by the Advance in the Price of the Commodity, be quickly loſt. Here then is an Argument of Neceſſity, which joined to raiſing our Rents, encreaſing our People, relieving our Poor, and ſaving perhaps a Million a Year to the Nation, is ſurely ſufficient to ſupport a Meaſure to which no ſolid Objection can be raiſed.

[i] In A. D, 1695, according to Mr. Houghton we imported 495 Ton of Flax. In A. D. 1763, from Ruſſia 161,756 Pouds or Poods, which make about 2576 Tons. Our Flax as well as our Hemp is ſuperiour in Worth as well as in Price to what we import, and is equally fit for all the different Manufactures coarſe and fine, in which it either is or can be applied. The Perfection to which ſome of them are already arrived, may well plead for the Notice requiſite to bring forward the Reſt.

[k] In Ireland they ſaw clearly that to gain and preſerve the Linnen Manufacture it was neceſſary to grow Flax, and to bring this about they gave a Bounty of Five Shillings a Barrel on the Importation of Flax or Hemp Seed; they gave this gratis to ſuch as would ſow their Lands therewith; they gave Bounties of Ten Shillings, Eight Shillings, and Six Shillings on every Hundred weight of Thirty-five, Thirty, and Twenty Shillings an Hundred in Value; they gave their Freedom in Country Corporations to all Hemp and Flax Dreſſers; and they held out a Premium on every Buſhel of Seed, when at Five Shillings a Buſhel, which ſhould be exported. As to the Premiums and Encouragements given for the Support of the Linnen Manufacture, an Account of them would require a Treatiſe.

[l] This is one, amongſt many others, of the Improvements introduced into this Country by Foreigners, the Deſcendants of ſome of them remain ſtill in Lincolnſhire and in Yorkſhire, ſeated on thoſe Lands their Anceſtors recovered and rendered habitable. Between Spalding and Crowland, there is a large Tract of Country, in which Cole and Rape Seed have been cultivated, with intermediate Crops of Oats, for a long Series of Years. They have many Oil Mills driven by Sails, which ſerve alſo for draining their Lands.

Gallon upon an Acre [m]. This Seed need not be deſcribed, ſince it is better known than almoſt any other, being that which is commonly uſed for feeding Birds. In the Months of January, February, and March, it affords very good Food for Cattle, and will when cut ſprout again, and prove very excellent Nouriſhment for Sheep. After all, if not too cloſely fed, it will the next Year bear Seed in July [n]. In ordinary Land it will do all this, and from thence it came to be conſidered, more eſpecially before intermediate Crops were known to us, as a very ſingular Benefit; for at a Seaſon when all other Sorts of Fodder were ſcarce, ſuch a Supply as this, obtained at a very ſmall Expence, could not but be exceedingly acceptable, independent of any farther Expectations [o]. But after all, the great Importance of this Improvement muſt be allowed to lie in the Seed, becauſe from thence the principal Profit is derived.

When Rape or Cole is cultivated ſolely with this View, it ought to be ſown on deep ſtrong Land, but without the Trouble or Coſt of Dunging, and muſt be ſuffered to ſtand thereon till at leaſt One Half of the Seeds are turned brown, which according to the Seaſons will be ſometimes ſooner and ſometimes later [p]. In this State it is to be cut in the ſame Manner, and with the ſame Care as Wheat, and every Handful as it is cut is to be regularly ranged on Sheets, that it may dry leiſurely in the Sun, which

[m] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xix. cap. v. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xvi. § 1. cap. xiv. p. 802. Merretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 103. Blith's Engliſh Improver Improved, chap. xl. p. 253. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 53. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. ch. xiii. p. 155. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 280, 281. Foreign Eſſays on Agriculture and Arts, p. 202. Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 1477, 1478. Dictionaire Oeconomique, tom. ii. col. 228. Dictionaire d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 571.

[n] It is not at all ſtrange, that this Improvement continued ſo long confined to the Fen Countries, in which it was at firſt introduced. It has been the Caſe of moſt Improvements, and from the common Opinion (founded only on ſeeing them in one Place) that they muſt be local, they actually become ſo. As they throve in a deep miry ſoil, it was concluded they would grow no where elſe, and that they muſt be great Peelers or Impoveriſhers of Land, both which Notions, Facts have refuted.

[o] In reſpect to this, as well as Clover and other rich Food, ſome Caution is requiſite (more eſpecially in regard to Sheep) till Cattle are uſed to it, as it is apt at firſt to ſwell them. But that it is notwithſtanding this very wholeſome and nutritive, appears from the very large Size of Lincolnſhire Beaſts. It was therefore exceedingly beneficial in keeping up the Fleſh of theſe valuable Cattle in the Spring before thoſe Helps were found, which now in other Counties are uſed for the ſame Purpoſe.

[p] The Flemings are ſtill as attentive as ever to this Huſbandry, they tranſplant with great Advantage in the Month of October, in order to increaſe the Quantity and Size of their Seed, and this with ſo good Effect, that in the Diſtrict of Liſle, which is about Nine Leagues Square, they make annually from Ten to Twelve thouſand Tuns of Rape Oil. In like Manner moſt of the Produce of our Fens, either in Seed or in Oil, is tranſported to Wiſbech, and from thence as the Demands for this Commodity require.

will

will be commonly in the Space of a Fortnight [q]. It is then with like Care to be conveyed to the Barn in order to be threſhed, though in ſome Places they make a Piece of Earth perfectly plain and ſmooth, and this being covered with a large Piece of old Sail Cloth, the Seeds are threſhed out in the Field, and being cleaned are immediately carried away to the Mill [r]. There they are preſſed into Oil, and the Refuſe is formed into Cakes, which in Lincolnſhire, where Fuel is ſcarce, they commonly employ in heating their Ovens, and for ſuch other Purpoſes. In Holland they break theſe Cakes into warm Water, and give it to their Cows. In Northamptonſhire they feed their Calves with it. In ſome other Places and this perhaps is not the worſt Method, they break theſe Cakes to Pieces, and lay them upon their Lands, where they prove an excellent Manure [s]. The Produce of Cole Seed is generally from Five to Eight Quarters upon an Acre, and this is commonly ſold for as many Pounds as there are Quarters. As the Oils drawn from this, as well as from the Vegetables before-mentioned, are continually in Demand, from the extenſive Conſumption of them in Lamps, in Painting, Medicine, and in a Variety of Manufactures, this Commodity is in no Danger of ſinking in its Value, but very well may, and there is little Doubt will be in Proceſs of Time extended much beyond its preſent Bounds [t].

The Potatoe though a very common, is a very uſeful, and a very profitable Root. We have already mentioned how and when they were firſt

[q] The Reaſon of all this Caution is, that the Seed is apt to ſhed, and alſo to become mouldy; great Inconveniencies both, and therefore to be guarded againſt with the utmoſt Care. The Cuſtom is otherwiſe in Flanders, where, after cutting, it is ſtacked, ſo as to heat and grow mellow in the Mow, by which it is thought to yield better. It is not threſhed there in leſs than Eight or Nine Weeks. In our Climate perhaps our own Method may be the beſt.

[r] Moreton's Natural Hiſtory of Northamptonſhire, p. 484. He tells us, that ſeeing how profitable this Huſbandry was in the Fens, induced them to try it in the Uplands, in which they ſucceeded. The Dutch drive a prodigious Trade in Cole Seed and Oil, and have a ſurpriſing Number of Mills, for the employing of which they purchaſe Seeds from Flanders, the Biſhoprick of Cologn, and elſewhere, as they did formerly a great Part of our Rape or Oil Cakes.

[s] In Flanders they ſuffer nothing to be loſt. The Tufts of the Plants, and the Hulls of the Seeds, are carefully preſerved and given to the Cattle. The Stubble they burn, ſtrew it on their Barn Floors, or keep it till it rots, and then lay it on their Lands. With the Oil Cakes they manure the Ground, into which they tranſplant their Cole, and believe it beneficial even to the ſucceeding Crop. Such is the Sagacity, ſuch the Induſtry, of our Maſters in Agriculture!

[t] There was formerly a Duty on the Exportation of our Rape Cakes, and a very heavy Duty on Rape Seed. But both have been wiſely taken away, and high Cuſtoms impoſed on both Seed and Oil imported. This ſhould encourage this Culture, and yet great Quantities of Land lie waſte on which it would ſucceed. They have long had this Huſbandry in Germany; it has been practiſed in ſome, and they are labouring to introduce it into other Provinces in France; and the Dublin Society very prudently offer annual Premiums for promoting it in Ireland.

introduced

introduced into Ireland [u], where they not only remained, but were generally cultivated before they made their Way into England [w]. After this they were well known here long before they became common, and indeed this was not effected but under the Sanction of ſome Kind of Authority [x]. They are now too generally in Uſe to need any Deſcription. The uſual Manner of propagating them, is by planting ſmall Roots, or by cutting the large ones to Pieces, allowing an Eye or Bud to each Piece. They are then planted at Six Inches Diſtance, and at the ſame Depth; but ſome think, with great Appearance of Reaſon, that it is better to plant large Roots, and allow them twice or thrice that Diſtance from each other [y]. They ſucceed almoſt in any Soil, but one that is light, warm, and ſandy anſwers beſt. It muſt be well ſtirred and broken either by the Spade or the Plough. When the laſt Method is uſed they commonly dung the Ground and plough it in; but it hath been long ſince obſerved, that they grow and taſte better without Dung [z]. They are planted as ſoon in the Month of March as there is no Danger of Froſt, and towards the Cloſe of Summer they produce a Crop, that is Thirty, Forty, or Fifty Potatoes of ſeveral Sizes from

[u] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. 246. 429. It appears they were brought into Ireland about the Year 1610, and did not arrive at Cantire in North Britain, which is a very ſandy Soil, and where they have ſucceeded ſo well, that the Freight of the Cargoes ſent from thence to Ireland and other Places amounts annually to ſome Hundred Pounds in leſs than a Century and a Half, which, conſidering the Vicinity of this Province to Ireland, is very ſingular.

[w] They came firſt from Ireland into Lancaſhire, where they are ſtill very much cultivated. It was however Forty Years before they were much planted about London, and then conſidered as Rarities, without any Conception of the Utility that might ariſe from bringing them into common Uſe. At this Time they were diſtinguiſhed from the Spaniſh, by the Name of Virginia Potatoes or Battatas, which is the Indian Name of the Spaniſh Sort; the Indians in Virginia called them Openank.

[x] At a Meeting of the Royal Society, March 18th, 1662-3, a Letter was read from Mr. Buckland, a Somerſetſhire Gentleman, recommending the Planting Potatoes in all Parts of the Kingdom to prevent Famine. This was referred to a Committee, and in conſequence of their Report Mr. B. had the Thanks of the Society, ſuch Members as had Lands were entreated to plant them, and Mr. Evelyn was deſired to mention the Propoſal at the Cloſe of his Sylva. Birch's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, vol. i. p. 207. 213.

[y] Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xviii. P. i. cap. xxi. p. 675. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 14. Venner's Via Recta ad Vitam Longam, p. 185. Muffet on Food, p. 226. Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society, N°. cccxiv. p. 61. Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 165. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 468, 469. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 207, 208, 209. Tull's Horſe-hoeing Huſbandry, chap. vi. p. 69. Select Eſſays by the Society for the Improvement of Agriculture in Scotland, p. 154—172. Foreign Eſſays on Agriculture, p. 298. Dictionaire d' Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 261.

[z] Profeſſor Bradley is clearly for light ſandy Land, and no Dung, affirming that the Crops therein are larger and better flavoured, provided the Ground be well wrought. This is in effect the new Huſbandry, though publiſhed before Mr. Tull's Treatiſe, and therefore unſuſpected Evidence. Experiments made abroad in poor Ground confirm this. The Point is to eſtabliſh the Fact, in order to encourage and extend the Cultivation, by ſhewing its Certainty and its Facility.

one:

one Root [a]. The Eaſe with which they are propagated, their growing upon various Sorts of very indifferent Land, and their requiring but two or three Hoeings, renders this in its immediate and diſtant Conſequences a very valuable Improvement.

In ſome Places where they ſucceed remarkably well, and the Situation is favourable for that Purpoſe, the Demand for them has been ſuch as to occaſion a conſiderable Exportation. The new, that is the Horſe-hoeing Huſbandry, if we may credit ſome very reſpectable Witneſſes both at Home and Abroad, hath not ſucceeded either more certainly or more conſpicuouſly in any Inſtance than in the Culture of Potatoes [b]. It is aſſerted, that not only ſeveral Crops have been by this Method raiſed from the ſame Ground, but that from being originally very poor, it hath ſolely by this Cultivation been ſo much improved as to render it fit for other Crops [c]. That theſe Roots yield a cheap, wholeſome, and palatable Food, eaſily and ſpeedily prepared, has been their principal Recommendation, and contributed to their ſpreading through all the Three Kingdoms, more eſpecially of late Years [d]. But whether, after all, we have been ſufficiently attentive to the Uſes that might be made of them in the Nouriſhment of Animals, is a Point that perhaps may be worthy of Conſideration [e].

In

[a] The Produce of this Vegetable deſerves to be particularly conſidered. The Reaſon why the Planting large Roots at double or treble the common Diſtance has been preferred, is, that it renders the Potatoes larger without diminiſhing the Number. At Darlington, in the Biſhopric of Durham, John Baldry planted in a Piece of Ground which had been under Flax the Year preceding, Potatoes in the Month of April in the new Manner, and on the Fourth of September he from Four Plants took up Three Hundred and Two Potatoes, which weighed Forty-eight Pounds.

[b] The Principles on which the new Huſbandry is raiſed appear very ſatisfactory in regard to all Sorts of Roots, and Experience ſeems in many Inſtances to be in its Favour. Stirring, dividing, and pulveriſing the Earth, opens a Paſſage for the ſmall Strings paſſing from the Potatoes and the repeated Hoeings furniſhing continually the Knobs with wholeſome Food, it is eaſy to conceive they muſt gradually and equally increaſe; ſo that Facts (ſuppoſing them true) correſpond with the Theory very exactly.

[c] This Point of meliorating coarſe Lands, and rendering (without Expence) Grounds capable of bearing Crops, that were eſteemed unfit for Tillage, merits unqueſtionably ſome Attention. It had been long ſince remarked in Ireland, by the worthy Archbiſhop of Dublin, as may be ſeen in the Philoſophical Tranſactions before cited. It has been alſo experienced by ſeveral intelligent Perſons in the South of Scotland, who have given very large and circumſtantial Accounts of it in the Select Eſſays.

[d] Other Nations have not been unattentive to this uſeful Root, which they own that they received, as we did, from Ireland. In Bretagne they are aſſiduouſly cultivated, and have ſpread under the Name of Pommes de Terre, i. e. Earth Apples, through Flanders, Picardy, Franche-Compté, Alſace, Languedoc, and other Provinces of France. But this falls ſhort of Switzerland, where it is thought Two Thirds of the common People in a Manner ſubſiſt upon them.

[e] Mr. Worlidge took Notice of this Deficiency very many Years ago. Some accidental Trials in Times of great Scarcity have been made on Cows particularly, and always with Succeſs. But we are aſſured that abroad they have given them not only to Cows and Calves, but to Horſes, Swine,

In reſpect to Medicine, which gives very deſervedly a high Value to ſuch Vegetables as from their known Virtues are generally eſteemed therein, we want not ſome as excellent, and of as conſiderable Price, as in other Countries. But the far larger Number of theſe do not properly belong to a Work of this Nature. Such however as are cultivated in a more extenſive Degree, and ſo as to become an Object of Commerce, fall for that Reaſon within our Plan, and therefore of the moſt remarkable of theſe we ſhall give a ſuccinct Account. In treating of them we ſhall begin firſt with Seeds, though of theſe we have no great Number.

Annise is an Herb well known and much commended by ancient Authors, the Seeds and the Oil drawn from them are in common Uſe, and in great Eſteem throughout all Europe [f]. They were for this Reaſon cultivated here in much larger Quantities formerly than at preſent. They chiefly affect a rich mellow Soil, which is ploughed about Michaelmas, and again in February, when the Seeds are ſown, and a little freſh Horſe Dung ſtrewed over the Field to preſerve them from the Froſt [g]. They muſt be carefully hoed to preſerve them from Weeds, and about the Middle or the latter End of Auguſt they become ripe, and the Seed is fit to be gathered. As this Cultivation is much declined, there is Reaſon to ſuppoſe that it ſcarce afforded a ſufficient Profit. But notwithſtanding this, we are well aſſured, that Anniſeeds, which they call Cumine dulce or Sweet Cumin, are the ſtaple Commodity of the little Iſland of Malta, and produce annually large Sums to its Inhabitants [h].

Swine, and Poultry at firſt boiled, and in a little Time raw. It deſerves ſome Inquiry whether the Stalk or Plant might not be converted to Uſe, being tough and ſtrong, and its Fibres eaſily divided.

[f] Dioſc. lib. iii. c. 56. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xx. cap. xvii. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. ix. § ii. cap. vii. p. 449, and many more that might be cited. It appears that the Ancients eſteemed the Seeds from Candia to be the beſt, and next to theſe thoſe coming from Egypt. We may from hence diſcern, that there is nothing abſurd or improbable in propoſing the attempting to introduce Vegetables from remote Climates, ſince our Aniſe Seeds grew to great Perfection, but did not produce ſufficient Profit.

[g] Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 164. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. chap. xxv. p. 203. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 229. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 393, 394. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, 348, 349. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 137, 138. Dictionnaire d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 144, 145. They diſtil great Quantities of Oil about Magdeburgh, and though a Pound of Seeds yields but Half an Ounce, mix it ſo as to be able to ſell it cheap.

[h] The growing or the not growing of Aniſe, it is confeſſed can be of little or no Conſequence to Great Britain; but ſhe has ſmall Iſlands dependent on her to which it might be ſo. Suppoſe this Culture confined to Guernſey, Jerſey, or the Iſle of Wight, and when in a Condition to ſupply our Conſumption, a proper, that is, an higher Duty laid on Aniſe Seeds imported. Would not this give ſuch an Iſland a Revenue, and thereby enable its Inhabitants to purchaſe more of our Commodities and Manufactures?

CARRAWAYS, in ſome Places called Meadow Cumin, are Natives of this Country, growing wild in ſome rich Meadows in Lincolnſhire, and in Yorkſhire, more eſpecially in the Neighbourhood of Hull, where they are in ſuch Plenty as to be gathered in the Fields for Sale [i]. They are however cultivated for the ſame Purpoſe in Eſſex and in other Counties, with equal Care and Succeſs. The Carum or Carraway is a biennial Plant, ſown and ſpringing up the firſt Year, but not bearing till the ſecond. By ſowing them in the Autumn, very ſoon after they are gathered and dried, they will flower the next Seaſon, by which a Summer is gained [k]. They are, as every Body knows, a Seed of which there is a very copious and conſtant Conſumption in Food, in Sweet-meats, and in Phyſic; and it is this that makes them in ſome Degree an Object of Profit, which, as we ſhall ſee, is augmented by the uſual Method of their Cultivation.

CORIANDER, which like the Carraway, is as much uſed in the Kitchen as in the Shops, grows with us freely, and to great Perfection, though originally it is a Native of Egypt, and very much uſed and eſteemed there [l]. In ſome Places they ſprinkle them amongſt their Bread before it is baked, from an Opinion that it helps Digeſtion; and it is alſo made into Comfits by the Confectioners. In Eſſex, where this Huſbandry is chiefly, and has been long practiſed, they mix Eight Pound of this Seed with as many Pound of Carraways, and Half a Peck of Teaſils. Theſe they ſow altogether on mellow rich Ground, that has been well tilled, and hoeing them twice at leaſt to keep them free from Weeds. They cut the Teaſils and the Coriander in the Autumn, and leave the Carraways ſtanding, that they may flower and ſeed the next Year [m]. By this Means they have a very profitable

[i] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xix. cap. viii. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. ix. § ii. cap. v. p. 446. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 22. See alſo the Catalogues of Plants in Biſhop Gibſon's Tranſlation of Camden at the Cloſe of Lincolnſhire and Yorkſhire. Pliny ſays it was a Native of Caria, a Country of Leſſer Aſia, lying between Lycia and Ionia, and received its Name from thence. It appears therefore that Countries very remote in Situation may be nearly allied in their Productions.

[k] Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 461. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. chap. xxxiv. p. 202. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 229. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 347. This Plant grows plentifully in France, and is ſent particularly from Languedoc and Provence in large Quantities to Paris, where there is a vaſt Conſumption amongſt the Druggiſts, Apothecaries, Confectioners, Diſtillers, &c. In Germany they are yet more eſteemed, and the Uſe of them more common.

[l] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xx. cap. xx. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. ix. § iii. cap. xxii. p. 470, 471. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 30. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. chap. xxiv. p. 203. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 230. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 341, 342. Is it at all impoſſible that other Plants, Natives of the ſame Soil and Climate, ſhould be reconciled to Britain as well as Coriander?

[m] Mr. Mortimer mentions this as commonly practiſed about Kelvedon, Coggeſhall, and other Places in Eſſex. Profeſſor Bradley ſpeaks of it as in Uſe in other Counties. Where-ever practiſed, or when-

profitable Crop; and it is farther ſaid, that by the Help of this Management the Carraways remain and produce Seed for Three or Four Years [n]. We alſo raiſe Phalaris, or as we call it Canary Seed, becauſe it was originally brought to us from the Canary Iſlands [o]; and there is little Reaſon to doubt that ſome other foreign Seeds, perhaps of more Value, might be thus naturalized with a little Diligence and Attention.

LIQUORICE is a Plant famous for its medicinal Virtues, the Cultivation of which is very profitable, and has been long practiſed in this Country with ſuch Succeſs as to be reputed at leaſt as good as any in Europe [p]. The Root pierces deep into the Earth, and from thence ariſe ſtrong herbaceous Stalks, which grow to Four or Five Feet in Height, and are ornamented with winged Leaves. The Flowers riſe from the Top of the Stalks, are of a pale blue Colour, and are ſucceeded by compreſſed Pods, each containing Two or Three Kidney-ſhaped Seeds, which ripen with us only in very hot Summers [q]. The Soil intended for the Culture of this Plant ſhould be looſe, light, and ſandy, at leaſt Three Feet deep. It muſt be well ploughed, and dunged the Year before it is planted that the Dung may be thoroughly rotted. Immediately before the Setting of the Plants it muſt be dug Three Spades deep, and laid as light, even, and ſmooth as poſſible.

ever invented, it ſeems to be an ingenious Method, and worthy in that Light of Notice, and it may be of Imitation. If I remember right, the judicious Mr. Stillingfleet mentions, that in ſome Part of Glouceſterſhire, they are in the Practice of Sowing the common Vetch, feeding them by Horſes in ſo good Time, as to have a Crop of Turnips the ſame Year.

[n] It is not improbable that the high Duties on Carraway and Coriander Seeds imported, may have contributed in no ſmall Degree to our preſerving the Cultivation of theſe Plants, which ought to be a Leſſon on this Head, as it ſhews, in caſe by Skill and Induſtry we could acquire and propagate Vegetables of more Importance, how they may be preſerved, and ſo much Money as their Price amounts to ſaved to the Nation.

[o] This the Greeks, and from them the Romans, call Phalaris; the Seeds are ſmooth, oval, and of a ſhining yellow Colour, bigger than Millet, and leſs than Lintſeed. It delights in light mellow Soil, muſt be ſown in the Spring; the Stalk riſes about a Foot and a Half high, is jointed, hath a round chaffy Top, which looks yellow when in Flower, and contains the Seeds. Beſides this, there is the oriental perennial Canary Graſs, which grows twice as high, and is a ſtill greater Improvement.

[p] Camdeni Britan. p. 566. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xviii. cap. iii. p. 910, 911. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 48. Blith's Engliſh Improver Improved, chap. xxxix. p. 250, 251, 252. The principal Places in which Liquorice hath been planted, are Pomfret in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, Workſop in Nottinghamſhire, Godalmin in Surry, Elme in the Iſle of Ely, and in ſeveral Places about London.

[q] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxii. cap. ix. Worlidge's Syſtem of Huſbandry, p. 156, 157. Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Huſbandry and Trade, vol. iv. p. 40—43. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 211—213. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. chap. xviii. p. 166, 167. Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary under Glycyrrhiza. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 546, 547. Dictionnaire d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. iv. p. 598.

The Ground being thus prepared, freſh Shoots are to be taken from the Heads and Sides of the old Roots, in each of which there muſt be ſeveral Buds or Eyes. They are then to be regularly ſet by a Line, a full Foot or more aſunder, and with the Space of Two Feet between the Rows [r]. This Planting is to be performed in the latter End of February or the Beginning of the Month of March, and to defray, or at leaſt to leſſen the Expence, a thin Crop of Onions may be ſown with them, as theſe do not ſtrike deep into the Earth, and the Liquorice Roots draw but a moderate degree of Nouriſhment during the firſt Year [s]. Beſides, the Hoeing of the Onions will not only keep the Ground free from Weeds, but alſo by ſtirring it aſſiſt the Roots in piercing into the Soil. When the Crop of Onions is taken up the Ground muſt be again thoroughly cleared from Weeds. In October following a little rotten Dung may be ſtrewed on the Ground between the Rows, and in the ſucceeding Month of March it ſhould be ſlightly dug with the ſame View of deſtroying the Weeds, and affording freſh Nutriment to the Roots [t]. After they have remained Three Summers from the Time of their Planting, they will be fit in the Month of November or December to be taken up, as being then full of Juice and weighty, which is the great Point aimed at by thoſe who cultivate Liquorice [u].

[r] All our old Writers lay a great Streſs on rich Mould and rotten Dung; and Plenty of Manure appears to be the eſtabliſhed Practice. Mr. Bradley, however, ventures to doubt as to the Neceſſity of it, and ſpeaks of a deep black Sand, in which Liquorice did very well without it. The Land about Godalmin is very ſandy. Mr. Miller informs us, that the rich Garden Soil about London increaſe the Bulk of the Root very faſt; but that when taken up it looks very dark, and has not what he emphatically calls, the ſightly Appearance, of what is planted in open ſandy Ground.

[s] The Charge attending the Planting and Culture of Liquorice, and the waiting ſo long for a Crop, has hindered the Extenſion of this Cultivation. Yet Houghton and Bradley agree, an Acre of Liquorice will produce from Fifty to Sixty, and even to an Hundred Pounds, the Onions being equivalent to the Expences of Management. A convincing Proof of its Advantage is its continuing a ſtaple Commodity at Pomfret for Two Centuries paſt.

[t] It is evident from theſe Circumſtances, that allowing the Roots room in a looſe Soil well tilled, is the principal Means of preſerving their Vigour, and bringing them to their full Size. Mr. Miller ſays, in a very extenſive Plantation the Rows may be three Feet aſunder, by which the Hoeing may be conveniently done by a Plough, which would leſſen the Expence. There are no Doubt, theſe Circumſtances conſidered, many Places in Britain where Liquorice would ſucceed.

[u] Perſia is the Country in the World where Liquorice grows to the greateſt Perfection; that is, to the Size of a Man's Wriſt; whereas with us it ſeldom exceeds that of the Thumb. It grows alſo in Italy, France, and Germany. At Bambergh they make vaſt Quantities of Juice of Liquorice, and adulterate it exceedingly. But the moſt, and by much the beſt comes from Arragon, where immenſe Plains on the River Ebro, above the City of Saragoſſa, are entirely deſtined to the Culture of this Plant. Their Juice rolled in ſmall black Pieces is annually imported here to a vaſt Amount, though under a Duty of Seven Pounds Two Shillings and Six Pence per Cwt. beſides what is ſmuggled. This fully ſhews the Importance of this Article, and will juſtify the Pains beſtowed upon it.

SAFFRON is another Production of this Country, which is univerſally acknowledged to be ſuperior in its medicinal Qualities to any that is raiſed elſewhere, and of courſe is more valued and eſteemed. It is ſomewhat incertain from whence and at what Time it was originally brought hither; but there is no Doubt that it has flouriſhed here for ſeveral Ages, and thereby rendered famous the Place of its principal Growth [w]. It is a ſmall bulbous Root, about the Size of a Nutmeg, covered with a coarſe, brown, net-work Skin. The Flowers ſpring from the upper Part of the Root with the Leaves, the Tops of which only appear. The Tube of the Flower is very long, ſpringing from the Bulb without any Foot-Stalk, divided into Six equal obtuſe Segments of a purple blue Colour. In the Bottom of the Tube is a round Germen, ſupporting a ſlender Style, not more than Half the Height of the Petal, ſurmounted by Three oblong golden Stigmas, which are properly the Saffron, the only uſeful Part of the Plant, and for the Sake of which it is ſo carefully cultivated [x]. In reſpect to the Soil, a dry hazle Mould upon a Chalk Bottom is eſteemed the beſt. But Experience ſhews, that with proper Tillage it will grow very well in any looſe ſandy Ground. They always plant it on a Fallow, and about the Cloſe of March or the Beginning of the Month of April. The Soil deſigned for its Reception, whatever it be, is well ploughed, that is, both cloſer and deeper than for any Sort of Corn. In the ſucceeding Month of May, the uſual Practice is to lay Twenty or Thirty Loads of rotten Dung on an Acre, and to plough it well in, that it may be thoroughly mixed with the Mould [y]. At Midſummer they plough for the third

[w] Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, B. iii. chap. xiv. Camdeni Britan. p. 326. 349. 356. Drayton's Polyolbion, Song xx. p. 338. Speed's Britiſh Empire, p. 31. Fuller's Worthies in Eſſex, p. 317. It was brought hither, as the firſt of theſe Writers ſays, in the Reign of Edward III. It was cultivated in many Parts of the Kingdom, eſpecially (as it ſtill is) about Walden in Eſſex. This Place was firſt called Walden Burgh, then, from its Market, Chipping Walden, and laſtly, from the Culture of this Plant in its Neighbourhood, Saffron Walden. In Camden's and Drayton's Time however, the beſt Saffron in England was ſaid to grow at Walſingham in Norfolk, which is near the Sea Side, and the Soil a mere Sand; and it was likewiſe planted in the ſame Kind of Soil in other Places.

[x] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. vi. vii. xvii. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xxi. P. i. cap. xiv. p. 1176. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 31. Worlidge's Syſtem of Huſbandry, p. 157, 158. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. chap. xix. p. 167, 168, 169. Bradley's Country Gentleman's and Farmer's Director, p. 48—51. Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, vol. ii. p. 152, 153. Select Eſſays of the Society for improving Agriculture in Scotland, p. 303. Smith's ancient and preſent State of the County of Cork, vol. ii. p. 243. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. ii. col. 930. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 653, 654, 655. Dictionnaire Univerſelle d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. v. p. 59—64.

[y] Mr. Hariſon, who lived in the Vicinity of Walden, and gives a large Account of the Culture of Saffron, ſays not One Word of Dung, but attributes their large Crops to fat Earth and ſoft Dews. Mr. Camden is equally ſilent, and yet ſays that Barley will grow after Saffron eighteen Years without dunging, and that the Ground will then be fit to bear Saffron again. Mr. Bradley declares roundly againſt Dung. He obſerves, that it is injurious to all bulbous Roots, that Cuſtom only

third Time, and at the Diſtance of every Perch leave a deep Furrow open to receive the Weeds. The Land is then fenced with what the People in Cambridgeſhire call a dead Hedge, that is, with Hurdles, to keep out all Kinds of Beaſts, and eſpecially Hares.

When Things are thus prepared, a Man with a Spit-Shovel cuts a Trench about Three Inches deep, and is followed by Two Women, who ſet the Bulbs flat on their Bottoms, about Three Inches one from another till the Whole is complete [z]. The Man then opens a ſecond Trench at a ſmall Diſtance, and with the Earth that comes out of it covers the Roots in the firſt, and in this Manner they proceed till the whole Spot is planted. The Quantity of Roots required for this Purpoſe may be Sixteen Quarters for an Acre [a]. About the Beginning of September they with a ſharp Hoe pare the Ground between the Ridges, and bury the Weeds in the deep Furrow before-mentioned. In the Month of October, when the Flowers appear, they employ a ſufficient Number of Hands in different Parts of the Field in pulling and putting them into Baſkets. This is performed early in a Morning, and their Work is commonly over before Ten of the Clock [b]. Theſe Baſkets being carried Home with the greateſt Expedition, they very carefully pick out from the Flower the Filaments and Part of the Style, which when they have collected into a ſufficient Quantity is immediately dried on a ſmall Kiln prepared for the Purpoſe. This is a very nice Operation, as on the accurate Performance of that the Excellence of the Saffron in a great

only ſupports this Practice againſt Reaſon, and that Experience had taught him freſh Earth, a little light, with a Staple of Six Inches, with a tolerable Bottom, will do better than any Lands forced by Dungs. He adds farther, that he has ſeen it thrive very well on common heathy Land, mixed with Sand and ſmall Roots. Theſe are Arguments and Facts that deſerve to be conſidered.

[z] Blith's Engliſh Improver Improved, chap. xxxviii. p. 248, 249. Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society, N°. cxxxviii. p. 945, by Mr. Charles Howard, ibid. N°. ccclxxx. p. 441, and N°. ccccv. p. 566, both by Dr. James Douglas. See alſo Bradley's Improvements in Huſbandry and Gardening, and Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary under Crocus. Theſe will ſufficiently inſtruct thoſe who are deſirous to raiſe this valuable Flower.

[a] This makes One hundred Twenty eight Buſhels, and, according to the accurate Dr. Douglas's Computation, 392,040 Roots. It is to be obſerved, that in Planting, though Three Inches be the middle Diſtance, yet they plant the ſmaller Roots cloſer, and the larger farther one from the other. Some Roots are ſharp at both Ends, theſe they call Spickets, and never plant them becauſe they do not flower. The Roots vary much in their Price, but are ſeldom very dear.

[b] In France they purſue the ſame Method, except that ſometimes in the very Height of the Seaſon they pull them in the Evening as well as Morning. A very hot Summer with ſoft mild Showers is the moſt favourable for theſe Plants. But the great Point here and there, is the Soil, which ſhould be light, looſe, and Sandy. Yet a ſtiff Clay encreaſes the Number of Roots, and their Size, but the Roots in ſuch Countries ſeldom bear Flowers, and of courſe are not in much Eſteem.

Meaſure

Meaſure depends [c]. The Harveſt, that is, the Pulling of the Flowers Morning after Morning, laſts about a Month, during which the ſame Labours with the ſame Diligence are conſtantly repeated. They have Three Crops from the ſame Spot, that is, a Crop in each for Three ſucceſſive Summers, the firſt much ſmaller in Compariſon with the Two laſt [d]. When the Three Crops have been taken, the Roots are to be raiſed out of the Ground, and having lain Three Weeks, are ready to be ſold or tranſplanted the next Seaſon into another Piece of Ground, as they never plant them twice without an Interval of ſome Years upon the ſame. But as ſoon as conveniently they can, they ſow Barley after the Saffron, and have very great Crops [e]. At Walden they ſeldom ſow leſs than One, or more than Three Acres of Saffron in One Field.

In reſpect to the Profits attending this Culture, the very high Price that this Commodity ſometimes bears, hath made it, generally ſpeaking, overrated. It is indeed very difficult, if not abſolutely impoſſible, to come at what might be ſtiled an exact Calculation of the Expences and the Produce. A probable Computation, however ſufficient for our Purpoſe of repreſenting the Benefit ariſing from this Culture, may be, and has been obtained. The annual Value of clean ſaleable Saffron upon an Acre, which is taken by dividing the Sum of all the Crops by Three, amounts to about Thirteen Pounds. Of which about Eight go towards the Diſcharge of Rent and the ſeveral Expences that neceſſarily attend the Crop, and the other Five comes into the Pocket of the Proprietor [f]. It is evident from the foregoing

[c] The Kiln, which requires a long Deſcription, is accurately explained by Dr. Douglas. If the Fire be too ſtrong the Cakes are often burned, and if too weak the Saffron is apt to mould. In either Caſe the Commodity loſes a ſixth, or perhaps a third Part of the Value. When properly cured, the Saffron appears of a rich orange Colour, is moiſt to the Touch, has an odoriferous Smell, and a quick pungent Taſte, which dwells long upon the Palate.

[d] The firſt Crop is very incertain, but it is eſteemed the fineſt Saffron, ſometimes it may amount to Ten Pounds of wet Saffron. The ſecond in a good Seaſon will yield Fifty or Sixty, the third Seventy, Eighty, or ſometimes more. In the firſt Three Weeks, Five Pounds of wet will produce One of dry, but during the laſt Week it will require Six. Thus in a Month's Time the Trouble, except Hoeing the Ground, is entirely over till the next Year.

[e] The Seed of this Plant ſeldom or never can come to Perfection with us, but this Defect is ſupplied by the Multiplication of the Roots. They are raiſed out of the Ground by a Plough or by a forked Hoe called a Pattock, after which the Field is harrowed, Fourteen or Twenty Perſons picking up the Bulbs as they riſe. After they are waſhed, picked, and ſuch as are bruiſed or cut, or otherwiſe injured, taken away, there commonly remains Twenty-four Quarters of ſound Roots. Though it is, and has been long the Practice at Saffron Walden to break up their Grounds after Three Crops, yet we know it was formerly the Cuſtom in Norfolk to let them remain Six and even Seven Years in the Ground, Hoeing them carefully twice every Year, and this without Prejudice to the Saffron.

[f] This Account is thus made up. The firſt Year Ten Pounds of wet, which will make Two Pounds dry, the ſecond about Ten, and the third about Fourteen Pounds of dry Saffron. In all Twenty-ſix Pounds in Three Years. In regard to the Price, it fluctuates between One Pound and

going Hiſtory, that Saffron might be planted in many Places, though perhaps in ſmaller Spots, and this through the whole Extent of Great Britain, as it has long flouriſhed in the moſt Northern Part of the Iſland. As it employs a great many People, though but for a ſhort Space of Time, a Perſon who had a ſmall Plantation, and a large Family, would hire but few Hands, and thereby leſſen the Expence, which probably might alſo be done in other Reſpects [g]; and if our Saffron was not ſo dear, and greater Quantities of it raiſed, the univerſal Preference given to it Abroad would render it more profitable to the Nation [h].

Whatever is of great and conſtant Uſe in any Manufacture, even though not a Material, is notwithſtanding an Object well worthy of Cultivation, more eſpecially in ſuch Places as are in the Vicinity of thoſe where ſuch a Manufacture flouriſhes. This is the Caſe in regard to Teaſles, Teaſils, Teazils, or Fullers Thiſtles [i]. They are a Kind of Thiſtles growing wild

Four or Five at moſt. At the more equal and middle Price of Thirty Shillings, this comes to Thirty-nine Pounds or Thirteen Pounds each Year, and the whole Expences from the firſt Ploughing to the laſt, at breaking up may amount to near Twenty-four, and ſo leave Fifteen Pounds for the Three Years Profits. In Years when the Commodity yields a good Price, it may produce conſiderably more, but let Seaſons run as they may, an Acre will ſcarce ever yield leſs.

[g] It is evident that the high Price of our Saffron is a great Bar to its Conſumption, as well as a Temptation to the adulterating with Spaniſh Saffron, which may be bought at a low Rate. This, as was long ſince obſerved, could not be prevented by impoſing a high Duty, becauſe it would then be ſmuggled, as is the Caſe in reſpect to the Juice of Liquorice. The only Remedy ſeems to be encreaſing the Quantity raiſed, and abating the Price, without prejudice to the Quality of the Saffron. If as Conveniency offered it was cultivated in any light Land in Spots of an Acre or leſs, an Abatement in the Rent, the Dung, &c. might probably be made of One third at leaſt of the Expence, and in ſmall Quantities, the Saffron would be better picked, more carefully dried, and from the Emulation which muſt neceſſarily ariſe amongſt a Number of Competitors for the Sale of their reſpective Proportions of the ſame Commodity, be continually improving in every Reſpect, while from the Reduction of Expences, the Profits to Individuals would be as great or greater, even if the middle Price was but Twenty-five Shillings.

[h] The Conſumption of Saffron in Food as well as Phyſick is very great in the North, in Poland, and in Germany. It is ſaid to grow in great Perfection, and with ſcarce any Culture on the Borders of the Caſpian Sea, and in the ancient Media. It is alſo cultivated in ſome Parts of the Kingdom of Naples. We may add about Toulouſe, Angoulême, in the Principality of Orange, near Avignon, and in Normandy. But the beſt Saffron in France comes from Boiſne in Gatinois, where the Country is a mere Sand. At Amſterdam the middle Price of Engliſh Saffron is Eighteen Florins, of French Ten, and of Spaniſh Six for a Pound. This laſt is commonly mixed with Oil to make it keep, and though not eſteemed abroad is much uſed in Cookery over all that Country. In France the Roots are liable to many Maladies unknown here. It is therefore highly probable, that if the Cultivation of this Plant ſpread into many different Parts of the Iſland, as has been before-mentioned, it would be attended with many beneficial Conſequences. The Dublin Society, by promiſing and paying large Premiums for ſmall Quantities, have introduced it effectually in Ireland.

[i] Beſides the Names mentioned in the Text, it may not be amiſs to take Notice of ſome others, as they explain the Nature of the Plant. The Romans following the Greeks called it Dipſacus, and alſo Labrum Veneris, i. e. the Baſin of Venus, becauſe the Leaves riſing upright round the Stalk

wild in this and many other Countries, and which are ſown and brought into regular Culture on account of their ſingular Utility to Clothworkers, Baymakers, and other Woollen Manufacturers in raiſing the Nap on their reſpective Goods, by the Means of certain hard, ſharp, and crooked Points which grow out of their numerous Heads, and are admirably ſuited to that Purpoſe [k]. A ſtiff Clay is eſteemed the beſt Soil for theſe Plants, which muſt be thoroughly well dug with a Spade, or double furrowed with a Plough ſome Time in the Month of December. In the ſucceeding February or March, the Seed is to be ſown to the Quantity of about a Peck upon an Acre; they muſt be carefully hoed once or twice in the Spring, and will be fit to cut in Auguſt following. The Plant riſes to the Height of Three or Four Feet, the Stalks are jointed, and at theſe Joints ſmaller Stalks come forth, which bear roundiſh Heads of the Size of an Egg, armed with thoſe ſhort ſharp Hooks that have been mentioned. Theſe Heads are at firſt green, but turn white as they become ripe. They flower either in June or in July, and are uſually cut ſome Time in the Month of Auguſt. They are then tied up in Bundles or Faggots, which the Country People call *Staves*, and of theſe there are uſually about Eight Score upon an Acre, which ſeldom ſell for leſs than a Shilling a Stave, and conſequently the Produce may be from Seven to Eight Pounds an Acre [l]. We will now proceed to thoſe Vegetables that are particularly cultivated for the Uſe made of them in Dyeing, and which conſequently are of the greateſt Service to our Woollen, Linnen, Silk, Cotton, and other Manufactures.

Stalk, retain the Dew and Rain as in a Cup. This Water is held to be a great Coſmetic, and the Country People employ it againſt Warts. Some foreign Phyſicians commend the Plant highly in ſcrophulous Caſes, and in Conſumptions. There is a wild Sort riſes pretty high, which is called Virga Paſtoris, i. e. Shepherd's Rod, and is uſed when the cultivated Teaſil is not to be had, the Root being eſteemed in the Cure of Fiſtulas.

[k] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxv. cap. xiii. lib. xxvii. cap. ix. Raii Hiſt. Plant. Anct. lib. viii. cap. ii. p. 382. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britan. p. 33. Maiſon Ruſtique, lib. ii. chap. lvii. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 227, 228, 229. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. chap. xxiii. p. 202. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 223. Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary under the Article of Dipſacus. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 795, 796. Dictionnaire Univerſel d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 537. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. i. p. 295, 296.

[l] The Uſe of Teaſils in the Woollen Manufacture ſeems to be of very antient ſtanding both in this and in other Countries. They are cultivated with much Aſſiduity in Languedoc, Normandy, and Picardy, thoſe of the laſt Province are eſteemed the beſt that grow in France. According to the Trades in which they are principally uſed, they diſtinguiſh them into Chardon Bonnetier, Chardon Drapier, Chardon Foulon, in general Chardon Saniere, and the ſmaller Sorts are called Tetes des Linotes, i. e. Linnet's Heads. They commonly tranſplant their Teaſils in France to improve their Heads, and have alſo made ſome Trials of the Horſe-hoeing Method, and with a very good Effect. They look upon Teaſils as Plants ſo eſſentially neceſſary in the Manufacture of Wool, that the Exportation of them is prohibited except by Licence. This Expedient is well imagined; for if the Harveſt be very copious, the Price would fall ſo low as to injure the future Cultivation. In this Caſe Licences are eaſily obtained, and thus Exportation ſerves to ſecure domeſtic Plenty.

MADDER is a Plant, the Uſes of which were well known to the Ancients, both in reſpect to Manufactures and Phyſic [m]. With their Roots they dyed Wool and Leather, and from theſe and other Parts of the Plant they formed a Variety of Medicines, to which great Virtues were attributed by their ableſt Phyſicians. They had it likewiſe both wild and cultivated, the beſt Sort of the latter growing in the Time of Pliny in the Neighbourhood of Rome [n]. As Madder is a very valuable Commodity, ſo the raiſing and curing it in Perfection is a Work of much Time, Trouble, and Expence, for all which it pays abundantly at laſt. The Soil beſt ſuited to this Plant is a ſoft ſandy Loam, which muſt be properly prepared by repeated and deep Ploughings, ſo as to render it perfectly even and fine. The young Shoots, for the cultivated Madder is not propagated by Seed, are to be planted in the Courſe of the Month of April upon Ridges at Three Feet Diſtance, and the Plants themſelves at a Foot and a Foot and an half Diſtance from each other. They remain Three Summers in the Ground, and during that Space are to be carefully hoed, kept clean from Weeds, and properly earthed up. They are drawn about the Month of September, and muſt be then conveyed immediately to the drying Houſe, built like thoſe uſed by the Tanners for their Skins, except that Hurdles are uſed in them inſtead of Floors, that the Air may have free Acceſs to the Roots every Way. After remaining there Four or Five Days, and the Earth perfectly cleared from them, they are carried to the cold Stove, where they are farther but very ſlowly dried by the Help of Flues placed in the Sides of the Building. This being done, the Madder is carried next to the Floor, where it is threſhed from its Bark or outward Rind, which however is ſwept together, barrelled up, and is what the Dutch call MULL, which ſometimes ſells for Eight Pounds a Ton, and thereby commonly defrays the Expence of drying. The Roots thus cleared are then conveyed to the warm Stove, where the drying is gradually compleated. From thence they are ſent to the Mill, and there ground, ſorted,

[m] The Greek Authors call this Plant Erythrodanum from Erythros, red. The Latins on the ſame Principle Rubea or Rubia; in modern Writers it is often ſtiled Rubia Tinctorum, from the Uſe made of it in Dyeing. Dioſcorides and Galen do not inſiſt upon its tinging Quality. But the former deſcribes, and both ſo explain its medicinal Virtues as to leave no Doubt as to the Plant. Pliny, who commonly agrees with Dioſcorides, mentions both its Uſes, but in different Books of his Hiſtory. In reſpect to its medical Qualities, they are followed by latter Authors; but the Nature of the Colour extracted from its Roots was left to ſuch as wrote the Hiſtory of the Arts. Some mention ſeveral Sorts, Linnæus reduces them to Two, the cultivated Madder having Six Leaves, and the wild with Four.

[n] Dioſcor. lib. iii. c. 160. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xix. cap. iii. lib. xxiv. cap. xi. Galen. de Fac. Simp. Med. lib. vi. Marcel. Empir. cap. xxv. Q. Seren. de Morb. Regio, cap. lix. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. x. cap. iv. p. 480. Meretti Pin. x Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 106. Linnæi Gen. Plant. p. 24. Syſtem. Naturæ, p. 893.

packed up in Caſks fit for Sale o. In theſe ſeveral Operations which muſt be all performed with much Care and Exactneſs, the Commodity loſes ſo much of its Weight, that Seven or Eight hundred of the Green will ſeldom make more than One hundred of the dry Madder p.

The Dutch are at preſent poſſeſſed of an almoſt abſolute Monopoly of this valuable Commodity, the Cultivation of which they were taught by the Flemings, who, perſecuted for their Religion, long ſince took Shelter amongſt them. In Times paſt we imported Madder by the Way of Hamburgh from Sileſia, and alſo from Flanders, whereas now we have it only from Holland q. This, that People have brought about by their unwearied Induſtry, their careful Management, and indefatigable Attention. It is in a particular Manner the great Staple of Zealand, where in the ſmall Iſle of Schowen they raiſe annually a Thouſand Tons, for the Curing of which there are about Twenty Stoves, each provided with a proper Number of able Workmen, by whom every Thing is accurately and excellently performed at a ſettled and very moderate Price, and under the moſt prudent and equitable Regulations r. When the Work is finiſhed, the Madder is, according to its

o Blith's Engliſh Improver Improved, chap. xxxvi. p. 235. Sir W. Petty's Account of Dyeing in Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 298. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 369—373. Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 158. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. ch. xv. p. 160. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 223—227. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, 231. Foreign Eſſays on Agriculture and Arts, p. 41—50. Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary under Rubia.

p The Time, Trouble, and Expence attending the Cultivation of Madder in this Method have induced ſome, particularly the French, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, to endeavour to find ſome Expedients to ſhorten the Proceſs, and by ridding themſelves of Stoves and Mills to leſſen the Charge. It is certainly right to examine and to conſider their Attempts. But on the other Hand, there is with all its Prolixity and Labour ſomething very worthy Attention in this Mode of the Dutch. The Dyers uſe Madder in different Ways and for different Purpoſes, which are all ſuited by the ſeveral Diviſions of the Madder by which all is ſold, each fetches its juſt Price, and the Dyers find ſome or other of theſe Sorts adapted to every Intention, which is a great and apparent Conveniency.

q It ſeems evident from the Growing of this Plant in different Parts of different Countries, that it is not confined to any particular Soil. This hath been ſufficiently cleared by Experiments made in France in Lands of very different Kinds, Clays, Sands, Marſhes lately drained, and in others. If it was not ſo, how ſhould every Kitchen Gardiner in ſome of the Dutch Iſlands have his little Cloſe or Plot of Madder? This ſhews that Culture does much, and poſſibly ſupplies Defect in Soil, even there. For all is done, if not by the Owner's Hand, at leaſt under his Eye; which is ſuch an Advantage, as in an Affair of this Nature muſt have wonderful Effects. In regard to Land therefore in Britain there cannot be either Doubt or Difficulty.

r As the Culture was beſt provided for by being in a Number of Hands, all equally ſtimulated by Attention to their own Intereſts, ſo the Curing, which is of equal Importance, is as prudently regulated. Such as grow only a ſmall Quantity of this Commodity could not ſpare Money to erect, or the Time requiſite to attend a Stove. This therefore is aſſigned to another Set of People to whom Practice gives a Facility in this difficult Buſineſs, as their conſtant Employment therein procures them a comfortable Subſiſtence. Beſides the Mull mentioned in the Text, they diſtinguiſh what paſſes the Sieve on the firſt pounding by the Name of Gemeens, the next pounded, which is the beſt, Krap; and if theſe Two Sorts are blended it is ſtiled Onberoofd, i. e. Undivided.

Fineneſs, divided into ſeveral Sorts, and after being inſpected by Perſons deputed by the Magiſtrates, each Sort is put up in Caſks with Marks declaring its Nature, and the Arms of the Town of Zirikzee painted on them, which authenticates their Contents wherever they are exported [s]. This Plant is alſo cultivated not only in the other Iſlands which compoſe that Province, but likewiſe in different Parts of the Dominions of the United Provinces, from whence it is ſent in immenſe Quantities over all Europe.

In Proportion as Induſtry, Arts, and Commerce came to prevail, and to be underſtood here, it was very clearly diſcerned that our Dependance upon another Nation, for an Article ſo neceſſary to the Progreſs of ſeveral Manufactures, was pregnant with many Inconveniencies, beſides the conſtant Drain of Money, not only for the Benefit, but even at the Will of Strangers, who ſet what Prices they pleaſed on what could not be wanted. In the Reign of Charles the Firſt, a Patent was granted to Mr. Shipman the King's Gardener for Planting and Curing of Madder, which he did, and brought it to very great Perfection, till ruined by the Confuſion of the Times, he was conſtrained to part with his Stock, and give over the Trade [t]. It was again attempted by Sir Nicholas Criſpe, a Man of extraordinary Abilities, and of great Public Spirit, as alſo by Perſons well ſkilled therein at Wiſbech, who, notwithſtanding many Obſtacles that were thrown in their Way, would certainly have ſucceeded, had not the Dutch reduced, and for a Time kept the Price ſo low, that for Want of Support they were conſtrained to give up the making of Madder. This had ſo bad an Effect, that notwithſtanding the Growing of this Plant for phyſical Uſes, and for Curioſity in many private Gardens, no Thoughts were entertained of cultivating it to a large Extent, and for the Purpoſes of Dyeing, till within theſe few Years. It then appeared ſo reaſonable in itſelf, and of ſuch manifeſt Pub-

[s] The Aſſayers are ſworn duly to reſpect the Ordinances of Zealand, of which there are ſeveral, very explicit and well conſidered. The Caſks, beſides the Arms of the Town, have the Name of the Stove where made, and the Quality of the Madder painted on them; and thus the Credit and Reputation of all the different Parties are ſtaked, which excites a conſtant Attention and Emulation amongſt them. Whoever reflects on the Sagacity of theſe Meaſures, and the Propriety of the States interfering to prevent private Avarice from injuring the public Intereſt, will ſee no great Cauſe to wonder, that the Dutch in a Courſe of Years gained this Commodity, or that they have ſo long kept it from their Neighbours.

[t] We have this Fact from Mr. Blyth, who having been an Officer in the Parliament Army became afterwards a great Promoter of Agriculture and all Sorts of Improvements, and is conſequently a competent and unſuſpected Witneſs. He ſays, that Mr. Shipman planted Madder, and ſet up his Works at Barn Elms, and that his Commodity was highly commended by its only proper Judges the Dyers. It is evident therefore, that at this Time we were poſſeſſed of this valuable Article, and might have been ſoon had in Plenty as well as in Perfection. If this Opportunity had been taken, and the Cultivation of Madder (as it might have been) univerſally introduced, it would be no difficult Matter to demonſtrate, that this Nation might have been the richer for it by ſome Millions.

lic Utility, that an Act of Parliament was obtained to facilitate the Deſign, which Act hath been ſince continued, and many other Marks have been given of public Approbation [u]. It may be conſidered therefore at preſent as in a State of Progreſſion, and there is very little Room to doubt, that as Experience in the Management of it increaſes, this important Enterprize will move faſter till it reaches the Point of Perfection.

It certainly imports us both in Honour and in Intereſt to proſecute this Improvement, now it is begun, with Vigour. We have all the Advantages we can reaſonably wiſh to prompt our Endeavours, as we have a great Variety of Soils as fit for the Cultivation of this Plant as any in Zealand or Flanders, and are in no Danger of being confined in point of Room [w]. In Reference to Induſtry our People are not inferior to any, and in reſpect to Dexterity and Diſpatch ſuperior to moſt, as from a Multitude of Inſtances, if it was neceſſary, might be proved. Something alſo may be truſted to the Genius of the Nation, which has been ever famous for improving whatever Inventions came into their Hands. We may add to all this, that there are Three very puiſſant Motives which ought to ſtimulate our Efforts in this Affair. In the firſt Place, we know very well that the Thing is practicable, that Madder will grow, and grow in as great Perfection here as any where elſe. In the next Place, if we either deſiſt or are remiſs in proſecuting this Improvement, we may, and indeed we muſt expect to have the Price raiſed upon us in Reſentment for our having made the Attempt. Laſtly, we have all the Reaſon that can be to expect, whatever Encouragement it is in the Power of Government to give, ſince no Duty is laid upon

[u] Stat. 31 Geo. II. In the Preamble the great Advantages that would attend the Cultivation of Madder are ſuccinctly ſtated, and for promoting ſo important a Deſign, the Tythe of every Acre on which it is planted is fixed at Five Shillings from Auguſt 1ſt 1758 for Fourteen Years. Stat. 5 Geo. III. cap. xviii. after reciting that the Price of the Commodity hath been raiſed, continues the Tythe at Five Shillings an Acre for Fourteen Years farther from the Expiration of the former Act. The Society alſo for the encouraging Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce have promiſed very conſiderable and well conſidered Premiums for the encouraging this very expenſive Improvement, as alſo (which may be of no ſmall Importance) for the Cultivation of our own wild Madder.

[w] It ſeems to be a received Maxim that Eight Years ſhould elapſe before Madder is to be planted again on the ſame Ground. But it is allowed that in the Iſle of Schowen, where they grow the very beſt, they are for Want of Land obliged to plant it in Four Years. It is alſo acknowledged that nothing prepares Land ſo well for Corn as the growing Madder, ſo that they have Three large Crops of Grain before Madder is planted again. If Experience ſhould juſtify this, we need not in Britain be under any Neceſſity of Planting again before the proper Time, which will give us an Advantage on this Principle. But it may be that Experience will ſhew the contrary, and that by proper Crops and proper Tillage the Land may be ſooner fit for Madder again.

Madder

Madder imported, that no additional Weight might be thereby thrown on our Manufactures [x].

Besides, we find in other Countries People are bent on the ſame Meaſure, particularly the French, who have made and publiſhed a Variety of Experiments that ſeem to throw new Light upon the Subject [y], and to promiſe, if due Attention be paid to them, not only equalling the Dutch in their Cultivation, but even the Eaſtern Nations, who have been hitherto held inimitable in their Method of dyeing Cotton [z]. On the Whole, we ought certainly to be attentive to theſe Diſcoveries, and even to the Experiments that have been made elſewhere in a Point that ſo nearly regards our own Intereſts, and the Benefits of which are clearly as much in our Power as in theirs [a].

It

[x] As Things now ſtand, Madder, which is a capital Article in the Dyeing many, and in fixing more Colours, is looked upon as abſolutely neceſſary, and therefore allowed to be imported free. But if it ſhall once appear to the Legiſlature, that we can grow it in as great Plenty as well as in as great Perfection as in Holland, the ſame Motive of encouraging our own Manufactures will render it expedient to take every Method for facilitating the Culture of this Plant. What thoſe Methods will be, the Growers of Madder will be beſt able to point out, and from the Attention already paid to them, they may well hope for Succeſs. The Sum annually paid for Madder is a Rent-charge on our Manufactures, of which the ſooner we are rid ſo much the better.

[y] Le Teinturier Parfait, par Theodore Haak, p. 160—167. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 303—305, Memoirs ſur la Garance & ſa Culture, par M. du Hamel du Monceau, Paris, 1757, 4to. Elements de Agriculture, liv. xi. chap. iv. Dictionnaire Univerſelle d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. ii. p. 269. Beauſobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique des Finances et du Commerce, tom. i. p. 206, 207. Encyclopedie Portatif, tom. ii. p. 113.

[z] This Subject hath employed the Thoughts and the Pens of Three very able and knowing Men, Meſſrs. Hellot, Duhamel, and D'Ambournay. In conſequence of their Reſearches and Experiments, it appears that it will grow very well on very different Soils; that it may be with Facility propagated by Seed from the wild Madder; that the Roots of this Madder will dye as well when green as when dry; that Four Pounds will have the Effects of Eight of green converted into One of dry Dutch Madder; that the green Roots may by a proper Method be preſerved green, and without becoming mouldy for a long Space of Time; and that the Hazala or Iſari of the Turks is very probably the ſame with our wild Madder, at leaſt when carefully dried in Sun or Shade, will dye as bright and beautiful a Colour, though this as to its being wild Madder hath been doubted. The French King by an Arret of his Council, dated 24th February 1756, exempts all Perſons who ſhall drain Moraſſes for the Culture of this Plant from the Taille for Twenty Years. They have begun to cultivate it in Germany and in Pruſſia. The Dublin Society have been many Years endeavouring to introduce it into Ireland.

[a] It may in reſpect to the Cultivation of Madder, which if ſo far introduced as to ſerve only our own Conſumption, would afford a comfortable Subſiſtence to Four or Five Thouſand Families, deſerve to be conſidered. Whether ſome Improvement may not be made in the Manner of growing it ſo as to leſſen the Expence? Cannot the Method of Curing it be rendered more ſimple without Prejudice to the Commodity? Will not the Roots of our wild Madder yield a rich Colour, and in what Proportion to the cultivated? Might not the ſearching for, and collecting wild Madder Roots at a proper Seaſon of the Year afford ſome Aſſiſtance to the Poor? Have we no other Plants in Britain, the Roots of which may afford as good a Dye as Madder if adequate Encouragement was given to find them? When it is ſaid we import all our Madder from Holland, it is meant of the Krap or Madder in Powder, for ſome we receive in Roots from Italy and the Levant. We might

eaſily

It was to ſet this in a ſtrong Light, that ſo much Pains have been beſtowed on this, and will be likewiſe employed in ſubſequent Articles; for there cannot be any political Truth more certain than this, that to leſſen the Expence of our Manufactures is the ſureſt Method of promoting their Sale, and conſequently of promoting Induſtry, the only laudable Means of enriching this Nation.

SAFFLOWER, Saflore, ſtiled by the Botaniſts Cnicus ſive Carthamus Sativus, in ſome Places called from its Uſe the Scarlet Flower; is a Plant originally from Egypt, and which was not cultivated in Italy till after the Reign of the Emperor Veſpaſian [b]. The Root does not penetrate deep into the Earth, being an annual Plant. It ſhoots up a ſtiff Woody Stalk, Two and ſometimes Three Feet in Height, dividing upwards into many Branches adorned with oval Leaves entire, but ſlightly ſerrated on their Edges, each of the Points terminated by a Spine, not very ſtrong or ſharp. The Flowers grow ſingle at the End of each Branch; their Heads are large, incloſed in a ſcaly Empalement, each of the Scales broad at the Baſe, reſembling in other Reſpects the Leaf of the Plant, and terminating in a ſharp Thorn. The lower Part of the Empalement ſpreads open, but the upper Scales embrace the Florets which ſtand out near an Inch above the Empalement. Theſe are of a bright, orient, Saffron Colour [c]. When ripe it produces Seeds which are long, of a whitiſh ſhining Colour, and have a ſweetiſh bitter Taſte, and a purgative Quality.

A LIGHT warm Soil is the moſt proper for this Plant, which has been cultivated in the Vale of Eveſham, and about Burton and Aſton in Oxfordſhire [d]. The Ground ſhould be prepared as for Barley, with an additional Harrowing

eaſily have the Seeds, and diſtinguiſh by raiſing them, if the Plant be the cultivated, the wild Madder, or diſtinct from both.

[b] Theophr. lib. vi. Hiſt. cap. iv. Dioſc. lib. iv. c. 182. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. xv. xxxii. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. viii. cap. p. ii. 302. Reigeri Introduct. in Not. Rer. Natur. &c. tom. ii. p. 552—557. where all the Properties of this Plant are fully diſplayed, which it may be of Conſequence to know if the Culture of it is ever introduced into this Iſland.

[c] Houghton's Collections, vol. iv. p. 353—360. Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, chap. vi. p. 157. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. chap. xix. p. 169. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 569. Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary under the Article Carthamus. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 655, 666, 667. Dictionnaire Univerſelle d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 463.

[d] The Hiſtory of the firſt Plantation is contained in a Letter from Henry Hall, Eſq; to Mr. Houghton, dated Nov. 14, 1683. He ſays, the Land on which theſe Seeds were ſown was mixed Sand, worth about Fifteen Shillings an Acre; but this being a new Improvement, and ſuppoſed greatly to exhauſt the Soil, a Spot of Twenty-five Acres was let to the Adventurers at Twenty-five Pounds an Acre. By this Undertaking, though in all Reſpects very ill managed, they cleared Thirty Shillings an Acre, all Charges (the Price of Seed excepted) deducted, by the Sale of the Flowers only. It was eſtimated the whole Crop might yield about 140 Buſhels, from under 40 that were ſown. He ſhews the Errors in their Conduct, how eaſily they might be avoided, and from

Harrowing to lay it ſmooth and even. The moſt material Point is the affording it a proper Expoſition, for it will not endure any Shade. The Seeds ſhould be ſown in Drills as early in the Spring as the Seaſon will admit, about the Beginning of March, though ſome ſay it may be done in February, in Rows at Two Feet or rather at Two Feet and a Half Diſtance. It may be ſown moderately thick, and in a Month's Time after the Plants will begin to appear. A Month after this they muſt be carefully hoed and thinned, ſo that they may ſtand at about Six Inches Diſtance. After a proper Interval they are to be hoed again, and thinned to a Foot Diſtance[e]. If after this the Weeds ſhould riſe afreſh they muſt be hoed a third Time. It flowers in July, and the Florets are then ſeparated with a ſhort Knife, not all at once, but as they become ripe, ſo that this may take up a Week's Time or more, and the Work may be performed by Women and Children. They are next to be cautiouſly dried upon a Kiln, and are then fit for Sale. Such Stalks as are intended for Seed, ſhould be left ſtanding, and ſuffered to grow fully ripe, when the Seed will be as good as any we receive from Germany. It is true, that they will grow to their full Size, and appear as fair when left in the Flower that is cut, but upon opening them they will be found hollow, black, and empty[f].

The Uſe of theſe Flowers is to dye Silk of a Pink, Roſe, and other red Colours; and for this Purpoſe we import annually great Quantities from the Levant and from Germany, where they grow plentifully on the Banks of the Rhine, more eſpecially about Straſburgh. It has been propoſed to raiſe them in Carolina, where without Doubt they might be cultivated in great Perfection; but as they have been formerly, ſo no Doubt they may again be raiſed in Britain, whereby ſo much as we pay for them

from Experiments made by himſelf, declares it an Improvement certainly and eaſily to be introduced. Dr. Plot aſſures us Colonel Vernon brought it into Oxfordſhire, in which County it is mentioned alſo by Mr. Mortimer.

[e] The Reaſon why theſe Plants are allowed at Length ſo much Room, is, that they may be able to nouriſh and perfect their Flowers, of which they bear from Seven to Ten or a Dozen on one Stalk. But as the Seed ſometimes fails, and the Plants may die by other Accidents, they are therefore thinned at twice, that this Space may be occupied only by thriving Plants. The great Space between the Rows is to facilitate the Hoeing, as the Succeſs of this Improvement muſt depend on keeping the Ground free from Weeds, ſtirring the Earth about the Roots, and providing as much as poſſible, that the Plants may enjoy the free Air and warm refreſhing Light of the Sun.

[f] In this and indeed in all Caſes where the Seed has its Value as well as the Plant or the Flower, it is prepoſterous to expect both in Perfection, if cut at the ſame Time. It is therefore always ſafeſt and beſt to allow ſome of the healthieſt and ſtouteſt Plants both Room and Time to perfect their Seed, which will be alſo found the greateſt Oeconomy. It was, as has been obſerved, the Caſe of our Clover Seed. Mr. Hall aſſures us he ſowed in February and March, and that the Flowers were ripe and gathered by the Twentieth of July. The former were not ſo fine as the latter, which he aſcribes not to their too early ſowing, but to their growing in the Shade. Neither Flowers or Seed, though he thinks his Garden Ground richer, were equal to thoſe that grew in the Vale, owing to their having more Air and Sun.

would

would be clearly ſaved to this Nation [g]. They were heretofore much uſed in Medicine. The Seeds are exceedingly agreeable to Turkies, Geeſe, and other Poultry. It may not perhaps be amiſs to remark, that it is not only uſed in dyeing Feathers, but that from theſe Flowers, properly prepared, we have that famous Fucus, which is ſtiled Portugal Red, and with which the Ladies improve, ſhall we ſay, or ſpoil, their Complexions [h].

WELD, Wold, or Dyers Weed [i], which from its producing a yellow Colour the Ancients called Luteum, Lutum, Luteola, or Lutea, is a Native of this Country, to be found growing wild on dry Banks, old Walls, and other ſuch like Places in many Parts of this Kingdom [k]. It is chiefly cultivated for Sale at preſent, as it has long been in the Neighbourhood of Canterbury. This Plant, or rather Species, the Followers of Tournefort's Syſtem call Reſeda, and diſtinguiſh them into ſeveral different Kinds. But that growing with us is a biennial Plant, the Root of which is compoſed of ligneous Fibres; it throws out Leaves near the Ground, four Inches long, and about half an Inch broad. The Stalks riſe to about Three Feet in Height, with Leaves, ſmaller in Size, but in other Reſpects very like thoſe at the Bottom. The Tops or Points of the Stems are terminated by long looſe Spikes of yellowiſh coloured Flowers, which appear about the latter End of June, and the Seed is commonly ripe in September [l]. It hath been hitherto

[g] As we are now ſo much improved in the Arts of Cultivation, and have ſo juſt Notions of the Nature and Value of Improvements beneficial to our Manufactures, an Attempt not ſo properly to introduce as to recover this, cannot but be acceptable to the judicious Peruſer. All the Objections that can be formed againſt it, are very fairly ſtated, and as fully anſwered, by Mr. Hall; and we may therefore hope, that when next undertaken it will be effectually executed.

[h] This Plant is cultivated in Italy, Spain, and in ſome Parts of France. The French however, who conſume a great deal, bring much from other Countries, and diſtinguiſh it by different Names. That from the Levant they call Sofranum, that from the Rhine Safron d'Allemagne, and that of their own Growth Safron batard, or baſtard Saffron. The Seed from the Uſe they make of it they ſtile Graine de Perroquet; which confirms the Obſervations made here.

[i] This laſt Appellation, though commonly given to this, ſeems more properly to belong to another Plant, viz. Geniſta Tinctoria, Dyers Broom, Green-wood, Wild Would, Wood-waxen, and ſometimes Dyers Weed. It grows ſpontaneouſly in many Places, and will grow any where with very little Trouble. The ſmall yellow Flowers produced by this Broom are chiefly uſed in Dyeing coarſe Cloaths Yellow, and in Conjunction with Woad it dyes Green. It fetches but a low Price, the Colour being dull and but little eſteemed. However, ſome have thought it might be improved by ſowing the Seeds in tolerable Ground, keeping it from Weeds, and beſtowing a little Pains in gathering and curing it. The French call it Geneſtrole, and uſe it much in the ſame Manner that we do.

[k] An Opinion has been entertained, founded on the Circumſtance of this Plant being natural to our Country, that it muſt have been with this, rather than Woad, that the ancient Britons dyed their Skins, on a Principle either of ſtriking Terror, or of Ornament. But to this, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, there are many Objections. Beſides, the Luteola was ſo common and ſo well known in Italy, that it is not to be conceived the Romans ſhould be miſtaken about it.

[l] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxiii. cap. v. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xix. §. 2. cap. vi. p. 1054. lib. xxxi. § 1. cap. xi. p. 1725. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 44. 74. Sprat's Hiſtory

therto the great Recommendation of this Vegetable in point of Culture, that it would grow on the worſt Soils, without Dung, and with very little Labour. All which Circumſtances in relation to this Plant are ſtrictly true[m]. For this Reaſon, it is commonly ſown with or immediately after Barley or Oats, without any additional Care, except drawing a Buſh over it to harrow it in. The Reaping of the Corn does it little or no hurt, as it does not grow much in the firſt Year; and the next Summer it is pulled and dried like Flax. Much Care and Nicety however is required, ſo as not to injure either the Seed or the Stalk; or, which ſometimes happens, damaging both, by letting it ſtand too long, or pulling it too green[n]. A better and a more rational Manner of Cultivation has been deviſed, which it is hoped may be tried at leaſt, if not followed, ſince it certainly will be attended with none of theſe Inconveniencies.

This new Method is to plough and harrow the Ground very fine, without Dung, as equally as poſſible, and then ſowing about a Gallon of Seed, which is very ſmall, upon an Acre, ſome Time in the Month of Auguſt. In about Two Months it will be high enough to hoe, which muſt be carefully done, and the Plants left about Six Inches aſunder. In March it is to be hoed again, and this Labour is to be repeated a third Time in May. About the Cloſe of June, when the Flower is in full Vigour, and the Stalk is become of a greeniſh Yellow, it ſhould be pulled; a ſufficient Quantity of

of the Royal Society, p. 299. Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 158, 159. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. ch. xvii. p. 165. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 221—223. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, 482. 539. Miller's Gardener's Dictionary under the Articles of Geniſta & Reſeda. Le Teintereur parfait, p. 167. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 612. Elemens d'Agriculture, liv. xi. ch. i. Dictionnaire d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. ii. p. 474, 475. 482, 483. Beauſobre, Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, &c. tom. i. p. 198.

[m] Theſe no queſtion are very great, and, which is more, very ſtriking and apparent Advantages. It is no Wonder therefore, that they ſhould introduce the Culture of Weld, as promiſing conſiderable Profit with little Labour and as little Charge. The Way in which it was introduced was very natural to Farmers, and their Method commodious, and for them ingenious; ſo that if they got by it, as it is ſaid they did, from Two to Eight Pounds an Acre, it grew into a Habit, which they could have no Motive to change. But Perſons who had more extenſive Lights, and were capable of reaſoning on better Principles, were very likely to diſcover the Errors in this Mode of Culture, and to point out a more effectual Way of improving Weld, which certainly deſerves Notice and Commendation.

[n] It does not certainly require any great Sagacity to diſcern, that it muſt be very difficult, indeed hardly practicable, to have, when pulled together, both Flower and Seed in Perfection. In favourable Seaſons however they came ſo near it, as to conceal from themſelves the true Source of their Miſcarriages; which they imputed to the Weather and other unavoidable Accidents, not to any Defect in their Management. This is ſo common in other Caſes, that we need not be at all ſurprized at it in this; but the Evil being ſhewn, the Cauſes detected, and the Remedy laid down, we may hope it will be adopted. The Improvement of Weld, ſo as to render it a rich and a certain Colour, by having it always of the ſame Goodneſs, is an Object of Importance to our Manufactures.

Stems

Stems being left growing for Seed till September [o]. By this Means the Flower and Stalk, both of them being carefully dried, will ſell at a good Price to the Dyers, who employ it conſtantly, and in large Quantities; add to this, that the Seed being ripe, and in perfect Order, will yield a very conſiderable Profit. In a tolerable Year, when the Seaſons have not been unfavourable, the Advantages derived from this Vegetable will anſwer very well; but if the Summer ſhould be remarkably fine, and proper Care is taken in getting it in, there will be a very large Produce upon an Acre [p]. The Crop being, as has been ſhewn, ſo early removed, the Ground may be conveniently prepared for growing Wheat the next Year. Upon the Whole, Weld is in its Nature a very valuable Commodity in many Reſpects, as it ſerves equally for Woollen, Linnen, or Silk; dyeing not only a rich and laſting Yellow, but alſo, properly managed, all the different Shades of Yellow, with Brightneſs and Beauty; and if theſe be previouſly dipped Blue, they are by the Weld changed into a very pleaſing Green, which our Artiſts can alſo diverſify into a great Variety of Shades [q].

WOAD is a Plant not more valuable in its Uſes, than remarkable for its being a Production as early mentioned as any in this Iſland, and that by

[o] Mr. Miller recommends this Method, as rational in itſelf, and confirmed by Experience. It might ſurely be tried by ſmall Farmers, ſince he admits that it will do upon indifferent Ground, though better on that which is good; laying however the principal Streſs on Attention and Tillage. The ſmalleſt Flowers have the moſt Subſtance, and yield the moſt Colour; the Seed ſells for about Ten Shillings a Buſhel. Theſe ſeem to afford Encouragement to the cultivating it ſingly with Diligence and Application, ſince we import large Quantities of this uſeful and valuable Dye (though under a Duty) which ſhews ſome Fault in our Commodity; and alſo ſhews that there would be a ſufficient Demand, and a good Price given, for our Weld, if, that Error corrected, it came to Market well cured, and in full Perfection.

[p] They cultivate Weld in foreign Countries with much Aſſiduity, and to great Profit. In Normandy, particularly about Rouen, they ſow it in the Fields after French Beans, as we do after Barley, hoe it frequently, and dry it carefully after cutting. They eſteem there, as well as here, the ſmall Flowers, and thoſe that grow on a ſingle Stalk, as yielding the richeſt Colour. If therefore this was chiefly attended to, and the Quality improved (as it certainly might be) by the Culture, we might quickly come to export this Commodity, which would keep up the Price, as well as encourage the growing it. This, conſidering it will ſucceed on any light Soil, and at a ſmall Expence, ſeems to merit Attention; as indeed does every Kind of Cultivation, which has any Relation to our Manufactures.

[q] Mr. Colbert, to whoſe Wiſdom and Application France ſtands indebted for moſt of her Manufactures, had great Regard for Dyeing; in order to promote which, he invited experienced Perſons from other Countries, encouraged Natural Philoſophers to turn their Thoughts to this Subject, and from the Lights derived from both, publiſhed Inſtructions and Injunctions, which had very good Effects. Our Legiſlature hath not been wanting ſince the Days of Queen Elizabeth in their Care in this Reſpect. But the Statute of the Eighth of George I. ſeems to have been made on the moſt mature Deliberation, by which ſuch foreign Articles as are neceſſary are exempted from Duty, and ſuch as might interfere with our own Production (amongſt which is Weld) remain charged.

the moſt reſpectable, as well as the moſt authentic Writers[r]. It was, as they inform us, employed by the antient Britons of both Sexes in painting their Bodies, or at leaſt their Faces; which ſhews that they had then this Vegetable, and knew by ſome Means or other how to extract its Colour[s]. Woad is a biennial Plant, the lower Leaves of which are of an oval Figure, with obtuſe Points, entire on their Edges, and of a very lively Green. The Stalk riſes to the Height of about Four Feet, dividing into ſeveral Branches, adorned with arrow-ſhaped Leaves. Theſe Branches are terminated by Cluſters of ſmall yellow Flowers, ſucceeded by Pods, which when ripe turn black, and in each Pod is contained a ſingle Seed[t]. The Growers of Woad in this Country hire Land, generally ſpeaking, in ſome of the Midland Counties, or wherever they can find it fit for their Purpoſe, and give a good Rent for Two Years, as they ſeldom occupy it longer.

This Land is commonly the deepeſt and fatteſt they can meet with, neither too moiſt or too dry, and free from Stones or Gravel; a gentle hazle Mould is of all others the beſt[u]. They are very careful in ploughing it, and croſs-ploughing of it in high Ridges, that the Froſt may render the Earth mellow. They likewiſe by frequent Harrowings deſtroy the Weeds; and if there are any hard Lumps or Clods of Earth, they are beaten to Pieces, that there may be nothing to obſtruct the Deſcent of the Roots[w]. When

[r] Cæſar. de Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. x. Pomp. Mela de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. vi. Vitruv. lib. vii. cap. xiv. Dioſcorid. lib. ii. cap. 215. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxii. cap. i. Oribaſ. lib. xi. fol. 199. Galen de fac. ſimp. med. lib. vi. p. 179. Marcel. Empir. cap. xxiii. p. 162. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xvi. § ii. cap. ix. p. 842. Tournef. Inſtit. 211. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 46.

[s] Cæſar ſays expreſly, that the Britons painted themſelves of a blue Colour to make them terrible to their Enemies. Mela doubts whether it was for Terror or Beauty. Pliny makes this rather an Act of Religion. The Women in Britain, ſays he, both old and young, dye their whole Bodies, and ſo aſſiſt naked in their Sacrifices, being like in Colour to Ethiopians. Cæſar and Mela both call the Herb Vitrum, which in Latin ſignifies Glaſs. Pliny calls it Glaſtum, ſays it was common in Gaul, and reſembled Plantain. Glaſs is a Celtic Word, was the Name of the Herb, and of the Colour drawn from it, viz. Blue, as it is ſtill in Welſh; by the ſame Name they alſo called Glaſs, becauſe theirs was of a blue Colour. Cæſar and Mela tranſlate the Britiſh Word, whereas Pliny retains it with a Latin Termination.

[t] Fuller's Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 18. Blith's Engliſh Improver Improved, chap. xxxv. p. 227—235. Biſhop Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 301. Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 45. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. v. chap. xvi. p. 163. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry, p. 213—219. Additions to Bedfordſhire in Biſhop Gibſon's Tranſlation of Camden's Britannia. Hill's Hiſtory of Plants, p. 527. Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary under the Article Iſatis.

[u] In this as in many other Caſes, Cuſtom eſtabliſhes a Rule. There is no Doubt, that on very deep rich Soils Woad does admirably well. It does not therefore follow, it can do well on no other Soil than this. Yet it has been known to do full as well on an old Warren broke up and properly prepared. There is another Circumſtance that ought to be conſidered, the Expoſition. The more Sun the better Woad, the more Shade the larger the Crop.

[w] The Tillage is to the full of as great Conſequence as the Soil. Sowing in Rows with a Drill Plough is a good Method, leaving the Plants ſix Inches aſunder, hoeing them regularly, which

When the Soil is thus prepared, they ſow or plant the Woad, allowing Four Buſhels to an Acre. This is done about the Middle of March, though in ſome Places earlier, and in others later; and they are very attentive in keeping it free from Weeds, by repeated Hoeings in dry Weather. As ſoon as the Leaves come to their due Size and Colour, which is that of a very bright Green, they begin to cut, and ſo continue through the Summer, making Three, Four, and ſometimes Five Crops [x]. But the Two firſt, which they uſually mix together, are by much the beſt; the laſt however will ſometimes fetch Seven or Eight Pounds a Ton. A very hot Summer makes the beſt Woad in point of Quality; a moiſt One produces the greateſt Quantity. When cut, it is carried as ſoon as may be to the Mill, where it is ground very ſmall; after which it is made up in Balls. Theſe are expoſed to the Sun on Hurdles till they become dry, and are then carried again to the Mill, where they are ground to a Powder. This Powder is ſpread upon a Floor, where it is well watered, ſuffered to ferment, and is frequently turned till it becomes dry, and of a greyiſh white Colour, which they call Silvering. After all this long and chargeable Preparation, it is put up in Bags of Two hundred Weight each, and ſo ſent to the Dyers, who then make a Trial of the Colour, according to which they ſet the Price [y]. Some Plants are however left for Seed, and ſuffered to ſtand till that is ripe [z]. It would certainly be better if only the firſt, or at moſt the ſecond Crop were taken from theſe Plants, and the other Leaves left to nouriſh and ſupport them, by which the Seed would be rendered more valuable. An Acre in a tolerable Year will yield a Ton; and if the

which may be then done with Eaſe, and will exceedingly nouriſh the Roots, on which the Vigour and Produce of the Plant depend. This is apparent in the Leaves, which when the Plants are thus treated grow larger, have more Subſtance, and of courſe yield better than they otherwiſe would do.

[x] The Number of Crops depends chiefly on the Weather. Rains bring it forward; but they chooſe a warm and dry Day to cut it, and are very careful to do this when the Leaves are in their prime. The Plants ſhould be hoed after every cutting, to refreſh and ſtrengthen the Roots. Five Crops are very ſeldom taken here, it is more common to take but Three, and even then, if the laſt be mixed with the Two former, it would ſpoil all, by diminiſhing their Body, and weakening the Colour.

[y] It is the Quality of the Woad that ſhould be principally regarded, and this perhaps would be no Diminution of the Profits, for the third Crop will always ſupply a ſufficient Quantity of low priced Woad, and the Care and Coſt beſtowed in the Culture and Curing the Two firſt Sorts, would eſtabliſh their Value. What Mr. Miller from his own Judgment and Experience hath advanced, ſhews ſufficiently, that notwithſtanding our having had the Culture of this Plant ſo long, it may be ſtill improved.

[z] When full ripe, the Seeds become black; the Plants ſhould be then cut or reaped like Wheat, and laid in Rows to dry, which they will do in Four or Five Days. They are then to be threſhed, and the Seeds will be good in their Kind, and in large Quantities. As the Seed Plants ſtand the Winter, ſome let the Sheep eat their Leaves; but this ſeems to be falſe Oeconomy, as it weakens the Plants, and thereby prejudices the Seed both in Quantity and Quality. New Seed anſwers beſt.

Summer

Summer is very favourable a Ton and a Half. The Price of a Ton is about Eighteen Pounds, ſometimes Twenty, and even Thirty; ſo that notwithſtanding there is a great deal of Trouble, and no ſmall Expence in growing and curing it, yet the Profit is very conſiderable; more eſpecially as it is not a periſhing Commodity, but grows better by keeping [a].

Woad not only affords a laſting and ſubſtantial Blue, which, according to the Scale of the Dyers, may be reduced into many different Shades, but is alſo of great Uſe in dyeing and fixing many other Colours. But notwithſtanding this, and its being a Commodity of our own, the Uſe of it is very much declined ſince the Introduction of Indigo; for the Purchaſe of which large Sums go annually out of the Nation [b]. The Reaſon of this is, that Indigo affords a more lively and pleaſing Colour, is managed with more Eaſe by the Dyers, and does their Buſineſs more expeditiouſly. Yet with all theſe Advantages it is univerſally acknowledged, that the Colour which Indigo affords is inferior to that of Woad in many Reſpects, and particularly in Permanency; for which Reaſon they are frequently uſed in Conjunction [c]. But the worſt Conſequence that has attended the Uſe of Indigo, is not barely leſſening the Conſumption, but abating the Price, and depreciating the intrinſic Value of Woad; ſo that leſs Care is taken in the Management of it; to which in a great Meaſure the Inferiority of its Colour, at leaſt in ſome Places, is at preſent owing [d]. The Declenſion in its

[a] Some learned Antiquaries, particularly Mr. Baxter, think Glaſtonbury derived its Name from the Cultivation of Glaſtum or Woad in the Iſland on which it is ſituated. The Britons called this Iſle Inis üitrum, and the Saxons tranſlated this Glaſteney, i. e. Inſula Glaſtaria, Glaſt or Woad Iſland. It ſhould ſeem the Britons in this Appellation adopted the Latin Term, Vitrum, by which Cæſar expreſſed their own Word Glaſs, i. e. Blue; in Iriſh Blue is Gor, and Woad Gormin.

[b] Avicenna is ſuppoſed to have deſcribed both Woad and Indigo in ſeparate Chapters, but under the ſame Appellation of Nil, that is Blue. It is a long Time ſince our Dyers were acquainted with a coarſe Indigo made up in ſmall Cakes called Aneal. But the true was brought hither from the Eaſt Indies about the Beginning of the laſt Century, and was then ſtiled by many Glaſtum Indicum, i. e. Indian Woad, though in truth the Product of quite a different Plant.

[c] It may be ſomewhat more than a Century ſince Indigo grew into Uſe and Reputation here, from the Facility of uſing it. For Sir William Petty tells us "The Uſing of Woad is One of the "moſt myſterious, nice, and hazardous Operations in Dyeing. It is One of the moſt laſting "Colours that is dyed. An intenſe Woad-colour is almoſt Black, that is to ſay of a Damſon-co-"lour; this Colour is the Foundation of ſo many others in its Degree, that the Dyers have a "Scale or Number of Stalls whereby to compute the Lightneſs and Deepneſs of this Colour." Thus far this ingenious, inquiſitive, and judicious Writer. As Woad was uſed to give Solidity and Subſtance, ſo Indigo was employed to give Brightneſs and Luſtre; which Notion was adopted in France as well as here.

[d] This is a Circumſtance ſo natural, that it might well be expected; yet it is more felt, and of Conſequence more deplored in France, becauſe, as we ſhall ſee, Woad was an Object of more Importance there than here, on account of the great Quantity exported. Many Propoſitions were therefore made to remedy this Evil, and to reſtore the Credit of the Commodity, but it does not appear they have hitherto been thought ſo practicable as to be carried into Execution.

Conſumption

Conſumption is not the Caſe here only, but alſo in other Countries; for it was once the great Staple of Languedoc, and was cultivated alſo in Normandy, and in other Provinces of France[e]. As it alſo is in Spain, Portugal, the Azores and Canary Iſlands, Switzerland, in the Neighbourhood of Geneva, in different Parts of Germany, and in Sweden. Our own Woad was allowed to be ſuperior to any that we imported; and yet before Indigo had ſo great an Aſcendant, it was thought neceſſary to lay high Duties upon foreign Woad, for the Encouragement of the growing and manufacturing it here; which Duties ſtill ſubſiſt. If we conſider, that this is a Commodity in which Agriculture is as much intereſted as our Manufacturers, one cannot well doubt that the preſerving and reſtoring it deſerves great Attention here, as well as in other Countries in Europe, where the Support of it has been very ſeriouſly conſidered, from the bad Effects that have attended its Decline[f]. An Idea has been entertained, that by an Alteration in the Manner of Curing it, the Inconveniencies that are ſuppoſed to attend the Uſe of it, might be removed, and that Woad might be brought to anſwer all the Purpoſes of Indigo; which if it could be accompliſhed, would be moſt certainly a great Advantage, and an Advantage which every true Lover of his Country would wiſh ſhould take Place here, rather than any where elſe[g].

[e] Etat de France, par le Comte de Boulanvilliers, tom. ii. p. 567, 578. Le Teinturier Parfait, p. 140—155. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 73. 75. Elemens d'Agriculture, lib. xi. cap. ii. Nouvelle Deſcription de la France, par M. Piganiol de la Force, tom. iv. p. 57. Memoirs pour l'Hiſtoire Naturelle de Languedoc, p. 323—331. Beauſobre, Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, des Finances, et du Commerce, tom. i. p. 204, 205. Dictionnaire Raiſonne Univerſel de Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. iv. p. 181. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. ii. p. 301—303.

[f] In France this Plant is called Paſtel, Gueſde; and in Normandy, Voude or Woude. The beſt grows in Upper Languedoc, particularly in the Dioceſe of Alby, where the Culture and Curing differs not much from ours. What we ſtile a Ball, they call Cocagne; and ſuch a Source of Wealth was this Commodity in former Times, that Pais de Cocagne is ſtill a French Phraſe for a Country of Abundance, a Land of Goſhen, as Languedoc in thoſe Days really was. For it was then exceedingly fertile in Grain, but Things are now entirely altered. When by the Decreaſe of the Demand at home and abroad, the Culture of Paſtel declined, the People raiſed Tobacco and Millet; by which their Lands became ſo exhauſted, as to be incapable of bearing Paſtel or Corn. This Matter is thus explained. Woad required extraordinary and expenſive Culture, and brought a ſuitable Return, leaving the Soil in the fitteſt State for Grain; thus it was a true Principle of Plenty; and by the Loſs of it Languedoc is no longer in any Senſe, a Pais de Cocagne.

[g] The Author of the Natural Hiſtory of Languedoc, who has given an excellent Account of the Paſtel, and pathetically laments its Decay, ſuggeſts that Woad, if cured in the ſame Manner as Indigo, might produce as lively a Colour; and adds, that from ſome Experiments made by himſelf, he is convinced the Method would effectually anſwer. The celebrated Mr. Du Hamel du Monceau informs us, that having propoſed to Mr. Fontenelle, a Phyſician in Louviſiana, the cultivating the Paſtel there in the Manner of Indigo, that Gentleman acquainted him, that by treating Indigo after the Manner of Paſtel, he had obtained a very beautiful Green; but he did not ſay whether it was a ſolid and permanent as well as a lively Colour.

It appears from this very ſuccinct Hiſtory, that Providence has beſtowed upon us the primary Colours, or at leaſt the Materials from which they are produced, in as great a Degree of Perfection as moſt of our European Neighbours. It therefore imports us, to endeavour by every Means to render them of the utmoſt poſſible Utility. By ſtudying and practiſing every Method of meliorating them by Culture; by improving the ſeveral Methods of Curing them; or, if it ſhall be found practicable, inventing new ones; by endeavouring to add to our preſent Stock; by diligent Inquiries into the Nature of other Roots, Leaves, and Flowers than thoſe, the Properties of which have been already aſcertained; by tranſplanting either into this, or ſome of our adjacent Iſlands, what are at preſent only the Produce of other Countries; or, if found impracticable to do it here, then to make the like Trials in our Colonies, in ſome or other of which there is the higheſt Probability, that they might be raiſed in very great Perfection [h]. Theſe are Points, not only of very great Importance towards promoting the Excellence and Cheapneſs of our Manufactures; but, as has been fully ſhewn, of no ſmall Importance in regard to Agriculture, as the growing them here renders our Land of ſo much greater Value; and this attended with a Circumſtance directly contrary to the vulgar Notion, which is, that inſtead of impoveriſhing or wearing out the Soil, they contribute to the improving and rendering it fitter for the Production of other Grains and Vegetables [i].

The Improvement of our Meadows and Paſtures hath been attended to, as well as that of our arable Lands, more eſpecially, for between the Space of Two and Three hundred Years; within which Period Mens Attentions have been according to the State of the Times, and of our Conſtitution, more or leſs fixed on theſe important Objects [k]. The Fertility and wide Extent

[h] Theſe ſeem to be the moſt obvious Means of advancing the public Weal in this very material Branch of Induſtry. Science in the Abſtract exceedingly delights, as well as ennobles the human Mind. But an Inclination and an Endeavour to render Science uſeful to Society, is ſtill a more pleaſing and a more noble Principle. What has been hitherto done in this Matter, has been rather from Tradition, Imitation, and Accident, than from any Kind of Syſtem or regular Inquiry. But that much more may be done in this Way by ingenious and diligent Perſons, the intelligent Reader will eaſily diſcern, if he conſults Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 381. p. 15 & 17, and the curious Paper of Mr. de Juſſieu on the Corn Marygold, in the French Memoirs, A. D. 1724, as alſo Mr. Dufay's Diſſertations in the Memoirs, A. D. 1737.

[i] This is a Fact not denied even by thoſe who believe that Woad exhauſts the Earth on which it grows. But they did not perceive this in Languedoc; where, after taking two Crops, they had Recourſe to Paſtel or Woad the third Year. Now this continuing for a long Series of Years without Intermiſſion, the depauperating Quality of Woad muſt have appeared, as that of Tobacco afterwards did, ſo as to render the Soil unfit either for Woad or Corn.

[k] Mayſter Fitzherbarde's Boke of Huſbandry, imprynted in the Houſe of Thomas Berthelet, 1534. His Surveyinge both in a ſmall Size, 1539. Googe's Hereſbachius Four Books of Huſbandry, 1577, 4to. Harriſon's Deſcription of Britain, 1577 fol. Tuſſer's Five hundred Points of good Huſbandry, 1590. Sir Hugh Plat's Flora's Paradiſe, 1600. His Jewell Houſe of Art and

Extent of our natural Paſtures, which is a Benefit beſtowed by Providence, as being ſolely derived from our Soil and Situation, excited a Deſire of rendering Grounds accidentally inferior to them of equal Value. This introduced Incloſures, that theſe Lands might lie ſheltered and warm, and that thoſe who for that Purpoſe were at the Expence of fencing might have the entire Advantage of them [l]. The Situation and Expoſition of Paſtures came likewiſe to be conſidered, as alſo the different Methods by which they might be benefited. Next the correcting of natural Defects, ſuch as the ſpontaneous growing of Ruſhes, Broom, and Heath, grew to be a Matter of great Conſequence, and a Variety of Ways and Means were deviſed for removing theſe Defects, and bringing thoſe Lands into a State fit for grazing [m]. The draining of low Grounds, and thereby converting Marſhes into Meadows, was aſſiduouſly attended to; as was alſo the availing themſelves of Salt Marſhes [n]. On the other Hand, the apparent Benefits received by the overflowing of ſuch Meads as lay by the Side of great Rivers, ſuggeſted the gaining the ſame Advantage by Art, and the Flooding of Grounds, by turning Water upon them; which by altering the Courſe of ſome Rivulet, or previouſly raiſing Water for that Purpoſe, was in many Places very profitably effected [o].

BESIDES

Nature, 1653, 4to. His Garden of Eden, 1660, 12mo. Fifth Edition. Theſe are both poſthumous Works, the latter only the Republication of the Flora's Paradiſe, with the Addition of a Second Part. Gabriel Platte's Adams Art revived, which many aſcribe to Sir H. Plat, 1600. Gabriel Platte's Diſcovery of hidden Treaſure, 1638, 4to. His Diſcovery of ſubterraneal Treaſure, 1639, 4to. Norden's Surveyor's Dialogue, 1607, 8vo. Gervaſe Markham's Engliſh Huſbandman, 1635, 4to. His Maſter Piece, 1593, 4to. His Way to win Wealth, 1638, 4to. Hartlib's Brabant Huſbandry, 1650, 4to. His Legacy, 1651, 4to. His reformed Huſbandman, 1651, 4to. Blith's Engliſh Improver improved, 1653, 4to. Stevenſon's Huſbandry, 1661. Atwell's faithful Surveyor, Cambridge, 1662, 4to.

[l] Fitzherbert, the Father of our Huſbandry, recommends Incloſures, as ſaving Money to the Owner, improving the Land, keeping four Times the Number of Beaſts, and protecting the poor Man's Property from the Cattle of his rich Neighbour. Thomas Tuſſer, who though he wrote in Verſe, now almoſt unintelligible, was a very honeſt, and a very ſenſible Man, a great Friend to Incloſures, and for this Reaſon quoted by Blith and others, in ſupport of their concurring Sentiments on the Subject.

[m] There are many Chapters in Fitzherbert's Book of Surveying on this Head, copied with no very conſiderable Additions by many ſucceeding Writers, and yet but few of theſe had ſeen his Books. They ſtole at ſecond Hand from one who had; and it is really wonderful how his Books were ſo long concealed, and thoſe of his Cotemporaries and Diſciples in theſe Studies (for ſuch there really were) abſolutely ſtifled and buried in Oblivion, as appears by the long Interval in which little or nothing was written on this Subject.

[n] This, as has been already ſhewn in reſpect to Kent, Somerſetſhire, and the Fens in Lincoln, Cambridge, and Huntingdonſhires, was principally proſecuted by the Clergy and the Monks, who having in thoſe Times an equal Aſcendancy in Knowledge and in Riches, and having beſides permanent Eſtates, were able to undertake and execute ſtupendnous and moſt coſtly Works of this Kind, and which before Property was more equally and better divided, few private Perſons could attempt.

[o] We find this Mode of meliorating Lands ſuggeſted and explained by almoſt every Writer on Agriculture, from Fitzherbert to Worlidge. It is indeed an Imitation of Nature, and the cloſer it

Besides these, and a Variety of other Methods, Recourse was had to Manures of different Kinds, suited to the Nature of the Soils, and the Uses to which they were to be employed [p]. All these were gradually and partially introduced; that is to say, they came in by Degrees as Mens Lights increased, and were pursued and practised in different Parts of the Island, till their Utility being confirmed by Experience, most of them at length universally prevailed [q]. By these Methods very great Changes were made, and many wonderful Alterations, wrought in the Face of Things; so that Land became much more valuable, by being in its Productions rendered much more profitable than it had been before, or than it could be conceived possible to render it in former Times [r]. Yet the greatest Improvement had not yet taken Place, which was accomplished, though very slowly, by the Sowing of new Seeds, and bringing in those of foreign Countries, by which prodigious Advantages were gained, and immense Multitudes of Animals of different Kinds raised, supported, and fattened, in consequence of these additional Labours and new Productions. We have already given a Specimen of this in respect to Clover, though considered in another Light, and as an intermediate Crop, which however may serve to throw Light upon this Subject [s]; but to render the Matter perfectly intelligible, it will be necessary to take Notice of some other Instances.

is kept to the Course of Nature the more effectual. The Water must be of a fat Kind, enriched with Soil, Mud, or Slime, not of a poor, hard, hungry Nature, or impregnated with any Sort of Mineral. The Land must have a proper Position, be flooded at the right Season, and so long only as is necessary.

[p] These multiplied by Degrees into a great Variety of Articles, such as Ashes, Chalk, Clay, Dungs of different Kinds, Ditch Scourings, Fullers Earth, Lime, Malt-dust, Marl, Rags, Sea-sand, Soap-ashes, Soot, Street-dirt, Turf-ashes, Sea-weeds, Wreck, or Ore. Mr. Atwell says of his own Knowledge, that Lands may be improved to more than double in their Productions, by One of these Manures well chosen, and judiciously and steadily applied.

[q] The Progress of Improvements is naturally slow, a Thing much to be regretted, but not easily remedied, as our best Authors on Agriculture unanimously agree, and of which they grievously complain. But in regard to this, we are certainly mending. Husbandry was formerly left entirely to Farmers, and most of them indigent and ignorant; it is not so now, Agriculture is grown into general Esteem, and many of our Farmers are in good Circumstances, intelligent and industrious.

[r] When the Father of our modern Improvements, Fitzherbert, shewed that by inclosing, One Acre might be rendered as valuable as Two, he thought, and very justly, that this was doing a great deal. When by Culture, Lands, waste and unprofitable before, were rendered equal to these, it was doing more. But the Application of Manures exceeded all this. In Mortimer, vol. i. p. 101, we have an Instance of Land raised to Twelve Times its Income, by laying One bad Soil on another.

[s] This Sowing of Grass was an Improvement borrowed from the Flemings, who had got the Start of us in Husbandry. But if we had adverted to the Utility of this Method, we might have found many of these Grasses in our own Grounds. What is stiled the White Dutch Trefoil, because brought to us from Flanders by the Way of Holland, and is very justly esteemed, grows naturally and to Perfection here, though till imported perhaps never attended to.

SAINTFOIN or Eſparcette is a Vegetable; the Uſe of which we borrowed from the French, though it is a Native of this Iſland, and grows plentifully upon the pooreſt chalk Grounds near Royſton [t]. It is ſomewhat more than a Century ſince the Cultivation of it was introduced about Graveſend, where the Soil agreeing with it, it produced conſiderable Profit. It may perhaps paſs for an Argument in its Favour, that it is no where in greater Eſteem, or more aſſiduouſly cultivated, than in that Neighbourhood at this Day. The Roots of this Plant are large, ſtringy, and run deep into the Earth. The Stalks riſe Two Feet, and ſometimes much higher, furniſhed at the Bottom with winged Leaves, but naked towards the Top, which is terminated by Spikes of ſoft red Flowers, like thoſe of the French Honey Suckle, but ſmaller [u]. It ſucceeds wonderfully upon chalky Hills, if there be a Surface only of Six or Eight Inches; and will likewiſe grow very well on a dry gravelly Soil. The Ground that is to receive it ſhould be well ploughed and made very fine. If ſown in Rows, theſe ſhould be about Eighteen Inches aſunder, and about an Inch deep. It may be ſown pretty thick, and thinned, by removing the leſs thriving Plants when hoed, ſo as to leave the Plants Eight Inches aſunder [w]. In the common Huſbandry, as it is a large Seed, they allow Four Buſhels, and formerly more, to an Acre, but three is from Experience thought by very judicious Perſons to be ſufficient, and Half that Quantity will do in Drills [x]. The Time moſt proper for ſowing it is the Beginning or Middle of April; but it muſt be done in dry Weather, becauſe the Seeds are apt to burſt when moiſt. It

[t] The proper Name of this Plant is Sain Foin, Sanum Fœnum, i. e. Wholeſome Hay. Some of our old Writers ſtile it French Graſs, becauſe we borrowed the Uſe of it from them. It thrives as well in Britain as in Italy, and continues longer than in France, whence it is in ſome Places known by the Name of Everlaſting Graſs. This ſhews how much Soil and Climate may be aſſiſted by Care and Culture.

[u] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxiv. cap. xvi. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xviii. § i. cap. vi. p. 914. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 84, 85. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 1. Blith's Engliſh Improver improved, chap. xxvii. p. 186. Saintfoin improved, ſhewing the Benefit England may receive by the Graſs ſo called, 1674. Tull's Horſehoeing Huſbandry, chap. vii. p. 157—192. Elemens d'Agriculture, liv. ix. ch. ii. Dictionnaire d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. v. p. 69.

[w] The Advantages ariſing from this Vegetable were well known, univerſally allowed, and warmly recommended long before Mr. Tull publiſhed any Thing on the Subject, But the Culture of this Plant being particularly his Study, and reaſoning about it from Experience as well as Theory, perhaps his Chapter on this Improvement in our Huſbandry is not inferior to any Thing he ever wrote. It ſerves more eſpecially to ſhew, that Freedom of Thought is as requiſite in Agriculture as in any other Science.

[x] It was the general Doctrine before Mr. Tull's Time, that Saintfoin could ſcarce be ſown too thick, and the Reaſons aſſigned were, that it was a large Seed, that by this Means it got the better of natural Graſs and Weeds, and came ſooner to yield a great Profit. On the other Side, Mr. Tull obſerves this Plant hath a tap Root, which pierces many Feet into the Earth, ſo that it receives Nine Parts in Ten of its Nouriſhment from below the Staple of the Ground; therefore, when thick ſown, theſe Roots ſtarve each other; for the ſame Reaſon, this Plant produces on poor Soil Forty Times a larger Crop than its own natural Graſs or Turf; and from this Cauſe alſo (when thin ſown, and properly hoed) its Longevity; inſomuch, that a Plant of Saintfoin hath been ſcarce known to die a natural Death.

muſt not be fed the firſt Year, but it may be mowed towards the End of July. The next Year it may be mowed in May, and the ſooner the Hay is removed the better, for it quickly riſes again, and may be fed with Sheep till September [y].

Saintfoin is generally allowed to be one of the greateſt Improvements ever practiſed here, as by the Help of it many dairy Farms have been ſet up in Places where it would otherwiſe have been abſolutely impracticable [z]. The Hay, when properly made, and the Seaſon favourable, is equally wholeſome, acceptable, and nutritive to Black Cattle and to Horſes, is made with more Eaſe, is liable to fewer Accidents, and affords a larger Quantity than moſt other Kinds of Graſs [a]. Some for this Reaſon mow it twice; but in the Opinion of good Judges, it is better to take One Crop only, and then to feed it cautiouſly and ſeaſonably with Sheep, which are ſpeedily fattened thereby, and at the ſame Time improve the Land. When it is left for Seed it ſhould not be fed at all. It is then to be cut in September, when the Seed is fully ripe, and afterwards very carefully threſhed [b]. In France, they feed their Horſes with this Seed inſtead of Oats, and Experience hath taught them that it will go much farther. It is alſo very ſerviceable in feeding Hogs [c]. It is evident from theſe Circumſtances, that it muſt be exceedingly profitable, more eſpecially as it does not wear out like

[y] The judicious Reader is deſired to remember, that what is ſaid in the Text is by no Means to controul the Judgment of Perſons verſed in Huſbandry, or to eſtabliſh any Theory or Practice in this or in any other Article, but ſimply to ſtate ſuch Facts and Circumſtances as might beſt ſerve to explain the Nature and Effects, the Riſe, the Progreſs, and the Conſequence of our Improvements.

[z] In this Reſpect it is eaſy to diſcern that it muſt be of infinite Conſequence. In dry, chalky, ſtony, ſlaty, barren Hills, it grows and thrives exceedingly. This is owing to the Fibres of the tap Root creeping through the Interſtices of the Stone or Slate, and finding thereby Food, to which other Plants could never reach. Beſides, wherever it thrives, Cows find a wholeſome plentiful Paſture, and from thence furniſh Abundance of rich well-taſted Milk.

[a] Mr. Tull reckons Four Sorts of this Hay, the Virgin, bloſſom'd, full grown and threſhed Hay; the firſt in his Opinion is the very beſt that can be made, and may be worth to the Owner Four Pounds. He affirms, that the Hay from a ſingle cultivated Plant may weigh about Half a Pound. But taking them at a Quarter only, it will will make Two Ton for a Crop upon an Acre. Other intelligent Writers agree with him nearly in this Computation, which may be taken for Truth.

[b] In this as in all Matters of the like Nature, much depends upon Skill and Care in the cutting, threſhing, and curing. This Seed (on account of the large Quantities commonly ſown) ſells for Three Shillings a Buſhel. Some ſpeak of Five Quarters, but Four is a great, and Three Quarters on an Acre a good Crop. The threſhed Hay of ſuch a Crop may be worth Forty Shillings, and the Chaff from the Seed Twenty, the Aftermath paying for the cutting and threſhing.

[c] When the Cuſtom of ſowing this Seed very thin comes generally to prevail, it will evidently reduce the Conſumption, and perhaps the Price. In that Caſe, it will be very material to conſider every other Uſe to which it can be applied. The making it in Conjunction with other Things ſupply Oats in feeding Horſes, the enabling Sows to bring up more Pigs, and the uſing it in feeding and fattening all Sorts of Poultry, may in ſome Degree at leaſt anſwer this End.

Clover,

Clover, but will laſt with very little Manure for Twenty Years; and if ſowed in Rows, and properly hoed, more than twice that Time[d]. Beſides, inſtead of impoveriſhing, it greatly enriches the Soil, ſo that the Land when broke up, and thoroughly ploughed, is ſo manured by the large Roots of this Plant, as to be fit for any Kind of Corn, and when a convenient Number of Crops have been taken, may be laid down and ſown with Saintfoin again[e]. Though it is true, that it grows, and with great Profit, upon the worſt Lands, even upon thoſe that are ſlaty, and makes them better, yet it is acknowledged, that the greateſt Crops are, as might be naturally expected, reaped from the beſt Soils; ſo that in this Light, of being equally adapted to poor and rich Soils, it may be conſidered as a general Improvement, and it has accordingly been cultivated with Succeſs in moſt Countries[f], and is ſtill diffuſing itſelf in Proportion as Huſbandry is more ſtudied, and as its Principles become better known.

Lucerne, Luſerne, or Luzerne, is the only Vegetable held to be ſuperior in its Kind to Saintfoin. It is the Medica of the Ancients, ſo called becauſe it came originally from Media, and ſpreading through Perſia, became at length known to the Greeks, who cultivated it aſſiduouſly, and commended it highly[g]. From Greece it was transferred to Italy, before the Time of Cato or Virgil, was in the higheſt Credit with the Romans, who from the Benefits they received by it, were led to treat the Culture of

[d] Though Saintfoin laſts longer than any Graſſes, it ſtands leſs in need of Manure, on account of its drawing the greateſt Part of its Nouriſhment below the Staple of the Soil. In the firſt Year however, when the Plants are young and tender, Soot, Peat, and Coal-aſhes ſerve to cheriſh them, and quicken their Growth. After the firſt Year, they require leſs hoeing, and when old may be revived by ſtirring the Earth properly with the Plough.

[e] The moſt intelligent Writers differ as to the Cauſes of this, but they all agree in regard to the Fact. The Ground muſt be well tilled, on the breaking up of Saintfoin (for want of which ſome have failed); and this Precaution taken, it will produce Three large Crops of Grain, without the Aſſiſtance of Dung, and this on a Soil, which, before it was improved by Saintfoin, would have yielded but an indifferent Crop even with the Help of Manure.

[f] As to the Profit ariſing from Saintfoin, Mr. Kirkham mentions an Eſtate of One hundred and Ten Pounds per Annum, ſo improved thereby as to be ſold for Fourteen thouſand Pounds. Mr. Tull confirms this, and adds, that a Farm in the ſame County (Oxfordſhire) which while arable, diſtreſſed the Tenant at no more than Ten Pounds a Year, when planted with Saintfoin was let for One hundred and Ten Pounds per Annum, and proved a good Bargain. Theſe were both ſlaty Lands, worth only from One to Two Shillings an Acre, and never would have been worth more but for this Improvement. As great as the Advantages are, which have been already derived from this Vegetable, the ſubſequent Article will ſhew, that managed in the ſame Way, it may poſſibly be rendered (in ſome Soils at leaſt) ſtill more beneficial.

[g] Dioſcorid. lib. ii. cap. cxvii. Theophraſt. de Plantis, lib. viii. cap. viii. The former of theſe Authors tells us, that the Seeds being mixed with Salt were for their agreeable Taſte eaten in Pickle, and that the whole Plant was acceptable and nutritive to Animals. Pliny informs us, that Amphilochus wrote a whole Book on the Medica and Cytiſus; that is, the Lucern and the Shrub Trefoil, which were in the utmoſt Credit with the Antients; and the latter, though not introduced here, is ſtill in great Eſteem in the Eaſt.

it with all poſſible Induſtry and Attention [h]. It flouriſhed with them ſo long as their Empire flouriſhed; but when that was over-run by the barbarous Nations from the North, it is no wonder that a Thing which required, or as their Writings ſhew, was thought to require ſo much Skill and Diligence, fell gradually into Diſſuetude and Oblivion. It had been before this Time carried into Spain, where it was preſerved, and ſpread itſelf eſpecially in Andaluſia [i]. When the Arts revived, it returned from thence into Naples, and by Degrees came again into ſeveral Parts of Italy. It made its way from thence into the Southern Provinces of France, and from the Place where it was firſt or principally cultivated, it was called Grand Trefle, Trefle, ou Foin de Bourgogne [k]; that is Great Trefoil, Burgundy Hay, or Burgundy Trefoil. About Two hundred Years ago it came into the Palatinate, and ſome other Parts of Germany, where it did not continue long before the Fame of it reached hither [l].

But it was the Fame only, depending on the Teſtimonies of ancient Authors, as to its Worth and Excellence, and the Relation of foreign Writers, that this valuable Vegetable ſtill ſubſiſted, and was cultivated in other Countries. But notwithſtanding this, and notwithſtanding our Taſte for Huſbandry revived, yet for many Years nothing more was heard of the Medica, owing very probably to an Opinion, that it would ſcarce be reconciled to our Soil and Climate [m]. As ſoon indeed as Saintfoin was introduced

[h] Virg. Georg. lib. i. p. 215. Varro de Re Ruſtica, lib. i. cap. xli. Columel. lib. ii. cap xi. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xvi. Pallad. lib. iii. tit. 6. & lib. v. Menſ. April. tit. 1. Iſidor. Origin. lib. xvii. cap. iv. Raii Hiſt. Plant. lib. xviii. § v. cap. viii. p. 960. Columella and Palladius agree, that Medica, properly cultitated, would laſt Ten Years. Pliny extends this Period to Thirty. We have not had ſufficient Experience to determine the Point in reſpect to Britain.

[i] Mathiol. in Dioſcorid. p. 330. where he tells us, it is called by the Spaniards Alfalfa It was in high Eſteem amongſt the Moors, who were great Farmers, and in that Reſpect their Expulſion was a fatal Blow to Spain. They have alſo an excellent Kind of Saintfoin, which from thence was brought into the Franche Compte and into Burgundy. The French are ſtill deſirous of procuring the Seed of both Saintfoin and Lucern from Spain, though their own is very good.

[k] Harduoin, in his Notes, upon Pliny ſays, that the Medica of the Ancients is Lucern, vulgarly called Saintfoin. Theſe Plants indeed, were formerly, even by able Writers, frequently confounded. A. Speed ſpeaks of Saintfoin, which might be cut Seven or Eight Times in a Year, required a very rich Soil, and was not to be fed by Cattle. This muſt be Lucern, of which he had heard, and calls it Luceran; but was not able to diſtinguiſh it, having never perhaps ſeen it.

[l] It was brought into the Lower Palatinate in A. D. 1573, or thereabouts. The Baron Conrad Hereſbach mentions this, and ſays the Germans called it Welſholken. Mr. Googe tranſlated his Four Books of Huſbandry ſoon after they were publiſhed, and thus it became known to us. But known no farther than it might have been from Columella, Pliny, and Palladius; which, how well ſoever their Directions might ſuit Italy, would by no Means anſwer in Britain.

[m] Googe's Whole Art of Huſbandry, fol. 35, 36. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 4. 112—118. Blith's Engliſh Improver improved, chap. xxvii. p. 188. Adam Speed's Adam out of Eden, 1659, 12mo. chap. v. Worlidge's Syſtem of Huſbandry, p. 30. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. i. chap. iv. p. 39.

duced a Complaint aroſe, that Lucern, by which Name the Medica was now known, had been too much neglected. We began then to have better and more diſtinct Accounts of it, and the Manner in which it was cultivated in France. It does not however appear, that even after this Revival of its Reputation, there were any Efforts made to introduce it into this Country. When it was firſt made known, it was conſidered as a Curioſity, and when at length the introducing the Cultivation of it came to be looked upon as an Improvement, the Trials that were made of it were by no Means attended with Succeſs, or at leaſt not with that Degree of Succeſs requiſite to gain it Credit with the Public [n]. It is in truth but very lately, and chiefly in conſequence of repeated Accounts of Benefits derived from it in the Southern Provinces of France, that we came to conſider in Earneſt the Poſſibility of bringing it into Britain [o]. When thus conſidered, it ſtill met with many Difficulties. For though the ingenious Mr. Tull had a very high Opinion of it, confeſſed its Superiority to Saintfoin, and believed he had found the only Method by which it could be cultivated here to Profit, yet he ſtill profeſſed he had his Doubts, how far, conſidering the Difficulty of finding proper Lands for its Reception, it could ever become a general Improvement [p]. Notwithſtanding this, ſome ingenious and enterprizing Perſons, having the Honour of their Country, the Credit of Agriculture, and the national Profits that might ariſe from it at Heart, were far from deſpairing. It is to their Spirit, Perſeverance, and Sagacity we owe the Proſpect we have, that Lucern may, at no very diſtant Period of Time, be added to the Liſt of our numerous modern Improvements. Whenever

p. 39. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandy, p. 112. 173. 201. Tull's Horſehoeing Huſbandry, chap. xiii. Miller's Gardener's Dictionary, under Medica. Dr. W. Harte's Eſſays on Huſbandry. Eſſay ii. containing an Account of the Culture of Lucern.

[n] From peruſing and conſidering the Authors cited in the former Note, the Account given in the Text was taken. As Things have been ſince explained, it appears no way ſtrange that our firſt Experiments gave us no favourable Impreſſions of this valuable Vegetable. But it does great Honour to thoſe ingenious Perſons, who from meditating on the Circumſtances attending them, traced out the Errors committed, and thence directed a new and effectual Method.

[o] It was, conſidering Things in this Point of View, no great national Loſs that theſe firſt Attempts were not profitable in any great Degree. Becauſe by this Means the Cultivation of Lucern was conſigned to the Conduct of thoſe who had Leiſure, Abilities, and, which was equally neceſſary, were in Circumſtances that enabled them to purſue their own Schemes, however tedious and expenſive in the Outſet, however precarious or incertain in their Iſſue.

[p] According to his Notions, moſt of our Lands were too poor, too rich, or too cold for Lucern managed in the Way of the common Huſbandry. But being ſet in Rows, at proper Diſtances, ſo as to admit Horſe-hoeing in the Intervals, and Hand-hoeing about the Plants, he affirmed they would be as healthy and vigorous, bear cutting as often, and laſt as long, or even longer in Britain, than either in France or Italy, provided the Soil was agreeable; in which he did not go beyond Truth.

this ſhall happen, the ſuccinct Hiſtory we have given will be read with ſome Degree of Profit as well as Satisfaction [q].

That Kind of the Medica, which is known to us by the Name of Lucern, hath a perennial Root, and an annual Stalk, which in very good Land will riſe Four Feet high, ſhooting out Three Leaves at each Joint, ſhaped like Spears, and ſerrated at their Tops. The Flowers grow in Spikes, to near Three Inches in Length, ſtanding upon naked Foot Stalks, riſing from the Wings of the Stalk, are of the Butterfly Kind, of a fine Purple Colour, which are ſucceeded by Lunar or Screw-like Pods, containing ſeveral Kidney-ſhaped Seeds [r]. Lucern has been cultivated with us in Three very different Manners. The firſt was in the Broad-caſt or common Mode of Huſbandry, and this either with or without Corn, neither of which anſwered. In reſpect to the firſt, the Corn drew from it ſo much of its neceſſary Nouriſhment, that it hardly recovered it, and in the other, though it did ſomewhat better, Weeds and natural Graſs generally choaked it in a Couple of Years, ſo as to take away all Hopes of a future Crop [s]. Mr. Tull, as hath been already obſerved, thought theſe Difficulties might be in a great Meaſure removed, as in truth they were, by drilling the Plants in Rows, and by frequent Horſe and Hand-hoeing them, which was the ſecond Method. This indeed ſucceeded incomparably better than the former, and where the Land is very rich may produce large and laſting Crops [t]: But the third Method, though in the Beginning more troubleſome and more expenſive, bids by much the faireſt, as there is no Neceſ-

[q] Amongſt other Reaſons, becauſe it ſhews that an Improvement is not defeated by being delayed, but may be an Object of rational Hope, though not perfected in a Couple of Centuries; that it is a real Service rendered to the Publick to keep this Hope alive, by repeated Revivals of the proper Reaſons for attemping ſuch an Improvement; and that when cordially eſpouſed by proper Patrons, more may be done in the Space of Twenty Years than in Seven Times Twenty Years preceding.

[r] There are many Sorts of Medica; and therefore this by Cluſius and other eminent Writers hath been ſtiled Medica Legitima, by our old Authors Medick Fodder. The Medica Paluſtris or Meadow Medic, and ſome others mentioned by Dr. Chriſtopher Merrett, are Natives of this Country, and perhaps we may apply to them, what was emphatically ſaid of Lucern, that they have (ſome of them at leaſt) been too much and too long neglected.

[s] It was however to theſe fruitleſs Attempts that the Diſcovery of a more ſucceſsful Method of treating this very valuable Plant was due. When ſown with Corn, here and there One of them remained, though the Crop miſcarried, and many more where ſown by itſelf, and the Ground afterwards tilled. Theſe ſingle ſolitary Plants continued to grow and thrive beyond any that had been cultivated with the utmoſt Care, which ſhewed that giving Room, and ſuitable Tillage, was all they wanted.

[t] From a true Senſe of this the Rows, Intervals, Horſe and Hand-hoeings, are retained in the third Method. Air, Tillage, and keeping the Soil free from all Weeds and Graſs are Principles common to both, and upon which their Succeſs depends. In the broad caſt Method theſe are and muſt be wanting, to which the Failing of the firſt Attempts ſeem juſtly attributed But then, as has been ſhewn in the former Note, they were not uſeleſs, ſince paſt Errors pointed the Way to Truth.

ſity

ſity of being extremely Nice in the Choice of the Soil. The beſt is allowed to be a rich loomy Earth, but except moiſt marſhy Lands and ſtiff Clays, none need to be excluded [u].

The third Method conſiſts in chuſing a proper Spot for a Nurſery, in which the Lucern may be ſown towards the End of March, and by the Middle of Auguſt the Stalks will be about Eighteen Inches high. They are then to be very carefully raiſed out of the Earth, when both the Plant and the Root are to be amputated with a Pair of Sciſſars, leaving the former about Five Inches above the Crown, and the latter from Eight to Ten Inches in Length, and immediately after this Clipping they are to be thrown into a Tub of Water. They are next to be planted with a Dibble or Setting-ſtick the ſame Day, in a Piece of Ground which hath been previouſly properly prepared, ploughed, and reduced as fine as poſſible. They are to be planted after the Manner introduced, by what is called the New Huſbandry, leaving the Plants about a Foot aſunder, and with Intervals about Forty Inches, to make Room for Horſe-hoeing of the latter, and Hand-hoeing of the former, which keeps them in perfect Health, and allows every Plant the Space requiſite to live and thrive [w]. Lucern thus tranſplanted will not reach its full Perfection till the third Year. It is true, it may be cut thrice the firſt, and Five Times the ſecond Year; but the Quantity ariſing from theſe Cuttings will by no Means equal thoſe in ſucceeding Years, when if the Seaſon be very favourable, it may be cut even Six Times, and yield largely every cutting [x]. The trouble and Expence attending this Method, which it muſt be acknowledged are very conſiderable, are only neceſſary during the firſt Two Years; and as Lucern will

[u] In this lies the great Merit and ſuperior Excellence of the third Method, as it removes Mr. Tull's Objection or rather Apprehenſion, that Lucern with all its Advantages (of which he had a very juſt and high Senſe) could never be rendered a general Improvement. This was the laſt, and, in the Conception of the beſt Judges, the moſt arduous Step to be taken in order to put Britain on a Level with France and Italy in reſpect to Lucern as well as Saintfoin.

[w] The Conſequence of cutting the tap Root, is its puſhing no longer downward, but horizontally, and therefore tranſplanted require a greater Space between them than drilled Roots. Dr. Harte allowed Thirty Perches for a Nurſery, and Four Ounces of Seed to a Perch. At firſt he allowed but Two Feet between the Rows, and Six Inches between the Plants: But finding they ſtood too cloſe, he reſolved to thin them, and this ſuggeſted a new and better Method, which in few Words is this; tranſplant an Acre according to the firſt Method, which may contain 26,000 Roots, let another Acre of Ground be properly prepared, and in the Spring remove One Half of the Plants, and diſpoſe them as directed in the Text; by this a ſecond Nurſery will be ſaved, a Year gained in Point of Time, and Two Acres of Lucern equally good inſtead of one.

[x] When properly cultivated, it will generally be fit for cutting by the Tenth of April. It is fit when Sixteen or Eighteen Inches high. It ſhould be cut even in the Nurſery when about to flower, becauſe flowering weakens the Roots. This Operation is better performed with a Reap-hook than with a Scythe, becauſe the latter is apt to wound the Crown of the Plant. It is proper to cut towards the Cloſe of October, though but Six or Eight Inches high, for the Health of the Plants.

laſt Ten Years, and with proper Management perhaps longer, it will anſwer very well, as the Advantages reſulting from it are ſingularly great [y]. To ſay nothing of its Beauty and agreeable Appearance when thus regularly cultivated, it is much earlier fit for cutting than Meadows, which is a Circumſtance of no ſmall Conſequence [z]. It is valuable alſo in reſpect to its Certainty, for though the firſt and the laſt Cutting depend upon the Seaſon, yet the intermediate are very regular, and in that reſpect highly ſerviceable. It yields very large Crops, to the Amount ſometimes of Five Tons upon an Acre [a]. It is generally computed that Four Pounds Weight of green Lucern will make one Pound of Hay, and both the Graſs and Hay are in the higheſt Eſteem. For with proper Caution in the Diſtribution, it is held the moſt wholeſome and nutritive of any Vegetable whatever, which is the leſs to be diſputed, ſince it has maintained its Reputation in this Reſpect, in ſo many different Countries, and for ſo many ſucceſſive Centuries. It is of general Utility; for though commonly commended for its Excellence with reſpect to Horſes, yet Experience ſhews, that it is equally acceptable, and anſwers as well in the Feeding of Cattle and other Animals [b]. It is impoſſible to ſay, till the Culture of Lucern is better and more fully eſtabliſhed, what the Profits ariſing from it may be. An Author remarkably careful in his Calculations, ſeems to be certain that it will reach Five Pounds an Acre, all Expences deducted [c]; and that One Acre of this Ve-

[y] According to Dr. H's Computation, the Whole of the firſt Year's Expence may amount to Six Pounds Twelve Shillings, and One Third of this may be ſaved by the Method already mentioned. The ſecond and every ſucceeding Year, the Horſe-hoeings, Hand-weeding, and Manure, ſuch as Peat-aſhes, Soot mixed with Sea-ſand, or Malt-duſt, may come to Forty Shillings. In Proceſs of Time no Doubt, as People become more accuſtomed to this Tillage, it will be done cheaper.

[z] In this Reſpect, it is commonly Six Weeks, ſometimes Two Months, earlier than the beſt Graſſes, which is ſurely a great Recommendation. In ſome Seaſons it has been near a Foot high in February. This ſhews how well it agrees with our Climate, and indeed it grows very well in Neufchatelle, where the Winters are commonly more rigorous than with us. As it comes earlier, ſo it alſo continues later than any other green Fodder, and is in that Reſpect a great Benefit.

[a] It is pretty certain, that neither in France or at Geneva they cut oftener, or more at a cutting than has been done in England. But they have a little more Experience, and ſo ſpeak with more Certainty. Mr. Du Hamel, a Man of a moſt reſpectable Character, and to whom the World is much obliged, affirms that he hath actually had Ten Tons of excellent Lucern Hay from One Acre. This ſhews what may be done in regard to this Vegetable, and poſſibly in the next Century this will not be thought very extraordinary in Britain.

[b] Lucern Hay, judiciouſly given, will ſubſiſt Coach Horſes without Corn, and contributes much to their Recovery when ſick. Oxen are ſpeedily fatted with green Lucern. Cows from this Food give Plenty of excellent Milk, and Calves may be tempted to eat it when they will not touch other Graſs. Sheep eat it readily, and it is very wholeſome for them. The Lucern when cut ſhould be kept in a dry ſhady Place Forty-eight Hours before it is given to any Animal.

[c] Dr. H. is moſt commendably cautious, not only in avoiding all Exaggerations, but alſo in holding conſtantly in View the rendering this as far as poſſible an eaſy and practicable Improvements. He declined the Choice of the beſt or moſt proper and promiſing Soils for his Nurſery, his Plantations, and all his Experiments, contenting himſelf with ſuch Grounds as might eaſily and almoſt any where be found, that many might be from thence encouraged to like Undertakings.

getable,

getable, rightly managed, will anſwer all the Purpoſes, and conſequently be of equal Value to ſeveral Acres of incloſed Meadow, as each Acre of that is eſteemed to be worth Four of common Downs [d].

It was neceſſary to inſiſt more largely upon this Article, as being not only of ſingular Importance, but alſo becauſe it has not reached yet to its full Perfection, a Thing greatly to be deſired, and therefore ought to be aſſiduouſly endeavoured [e]. This new Method, which Promiſes ſo fair, is indeed of foreign Invention, and firſt practiſed by a worthy Magiſtrate of Geneva [f], transferred from thence into France, and adapted to our Soil and Climate with great Care, Induſtry, and Application, by a Perſon of admirable Abilities, from the nobleſt of all Motives, that of true public Spirit, a Deſire of enriching his Country, and of adding this to the numerous Acquiſitions in Agriculture which have been made in this laſt Century. From his excellent Writings this ſuccinct View of what may be expected from Lucern has been taken; and where-ever it appears obſcure or imperfect, the inquiſitive Peruſer may from thoſe Writings meet with all the Information that he can reaſonably deſire, and meet likewiſe with a Fund of curious, rational, and learned Entertainment, which from ſuch a Subject he could hardly expect [g]. This Improvement, by the ſedulous Application of a worthy Gentleman of Family and Fortune, has been happily in-

[d] Mr. Du Hamel ſays expreſsly, that each of Three prime Cuttings of a good Acre of Lucern is equal in Quantity, and ſuperior in Quality to the Produce of Two Acres of natural Graſs; that is, One good Acre of Lucern is worth Six Acres of Meadow Land. Dr. H. does not go ſo far, but he adopts this Mode of eſtimating the Value of the Improvement. If we abate ſomething in this Account, yet the Value of this Acquiſition will appear very conſiderable.

[e] The beſt Ground for a Plantation of Lucern is an old Hop Garden; and if the Situation permits, the Rows ſhould face the Mid-day Sun. No Water muſt lodge upon it, and the utmoſt Care ought to be taken to preſerve it from Hares, &c. It will not admit of Feeding by Horſes, Black Cattle, or Sheep, neither are Geeſe or Ducks to be allowed Entrance into a Field of Lucern. It certainly requires a great Deal of Trouble in its Culture, but it will in its Conſequences be found to merit all the Trouble it requires.

[f] M. Lullin de Chateauvieux, chief Syndic of Geneva. The Reader may alſo conſult Agoſtino Gallo vinti Giornata da l'Agricoltura, nella ſeconda Giornata. Della Agricoltura de M. Africo Clemente Padouano, lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 36, 37. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. col. 1558—1563. Traite de la Culture des Terres, par M. Du Hamel, tom. i. p. 271—280. iv. p. 497—522. v. p. 3. 71—76. 523—529. 531—534. 537. 577. Obſervations de la Societe d'Agriculture de Commerce, et des Arts etablie, par les Etats de Bretagne, p. 73—77. Elemens d'Agriculture, par M. Du Hamel, liv. ix. chap. ii. Art. i. Dictionnaire d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 327—329. M. Bertrand Eſſai d' Agriculture, p. 132. L'Agronome, tom. i. p. 518, 519.

[g] The Piece referred to is the Second of the Eſſays on Huſbandry, the Title of which runs thus, "An Account of ſome Experiments tending to improve the Culture of Lucern: Being "the firſt Experiments of the Kind that have been hitherto made and publiſhed in England. "From whence it appears that Lucern is an Article of great Importance in Huſbandry." In this ſingle Work all the material Obſervations of ancient and modern Writers are judiciouſly collected and candidly examined.

troduced into Ireland, and hath made ſome Progreſs alſo in North Britain, as well as in ſeveral Parts of the South, and this in all the three different Methods that have been mentioned.

THERE are other Diſcoveries and Improvements of this Kind which certainly merit, and are in due Time very likely to meet with Notice and Attention. Such particularly as the introducing of Burnet, and ſome Graſſes from America [h]. But as theſe have not hitherto been brought into general Uſe, the Advantages flowing from them have not been ſo fully aſcertained by Experiment, as to come within the Plan of this Work, farther than being mentioned as Things which may become hereafter of ſignal Utility. Whatever hath this Tendency hath an undoubted Right to Conſideration; for the Improvement of Land, is, in fact, an Acquiſition of Territory, a Kind of civil Conqueſt made by Science inſtead of Arms, highly beneficial to us, and yet no Way injurious to our Neighbours. Theſe Improvements are beneficial alſo in another Senſe, as every Inſtance of this Kind ſerves to inculcate the great Principle of ſtudying and following Nature, which is the ſhorteſt, moſt certain, and effectual Method of perfecting Agriculture [i]. But before we quit this Subject, we moſt congratulate our Country on a very ingenious, and yet ſimple Propoſal, which Points at ſomething ſtill more extenſive than even theſe Improvements, and which, if duly proſecuted, may become of infinite and perpetual Conſequence to the whole Nation [k]. This Propoſal conſiſts in firſt carefully collecting the Seeds

[h] Burnet is a Native of this Country, grows freely on a poor, light, ſandy, or chalky Soil, and is a perennial Plant. It is ſown in Broad-caſt in Autumn, but ſucceeds better when ſown in the Beginning of July, and tranſplanted in the Manner of Lucern in the Beginning of October in Rows Twenty Inches apart, and the Plants about Fifteen Inches from each other. It will perfect its Seed twice in a Year, and at Two Mowings will yield Ten Quarters of that, as much Chaff, and Three Loads of Hay (or rather Haum) on an Acre. It is a good Winter Paſture for Cattle, encreaſes their Milk, and renders it rich and well taſted; it does not like ſome rich Graſſes ſweat or bloat them: It will bear Feeding with Sheep, and when it is grown plenty, the Seed it is thought will anſwer as well as Oats for the Support of Horſes. Practical Obſervations on the Culture of Lucern, Turnips, Burnet, Timothy, and Foul Meadow Graſs. Communicated by Letters to Dr. Templeman, London, 1766, 8vo.

[i] It is the judicious Remark of the wiſe and noble Verulam, that Man is the Miniſter and Interpreter of Nature, that his Skill ariſes from his knowing her Manner of Proceeding, and that his Power is limited by this Knowledge of her Operations. If he ſeems in ſome Inſtances to command her, it is only in the Eyes of ſuch as have been leſs her Servants and Scholars, and know not, that even in this he only practiſes thoſe Leſſons which he originally was taught by her.

[k] The great Linnæus gave the firſt Hint of this important Diſcovery. He obſerved (Flora Lap. p. 159) that there were ſeveral Plants that Horſes though hungry would not taſte. He judged that this might be the Caſe with other Animals. He then very earneſtly requeſted, that a ſtrict Inquiry ſhould be made, as to the Plants moſt acceptable to uſeful Animals, and ſuch as they refuſed. After waiting in vain for ſome Years, he was obliged to commit this Taſk to his own Diſciples. In conſequence of this, one of theſe, Nicholas Haſſelgren, from a Multitude of Experiments, produced his PAN SUECUS, in which there is a Table ſhewing what Swediſh Plants

Seeds of thoſe natural Graſſes, which Experience hath ſhewn to be moſt valuable; and then as carefully ſowing them on Ground properly prepared, due Regard being had to the Nature of the Soil, and to the Nature alſo of the Cattle that are intended to be fed thereon [l]. An Overture ſo apparently beneficial in its Conſequences, and ſo obviouſly practicable in its Execution, one would be tempted to think, needed very little Perſuaſion to bring it to a fair Trial. Yet it muſt notwithſtanding be acknowledged, that as nothing could be more laudable, ſo nothing at the ſame Time could be more neceſſary, than the Interpoſition of the Society for the Improvement of Arts, to excite and ſupport ſo ſalutary an Experiment [m]. An Experiment calculated to render all our common Paſtures both fertile in their Produce, and excellent in their Quality, and thereby conducive to the great End of rural Oeconomy, the procuring all Sorts of Cattle, the moſt palatable, wholeſome, and nutritive Food, altogether unincumbered with Weeds, and this too for a long Space of Time, and with very little Trouble or Expence.

This ſuccinct Hiſtory of our national Improvements, evinces ſufficiently how much they have been accelerated and promoted by the Increaſe of true Science, and the Influence of philoſophic Principles, built on the ſolid Baſis of Reaſon, and confirmed by the Teſtimony of Experience. Theſe have acted chiefly, by baniſhing ſeveral Kinds of Superſtition with which the old Huſbandry was over-run [n]; by exploding groundleſs Notions, that

were eaten, and what refuſed by Oxen, Horſes, Goats, Sheep, and Swine, of the former were 1428, and of the latter 886, making together 2314. Linnæi Amœnitat. Academ, vol. ii. p. 203.

[l] The truly worthy and accurate Mr. Stillingfleet has tranſlated the Swedish Pan. Miſcellaneous Tracts, p. 341, and ſubjoined Obſervations on Graſſes, p. 365—391, in which this Doctrine is admirably accommodated to this Country, and the Way thereby opened to have large Tracts of fine unmixed Graſſes ſuited to all Kinds of Cattle; a Thing not otherwiſe to be obtained, and which from its manifeſt Advantages muſt be always deſired. The common Practice is to ſow Graſs Seeds as they come from the Hay-rick, which as Mr. Stillingfleet obſerves, is not more abſurd than if a Man ſhould ſow Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, Peas, Beans, Vetches, Buck-wheat, Turnips, and Weeds of all Sorts together. If any Advantage is to be gained by mixing Seeds, it may be more probably expected, if made by Choice than if left to Chance.

[m] The judicious Propoſer of this Method of having the fineſt Graſs and Hay, endeavours to obviate the ſtrongeſt Objection that could be made, from the Difficulty of procuring ſuch Seed in ſufficient Quantities, by obſerving that a little Boy in Three Quarters of an Hour, by a Road Side, collected as much of the pure Seed of creſted Dog-tail as weighed a Quarter of a Pound Averdupois. But the Society conceiving rightly the Nature and Importance of the Propoſal, and of how great Conſequence it muſt be to the Publick the bringing it to a fair Trial, have not only encouraged this liberally, but very judiciouſly in different Manners, ſo that there is good Reaſon to hope, ſome or other of them will take Effect to the Honour of the Society, the Increaſe of uſeful Knowledge, and the Emolument of the Nation.

[n] We ſee plainly in the ancient Writers on Huſbandry, and in Pliny who collected from many that are now loſt, innumerable Inſtances of this. The Truth of the Matter is, that in all Countries

that prevailed in a Manner univerſally for Want of their being examined; by tracing the Origin of old Cuſtoms, and enquiring into their Conſequences; by leſſening the Authority of vulgar Traditions; and by admitting for the Sake of new Advantages new Methods of Cultivation [o]. By Means like theſe, the Foundation was gradually laid, grounded on clear intelligible Principles, confirmed, as we have ſaid, by proper and repeated Experiments. From hence aroſe ſtrict Inquiries into the real, that is the natural Cauſes of Fertility and Barrenneſs, the Food or Nutriment of Vegetables, the Variety and Nature of Soils deduced from their component Parts, the Means of altering and meliorating them by the Aſſiſtance of proper Manure and Culture, the introducing foreign Seeds, and adopting from the Nations whence they were borrowed their Methods of improving them [p]. By ſuch Steps, ſteadily purſued, our beſt Lands have produced much more than formerly, and thoſe that had been long conſidered in quite another Light, were by a ſuitable and judicious Treatment made equally rich and valuable [q]. By a judicious Alteration in the Courſe of Crops, many Benefits were obtained; by ſpreading, though ſlowly, new Improvements from one County into another, the Practice of rational Agriculture was extended, and the real Value of our Soil and Climate reſcued from vulgar Errors, and ſet in a true Point of Light [r]. Old Prejudices, which would hardly have given Way to Reaſon, were by Degrees eradicated and effectually eradicated by

tries the Maſs of the People, and more eſpecially of country People, are naturally ſuperſtitious. A Diſpoſition, which though highly detrimental, is hardly to be eradicated, however weak and abſurd, becauſe till Mens Minds are enlarged, the acting contrary to ſuch Notions has an Air of Impiety.

[o] When for Want of Method and Inquiry the true Cauſes of Things were not known, fictitious or conjectural Cauſes were aſſigned productive of numerous Errors. Cuſtoms which, it may be, were founded on juſt Motives, continued to ſubſiſt after thoſe Motives ceaſed, and even when they were no longer remembered. Tradition was a blind Guide, ruling preſent Things according to Lights paſt, and was therefore properly corrected by more recent Obſervations.

[p] It is indeed true, that theſe Subjects are not even now either thoroughly or certainly underſtood. But they are undoubtedly much better known than they were in virtue of the great Improvements made in Natural Philoſophy and Chemiſtry; and from their being better known, we are become greater Proficients in Agriculture; we now enter with more Certainty into the Connection between Cauſes and Effects, leave leſs to Chance, and improve frequently by our Diſappointments.

[q] Inſtances of this have been given in the raiſing Hemp and Flax on Soils ſuppoſed to be incapable of bearing them, and the Land being improved inſtead of being impoveriſhed thereby. The ſame hath been ſhewn in regard to Woad both here and in France. Still more evidently in reſpect to Saintfoin. It is highly probable the ſame Effects may follow from Lucern and Burnet, whenever the Culture is thoroughly underſtood, and widely extended.

[r] When we reflect that Saffron, Liquorice, and Hops are better here than in moſt Parts of Europe; that Saintfoin continues longer here than in France; and that Lucern hath been as often cut here as in Italy; it ſhould in a great Meaſure remove all Diffidence as to Soil and Climate. We have attempted few Things where we have purſued right Methods, and ſteadily perſevered, in which we have not ſucceeded, and ſome there are, and thoſe too of great Importance, in which we may ſtill ſucceed.

Experience, and Men, by ſeeing what had been done, grew into a Confidence of being able to do more.

In the ſame Proportion, that ſuch cloſer and ſtricter Enquiries have been made, new Lights have been gained, and as Mens Minds have been turned from abſtruſe, unavailing, and fruitleſs Speculations, to thoſe uſeful, national, and important Studies, the Progreſs of our Improvements, and the Advantages neceſſarily attending them, have been both quicker and greater[s]. In conſequence of this, it may be truly ſaid, that the Face of the Country in no ſmall Part of this Iſland hath been entirely changed. The Value of our Lands, independent of other Cauſes, from their intrinſic Worth, hath been gradually raiſed. The Number of our Productions wonderfully multiplied. Many new Materials for Manufactures have from thence been introduced[t]. The Means of foreign Commerce have been thereby ſupplied, and the Circumſtances of all Ranks and Degrees of People rendered very much better than they were[u]. As many of the Undertakings from which theſe Benefits were derived had their Riſe from Men of ſingular Parts and Abilities, ſo from the very Nature and Circumſtances of thoſe Undertakings they very happily fell more immediately under the Care of Perſons of Fortune, liberal Sentiments, and ſedulous Application, who in purſuing them, purſued at once their own and their Country's Intereſt, and of Courſe could not either be more wiſely or more worthily employed[w]. But though by

[s] The Detail of theſe Improvements, compared with their Extent, and the Times in which they were made, make this ſufficiently manifeſt. We may add, that as the Science of Huſbandry is now in great Eſteem; as many elegant as well as excellent Books have been publiſhed thereon; as Encouragements are given to promote it in all its Branches in Britain and in Ireland; and as the Legiſlature countenances whatever may promote it, we may very reaſonably hope it will hereafter advance with greater Celerity.

[t] As an Illuſtration of this Matter, it will be very expedient to mention, that the Bounty on the Scots Linnen commenced, A. D. 1728. By which we are enabled to compute the Progreſs of that Manufacture; for in that Year the Quantity amounted to 2,183,978 Yards, and in value to 103,312 l. and in A. D. 1766, the Quantity was 13,242,557 Yards, and the Value amounted to 637,346 l. It is generally underſtood, that the Engliſh Linnen Manufacture is pretty nearly of the ſame Value. We may from hence diſcern the great Importance of gaining full Poſſeſſion of the primary Material.

[u] Mr. William Harriſon, who publiſhed his Deſcription of Britain, A. D. 1577, ſays, that old People remarked to him Three remarkable Changes that had happened in their Times. (1.) That every Houſe had Chimnies, whereas in their Youth there were not above Two Chimnies in an upland Town. (2.) That whereas they had Beds, Sheets, Bolſters, and Pillows, when young they ſlept on Straw, and the Maſter of a Farm Houſe thought himſelf well to paſs, if he had a Flock Bed to lie on, with a Log to reſt his Head upon (3.) That Platters were exchanged for Pewter, and Wooden Spoons for Tin, and even for Silver. He alſo mentions in thoſe Days a Farm let at Four Pounds a Year, which in his Time was let at Forty, and yet the Farmers lived better, and ſaved more ſince they paid Forty than when they paid Four. Deſcription of Britaine, B. ii. chap. x.

[w] This is a Point of very great Importance, for our principal Improvers, as well as thoſe amongſt the Romans and Greeks, have been Men of Rank and Learning, ſuch as Fitzherbert; Googe,

by theſe Steps we are more eſpecially within a Century paſt, far, indeed very far advanced, yet are we ſtill undoubtedly very diſtant from Perfection. For not only new and uſeful Deſigns may ſtill be ſtruck out, but even thoſe that have been proſecuted with the utmoſt Diligence, may by the Continuance of it, be carried much greater Lengths, as the Proſpect continues, notwithſtanding the Progreſs we have made ſtill expanding before us[x]. Towards the extending theſe national and ſalutary Views, the chief Things requiſite are Induſtry, Frugality, and public Spirit[y]. The firſt may derive much Aſſiſtance from Laws; the ſecond can be only brought about by Example; and if the Two firſt were once generally diffuſed and firmly eſtabliſhed, the third would follow of Courſe. For as Idleneſs and Diſſipation are the Sources of Corruption, ſo Induſtry and Frugality naturally produce public Spirit, as the Voice of Reaſon teaches, and as Experience hath in all Countries often verified[z].

There are ſtill ſome Points, which though they have been incidentally touched already, require to be mentioned again before we cloſe this Chapter. The modern Manner of laying out our Grounds for Pleaſure is incomparably better than in former Times, becauſe more natural, and having in it alſo more of Utility. The preſent Taſte for Shrubs is very pleaſing and elegant in reſpect to their Colours and Odours; but perhaps, without leſſening this, ſome Regard might alſo be had to the introducing

Googe, Viſcount St. Albans, Sir R. Weſton (by whoſe ſmall Treatiſe this Nation is ſaid to have gained Millions) Sir Hugh Plat, Dr. Beal, Mr. Evelyn, Sir William Temple, Mr. Worlidge, Mr. Timothy Nourſe, Mr. Tull, Mr. Liſle, Dr. W. Harte, and many others who have merited highly of their Country.

[x] If we reflect on the great Space that intervened between the firſt Mention of ſome of our great Improvements, and their being brought into common Uſe, this will not appear at all improbable. Above One hundred Years ago, the Practicability of ſupporting Horſes on Carrots was not only known, but publiſhed, and overlooked. The ſame may be ſaid as to Potatoes. An Hundred Years hence, theſe Roots may be applied to a Variety of other Purpoſes which at preſent are ſcarce in Contemplation.

[y] It is a weighty Obſervation of a judicious Writer, "Nature has beſtowed Mines on ſeveral "Parts of the World; but their Riches are only for the Induſtrious and the Frugal. Whom-"ever elſe they viſit, it is with the Diligent and Sober only they ſtay." Locke's Works, vol. ii. p. 35. Let Wealth be acquired by Induſtry, and there is great Probability that Frugality will keep it; for what is gotten ſlowly and aſſiduouſly, it is not in the Nature of Man haſtily to laviſh away.

[z] In the early Ages of the Roman Commonwealth, when their Dictators were taken from the Plough, all theſe Virtues were not only conſpicuous but common. It was the ſame in the infant State of the United Provinces; J. de Witt, who had the Power, had alſo the Prudence of thoſe Dictators; and we know what Effects his Example had upon the Manners of his Countrymen. As by Induſtry, we do not mean ſimply Labour, but the Application of the beſt Part of a Perſon's Time, according to his Condition, unto uſeful Purpoſes; ſo we deſire to diſtinguiſh from Sordidneſs, that Frugality we applaud; which is ſuch a Regulation of Expence, as Age, Rank, and Circumſtances may preſcribe. Avarice, the dirtieſt of Vices, is the Parent of Narrowneſs; but Frugality is the Offspring of Decorum.

ſuch

ſuch as might bring us Uſe and Profit as well as Amuſement [a]. Our Kitchen Gardens may be juſtly ſtiled ſuperior to any in Europe, for the great Variety and Excellence of eſculent Plants. Our Flower Gardens alſo contain whatever may content the Sight or delight the Smell, and ſufficiently demonſtrate that our Soil and Climate will admit of Improvements that would have appeared utterly incredible to our Anceſtors [b]. What cannot be reconciled to theſe, I mean our Soil and Climate, are to be found in our Greenhouſes and Conſervatories, where, by an equal Exertion of Skill, Induſtry, and Expence, we poſſeſs in a Manner the vegetable Treaſures of the whole Earth. Our Orchards and Fruit Gardens abound with better choſen, and greater Variety of fine Trees, than in the Age immediately preceding this [c], though ſome very great Men then made their Improvement their peculiar Study [d]. In planting for Shew and Ornament, we have likewiſe far outdone our Predeceſſors, by introducing many and ſome of them very uſeful Trees from the moſt diſtant Parts of the Globe, and naturalizing them in both Iſlands [e]: A Thing highly laudable, conſidering them only as they were intended, in the Light of Curioſities and Ornaments; but which would certainly turn to a far better Account, if they were planted in much larger Numbers, and with a View to the public Benefit, as in Proceſs of Time we have great Reaſon to expect they will.

[a] We may be induced to give ſome Attention to this, if we reflect that the People of Arabia, neglecting all the rich Commodities, for trading in which, they were famous in the moſt early Ages, confine themſelves to the Culture of the Coffee Buſh. The Sugar Cane commands in like Manner the Attention of the People in the Weſt Indies. Here, that humble Plant the Oſier produces Ten Pounds an Acre, ſometimes more, with very little Trouble, and as little Expence.

[b] The Art of Gardening is not above a Century old in the Manner it is now practiſed. When Guineas were firſt coined, one would ſcarce purchaſe a Couple of Cauliflowers; we now produce the beſt, and by far the greateſt Quantities of any Country in Europe, and even export them annually to Holland, from whence we originally received them. This ſurely is a demonſtrative Proof of what Skill and Labour will do in this Soil, and under this variable Climate.

[c] But to the Honour of the Improvers of thoſe Days, they ſeemed very attentive to the promoting Cyder, Perry, Mead, and other Engliſh Liquors, which they wiſely judged capable of being rendered as acceptable, and conſequently as ſaleable abroad as foreign Wines are here. On this Subject Dr. Beal, Mr. Evelyn, Sir Jonas Moor, Mr. Worlidge, and Mr. Mortimer have reported many Facts that ought to be remembered, and made many Obſervations which well deſerve to be conſidered.

[d] It may be, that in Time we may have Vineyards again in this Country, as we had formerly, towards which Perſeverance is as neceſſary as Soil or Situation. One dares not be ſo poſitive as to Olives, though they have borne Fruit at Kenſington and in Devonſhire. A Nobleman, who was an excellent Judge, thought they would do as well in the Iſle of Wight as in Italy. White Mulberries grow here as well as any where, and it is ſaid where-ever they grow Silk may be introduced.

[e] As for Inſtance, Cedars from Lebanon and from America, which grow freely, and to a large Size. The Cypreſs, ſo much eſteemed in early Ages. The Plane tree of ſtupendous Bulk. Firs of many different Kinds, the Silver, the Norway, the American Spruce, the Newfoundland, and the Hemlock; in like Manner all the numerous Families of the Pines, ſuch as the Pineaſter or wild Pine, the Tartarian, the Siberian, the Weymouth, the Virginia, the North American Red and White Pines, &c.

YET in the Midſt of theſe truly noble Attempts, which ſeem to breathe ſuch a vigorous Spirit of Improvement, we hear a general Complaint, that there is an evident, and even dangerous Decay of Timber, both in Britain and in Ireland, and this notwithſtanding our natural Advantages, which in this Reſpect are very great, ſince no Country is more proper for the Production of this valuable, and conſidered as a commercial People, neceſſary Treaſure [f]. We have in common with other Regions, Heaths, Moors, Mountains, Moraſſes, and other waſte Grounds, which, though dreary, inhoſpitable, and uſeleſs in their preſent State, would be very profitable if planted. But we have alſo Foreſts, Chaces, and Parks, exceedingly well adapted to, and which were originally appropriated for, the raiſing all Kinds of uſeful Timber [g]. To this we may add, that if Indolence, and the narrow Spirit of looking to ourſelves only, and not forward to Poſterity, would give us leave to ſee it, there cannot be in proper Places a more profitable Improvement than might by this Means be attained [h]. But as the Fact, in reference to this Declenſion of Ship-timber, and the moſt uſeful Kinds of Wood, cannot be controverted, we ought certainly, the Thing being ſo much, and withal ſo manifeſtly in our Power, to turn our Thoughts, and bend our Endeavours to the proper Remedy, and this for a Variety of Reaſons.

[f] It is a Point out of all Doubt, that both the Southern and Northern Parts of this Iſland were overgrown with Wood; and immenſe Quantities of ſubterraneous Trees of different Sorts, have been for Ages paſt, and are ſtill in ſeveral Places digged out of the Bowels of the Earth. Our Oak, Elm, Aſh, Cheſnut, Beech, &c. grow as large, laſt as long, and their Wood is as ſound and uſeful, as in any Country. Trees brought from the moſt diſtant and diſcordant Soils and Climates are made to live and thrive here.

[g] In thoſe Days, when regular Surveys were taken of theſe Places of Amuſement and royal Recreation, though Towns, Fields, and Commons, as the Country grew populous, came to be interſperſed, yet their original Deſign was ſo far remembered, as that Accounts were conſtantly taken of the growing Timber to preſerve it, of the periodical Falls of Coppices, and burning of Charcoal, which though rarely beneficial to the Crown, was highly uſeful to the Publick.

[h] We have already employed ſome Pains to juſtify this Propoſition. Indeed, valuable Timber-trees, ſuch as Oak, Aſh, and Elm, may be cultivated, where both Land and Labour are dear, to great Advantage. But through the Beneficence of Providence, there is no Kind of Land but may admit, with Improvement, ſome Kind of Trees. The coldeſt, moſt open, and expoſed Situations ſuit that noble and uſeful Timber the Cheſnut beſt. In dry hilly Lands (fit for nothing elſe) Sycamore in a few Years will grow to a large Size. On ſtony, barren, and chalky Grounds, and on the Declivity of Hills, may be raiſed Groves of Beech. Box and Yew, both valuable in a high Degree, as their Wood ſerves for various Uſes, will thrive in the coldeſt and moſt dreary Soils without Care or Coſt. The Poplar, Aſpen, Abeal, Alder, Withy, Sallow, Willow, and other Aquatics, in Marſhes, Fens, Bogs, where no other Trees will live; yet are of quick Growth, in conſtant Demand, and very profitable. The ſame may be ſaid of Birch, which will grow any where. The Scots Pine, commonly, though improperly called the Scots Fir, from which we have our Deal Boards, will grow in Peat Bogs, in chalky, gravelly, or ſtony Soils, and in dry barren Sands. The Laburnum or Peas-cod Tree will grow on the bleakeſt Mountains, and if only ſuffered to grow will become a large Tree, and afford excellent Timber. The Rowan Tree or Quick-Beam, which produces both an uſeful and valuable Wood, grows, and is the only Tree that grows naturally, on ſome of the Rocks in Shetland.

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In the firſt Place it is to be conſidered, that the very ſame Complaint is at preſent made in moſt of the Countries of Europe, even in thoſe from whence we at preſent draw our largeſt Supplies; in conſequence of which the Commodity riſes in Price, whereas by a due Exertion of our own Powers all this Money might be ſaved to the Nation [i]. We ought next to advert, that there is not perhaps in the World, a Country where there is either a more copious or a more conſtant Demand for Timber, and every Kind of Wood; ſo that if this growing Evil ſhould proceed, as it is very likely to do, to a much greater Height, it muſt be attended with very great and very manifeſt Inconveniencies [k]. To this we may add, that whenever we ſhall come to ſee it in its proper Light, and in conſequence of this reſolve to ſet about an Amendment in Earneſt, even this muſt in its very Nature be a Work of Time, which is a Point that deſerves the moſt mature Attention [l]. Suppoſing therefore that our Apprehenſions on this Head may be a little too ſtrong at preſent, and that conſiderable Supplies of Timber may be ſtill found in Hampſhire, Suſſex, Wales, and ſome few other Places, yet this, inſtead of diminiſhing, ought rather to excite our Care, as ſhewing, that if we go about it immediately, there may be ſtill ſome reaſonable Hopes of preventing a Miſchief, that may otherwiſe become in many Reſpects extremely fatal.

The Laws, which through a long Courſe of Years have been enacted with a View to the Preſervation of Timber, ſufficiently ſhew the Senſe of the Legiſlature upon this important Subject [m]. In the preceding Book we have

[i] In Norway, in Switzerland, and in France, they make bitter Complaints of the Decay of Wood of all Sorts. This they very truly aſcribe to the Deſire of preſent Profit, by complying with that encreaſed Demand which growing Luxury every where excites, without providing an adequate Supply. The Price of this, which not only is, but muſt ever continue a Neceſſary, is daily riſing at home and abroad, which though an immediate Draining, may in its Conſequence become an Advantage. For theſe high Prices may be conſidered as Bounties in favour of our Application to planting; and thoſe who firſt fall into this Track, will ſo avail themſelves of this Circumſtance, by raiſing immenſe Sums from Lands that now yield very little, as to create Envy, which may excite a general Imitation, and of courſe a gradual Approach to Plenty.

[k] In ſome Places where Timber is conſidered as a Staple, they have already had Recourſe to Reſtrictions in cutting down their Woods. It is true, that there hath in thoſe Countries been hitherto little Regard paid to theſe Reſtrictions, which is the Reaſon we have not felt their Effects, except in raiſing the Purchaſe. The French, however, aware of what may happen, have enforced their old Laws, and a ſtrict Reform of their Foreſts, which has produced ſome Memorials of Mr. Buffon, and ſeveral excellent Works by Mr. Du Hamel.

[l] When we hear or read of Oaks many Hundred Years old, and of other Timber-trees of vaſt Age, we muſt not conclude that the Effects of Planting are not to be felt within a much ſhorter Period. In good Land, agreeable to their Nature, Timber-trees will be fit for Service in Half a Century, and continue improving Half a Century more. In worſe Soils Trees grow more ſlowly; but the Timber is not the worſe. But even Half a Century is a long, a very long Period to be ſpent in Expectation.

[m] The Statutes from the Reign of Henry VIII. are moſt of them penal Laws, and are from a Variety of Cauſes ſeldom executed. It might probably anſwer better to propoſe Encouragements, as

have ventured to give ſome Hints for promoting the ſame valuable Purpoſes. But a Matter of ſuch national Concern, ought not to be left to incertain Meaſures [n]. It calls for immediate, vigorous, and effectual Remedies, which if they can be pointed out there is no Reaſon to diſtruſt the Willingneſs of the Legiſlature to interpoſe its farther and moſt effectual Aſſiſtance for the Welfare of the Publick. In the firſt Place, a ſtrict Survey ought to be taken of all Foreſts, Chaces, &c. and an authentic Report made of the State in which they are at preſent, and what Supplies of Timber, and in what Space of Time, might under proper Management be expected from them [o]. It ſhould ſeem reaſonable on renewing all Royal Grants of Lands, that a Reſerve of Trees for the Uſe of the Navy in Proportion to the Extent of the Grant ſhould be required in the Nature of a Quit-rent, and the State of ſuch reſerved Trees ſhould be properly certified upon every ſubſequent Renewal [p]. Beſides the Laws upon this Subject ought to be carefully reviewed, ſuch Parts of them as are become obſelete or improper repealed, Rewards and Penalties clearly and with Propriety aſſigned; but above all, ſome Methods ſhould be purſued by Preſentments at the Summer and Lent Aſſizes, to carry theſe Laws, thus amended, into ſtrict and conſtant Execution [q]. In reſpect to private Perſons, they may be wrought on to

to which Hints have been already given. But if Pariſhes or Counties could be induced to raiſe Plantations of Oaks, by granting them Annuities towards the Relief of their Poor, from the Time the Trees were of a certain Age, till cut for the Uſe of the Royal Yards, it might prove an effectual Means of ſecuring them.

[n] We have from Experience (for it is now more than a Hundred Years ſince Mr. Evelyn publiſhed his Sylva) learned, that Perſuaſion and Argument will do little. We muſt (though I am rarely an Advocate for that) look up to Authority. There is certainly in this Iſland a great deal of Ship-timber of Twenty Years Growth or more, which if, without Injury, or rather with Emolument to the Proprietors, it could be preſerved for the Uſe of the Navy, might have many good Conſequences.

[o] The original Deſign of Foreſts was for the Conveniency of Hunting, when this was eſteemed the nobleſt of royal Diverſions. As the Nation grew more civilized, many of theſe artificial Deſerts were diſforeſted, and Towns and Villages admitted in the reſt. But the ſingle Emolument ariſing to the Publick, was the Growth of Timber, of which (as Things now ſtand) it is very expedient the Publick ſhould have a diſtinct Account. This was an Age ago recommended to Charles II. by Mr. Evelyn, who thought that a due Regulation of the Foreſts and Chaces might amply ſupply the Royal Yards with Timber. If ever theſe large Tracts of Land are converted into Farms, the reſerved Rents might be at the ſame Time converted into an Obligation of planting and preſerving a certain Number of Timber-trees in proportion to the Extent of ſuch Farms.

[p] In France, no Man, let his Fortune or his Rank be what it will, can cut Timber on his own Eſtate, but under the Inſpection, and under the Regulations of the King's Surveyors. In that Kingdom the Fourth Part of Woods in the Hands of Eccleſiaſtics, or others holding in Mortmain, is reſerved for a Supply of ſerviceable Timber, by an Ordinance in A. D. 1573, confirmed in A. D. 1597, but never executed till A. D. 1669. Such Regulations benefit the Publick without Injury to private Perſons.

[q] It is ſomething worſe than Folly to enact wiſe Laws, and take no Care to ſee them executed. Yet this is the Caſe here and in France, to ſay nothing of other Countries. In Biſcay (the freeſt Province

to contribute to this ſalutary End, by different Methods. A few publick ſpirited Improvers of ſuperior Quality might quickly bring this Kind of Planting into Faſhion [r]. The firſt Attempts of this Sort would be attended with very great Advantages, by exciting Emulation, producing Experience which we very much want, and in a very ſhort Time demonſtrating from Facts, what has been ſo often hinted from Reaſon, that this is a very ſolid, certain, and conſiderable Mode of Improvement [s]. The Society for promoting Commerce, Manufactures, and Arts, ſeeing Things already in this Light, have very laudably and judiciouſly contributed their Aſſiſtance. The ſame Thing has been done in Ireland [t]; and we have great Reaſon to expect, that the riſing Generation, induced by Principles of true Oeconomy, and encouraged by theſe Examples, will entirely remove this Reproach, and reſtore to theſe Iſlands ſuch a Proviſion, not of Timber only, but alſo of every uſeful Kind of Wood, as may fully ſupply the Demands of their induſtrious Inhabitants [u].

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Province in Spain) they have great Iron-works, and much Ship-building; but their Laws being well made, and punctually obeyed, they have conſtant Supplies of Wood and Timber for both. The Preamble of the new Law well penned, and the Utility of it fully explained in the Judges Charges, would ſoon relieve us from all Apprehenſions.

[r] Faſhion is the only Law that enforces its Dictates without Officers and without Penalties. We ſee it has introduced Planting for Pleaſure; why then ſhould it want the Power of diffuſing the Diſpoſition of Planting for Profit? In the laſt Age, many Gentlemen in the Weſtern Counties, were ambitious of preſerving their Names in Apples brought by them into Uſe, and to their indefatigable Pains and Experiments we owe our moſt excellent Kinds of Cyder. In the ſame Manner Lord Weymouth hath fixed his on the New England Pine.

[s] It is a Thing of the greateſt national Conſequence to put this Matter by ſome known and unexceptionable Experiments beyond all Diſpute. The ableſt Writers on, and the beſt Judges of the Subject, are clear and unanimous in their Opinions, and ſome of them have given us very ingenious, and, very probably, accurate Calculations. But it is not Opinions or Calculations of which we ſtand in need, but of Facts. Theſe would ſilence all Doubts, theſe would anſwer all Objections, theſe would add Authority to Opinion, theſe would give deciſive Evidence to Calculations: In a Word, theſe would inſpire a Deſire of Planting; and whoever ſets the Example, by a Plantation of an Hundred Acres of Oaks, will do an inexpreſſible Service to this Country.

[t] The Method purſued by the Society here, is the propoſing for Two Years together Gold and Silver Medals for the raiſing in different Proportions Oaks, Cheſnuts, Elms, Scots Fir, and the Weymouth Pine. This Attention ſhews a Regard to national Good, and the Rewards are ſuitably adjuſted to thoſe from whom ſuch Improvements can only be expected, viz. Perſons of Diſtinction and of Landed Property. The Dublin Society have for ſeveral Years purſued the ſame Method for planting and preſerving Trees; in ſome Caſes, there is a Medal aſſigned to each Province; in others, a Medal is aſſigned to every County, in order to extend ſo noble, and ſo beneficent a Spirit into all Parts of the Iſland. It alſo appears by their annual Accounts of their Premiums beſtowed, that their laudable Intentions have produced very good Effects.

[u] Whoever conſiders the great Importance of our Navy, which is, in truth (under Divine Providence) the Glory and the Support of the Britiſh Empire, muſt be fully convinced how neceſſary it is, that we ſhould not be dependent on other Nations for thoſe Supplies of Timber that it annually requires. At the ſame Time it muſt appear a Work of great Difficulty to procure theſe Supplies in Britain, when we are told the Navy requires at preſent Four if not Five Times the Quantity of Timber that would have anſwered its Demands about a Century ago. Beſides, we

muſt

It is hoped, that in the Courſe of this long Chapter, the Principles we have ſo often laid down, in relation to the natural Fertility of this Country, have been clearly explained and inconteſtibly proved, not by Aſſertions grounded only on probable Arguments, but from that Evidence which is ever requiſite in ſuch Caſes, the Teſtimony of Facts. We have likewiſe endeavoured to trace the gradual Acceſſions that have been made to the national Income, by the Aſſiſtance of an improved and extended Agriculture. For the ſame Reaſon we have ſtated the true Grounds upon which our Expectations are founded, that they may be carried ſtill farther, and that in ſucceeding Times ſucceſſive Improvements may be made, ſome of them perhaps as important as any of thoſe we at preſent happily poſſeſs [w]. It would not have been difficult to have made this ſtill more ſtriking, and in Appearance more certain, by having Recourſe to Calculations. But as theſe, though made with the greateſt Care, and conducted with all poſſible Moderation, might from their very Nature have been liable to Cavil and Controverſy, we choſe to leave them to the Conſideration of the intelligent Reader, who may perhaps be furniſhed with better and clearer Lights, at leaſt in many Inſtances, though we have not failed to give him ſuch as we had, and upon which we thought he might ſafely depend. A Proceeding that ſeemed leſs liable to Error, as, in regard to the material and fundamental Points, there can be no Doubts raiſed by any who conſider the preſent, and reflect on the paſt State of Things.

We have more than once obſerved, and the Subject at preſent obliges us to repeat it once more, that it is the Capacity for a Variety of uſeful Productions which conſtitutes the real and intrinſic Excellence of any Country. Theſe form its interior Strength, and comparative Power in reſpect to other Countries. Theſe are the true ſubſtantial Reſources from whence ariſe national Independence [x]. It is therefore from having juſt and ade-

muſt at the ſame Period advert to the wonderful Increaſe of our Merchantmen, and in conſequence of that the prodigious Augmentation of our Small Craft in all our Ports, and upon all our Rivers, which are alſo multiplying every Day, and of courſe heighten the Demand.

[w] If the Improvements now made had been ſtated as Things certain, or even probable, a Century ago, how little Credit would they have met with? How many plauſible Arguments would have been adduced to ſhew they deſerved little Credit? But if it had or could have been ſo ſtated, would it have been at all leſs certain, that we actually poſſeſs and enjoy them now? If ſo, this Country had always the ſame innate Power of producing; and Skill and Induſtry have developed this by Effects. It is clear then that Skill and Induſtry are the Inſtruments that have produced this great and happy Change. But the Country having ſtill the ſame Principle of Fecundity, and theſe Inſtruments being as much as ever in our Power, what ſtronger Argument can be brought to ſhew the Probability of our making future Improvements?

[x] What hath been ſaid at the Beginning of the Chapter, in this Paragraph of the Text, and in the preceding Note, might be ſufficient on this Head. But the Utility of it is ſo great, that it may not be amiſs to remark, that every new and uſeful Product we acquire adds to the Balance of our Trade the Sum we formerly expended thereon, beſides ſomewhat to our Induſtry, and a great deal more if capable of being manufactured. In all Reſpects to our national Income and Independency.

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quate Ideas of theſe, that we gain a certain and a diſtinct Notion of the Worth or Value of any Region whatever; and it is for want of having ſuch Ideas, that we take up fanciful Partialities for ſome, and entertain groundleſs Prejudices againſt other Countries, till at length Matters of Fact awake us from our Dreams, and force us to perceive the Truth [y]. It is from a due, though not a very early Attention to this Capacity for different Productions, and the calling them forth by an aſſiduous Application to the Arts of Culture, that we have rendered this Iſland in its Appearance ſo very different from what it was a few Ages ago. It is from theſe Cauſes that we, the Inhabitants of it, are at this Day an active, induſtrious, commercial, opulent, and potent People, incomparably more ſo than within a Century paſt. It will be due to our Adherence to theſe ſalutary Principles, that we ſhall preſerve and extend our Importance; and therefore the keeping conſtantly our Duty in this Reſpect in our View, is our firſt and great political Concern [z]. If notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid, the Reader ſhould retain any Doubts or Scruples, any Difficulties or Suſpicions, theſe will be fully removed in the next Chapter, in which we ſhall conſider more at large the Effects, the Conſequences, and the Advantages that flow from our numerous Improvements.

YET however we may be pleaſed with the various and beneficial Sources of Profit, which are to be ſtated in the ſucceeding Chapter, let us always conſider them as ſecondary Emoluments naturally ariſing from, and neceſſarily connected with, thoſe Improvements that have been already explained, and without which they can no more ſurvive and flouriſh than Plants when torn from their Roots. This I ſay we muſt conſtantly remember, for Agriculture and Manufactures are Twins, and muſt always wax or wane with each other. The Produce conſtitutes the Worth of any

[y] We look on Spain as a rich Country, becauſe of the Wealth that is drawn from it, which is rather a Proof of its Wants. We in general conſider Switzerland as a very poor one. But ſince the Swiſs have applied themſelves aſſiduouſly to diſcovering and improving the Reſources they have in their Country, harſh as it is, their Linnens, Horſes, Black Cattle, Cheeſes, and Manufactures bring in vaſt Sums, which their Induſtry in raiſing Corn, Vines, Hemp, Flax, Timber, and other Neceſſaries, with their great Frugality, enables them to keep: There are in conſequence of this fewer indigent Perſons there than in almoſt any other Part of Europe. The Swiſs would be ſtill richer, if their Government did not lock up the public Treaſure in Cheſts, and private Men veſt theirs in foreign Funds.

[z] It is from the various Products of our own Soil, that the Bulk as well as the moſt ſtable Part of our national Subſtance proceeds, and therefore ſuch Products call more immediately for publick Attention and Protection. In the firſt Inſtance they ariſe from Labour, and thereby give a frugal Livelihood to many Thouſands of Families; in the next they ſupply Materials for Art and Induſtry to work upon, and, our home Conſumption provided for, become laſtly, the moſt lucrative Articles (their whole Amount being clear Gains to the Nation) in our foreign Commerce. It is allowed they are not the only lucrative Articles; but then it muſt be alſo admitted, that in their very Production they procure us a Race of active, robuſt, and hardy Men, to protect and preſerve what by theſe different Means we acquire.

Country. Plenty of Proviſions is the Subſtance, the Wealth, the Patrimony of the common People, other Riches belong to thoſe of a ſuperior Rank. But it is upon the Abundance and Cheapneſs of the former, that the Induſtry of the Many, and of Courſe the Happineſs of Society, the Peace and Welfare of a Nation, muſt always depend. It is therefore an Obligation upon, and at the ſame Time the Intereſt of Government, to take every poſſible Method to prevent their Dearneſs, and dear they muſt be if they are ſcarce. It is acknowledged that Manufactures and Commerce produce a Part, and a great Part of our Wealth; but in order that they may produce, it is requiſite, abſolutely requiſite, that Manufacturers ſhould be able to live. Men work in order to eat, and if their Labour will not procure them a comfortable Subſiſtence, they will either become idle and indigent here, or remove elſewhere. If our Manufactures cannot be made at a reaſonable Rate, they cannot long remain Materials for foreign Commerce. It ought therefore to be equally the Object both of the Landed and Trading Intereſts to encourage Agriculture, taken in the moſt extentenſive Senſe, as the Mother and Support of Arts, as the great and permanent Principle of our domeſtic Policy, on which our Attention muſt be invariably fixed, if we mean to preſerve that Felicity to which the Beneficence of Providence has given us, as this Chapter fully ſhews, an inconteſtible, and if we are not wanting to ourſelves, an indefeaſible Title.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Animals in the Britiſh Dominions.

THE Variety of Animals rendered by the Creator ſerviceable to the human Race, the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of Providence viſible in their Oeconomy, and in the happy Diſtribution of them in theſe Iſlands. Sheep more immediately the Care of Man, uſeful to him in many Reſpects, thrive in all Climates, but no where better than in Great Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent Iſles. A ſhort View of their Nature, Properties, and the Management of them. The ſignal and numerous Benefits derived from them briefly ſtated and explained. The Hiſtory of Wool and the Woollen Manufacture in this Country from the earlieſt Times. The ſame continued to the Cloſe of the Reign of Edward the Sixth. Farther proſecuted to the End of that of James the Firſt. The ſame Subject continued and concluded. Conſiderations on the Value of our Sheep, Wool, and Woollen Manufactures, as they ſtand at preſent. A ſhort Sketch of the ſame Subject, in reſpect to North Britain and Ireland. Goats, their Nature, Properties, Places fit for them, and other Particulars.

Particulars. Have been perhaps too much overlooked and neglected. Account of Black Cattle; this Country ever famous for having them in Plenty, and excellent in their Kind. Juſtly conſidered as of the higheſt Importance in regard to our Syſtem of Huſbandry. The Profits of the Dairy, various, conſtant, and very conſiderable. The ſeveral Manufactures which Black Cattle furniſh for the Benefit of Society. A ſhort Hiſtory of the different Kinds of Leather, and the Value of it to this Country. Of the ſeveral Sorts of Deer, and the Advantages accruing from them. Swine of all Kinds, and from different Climates, live and thrive here. The great Utility, and the Variety of Emoluments that are derived from them. Horſes of every Kind, and excellent in their reſpective Kinds, bred in Britain. The many Uſes that are made of them, and many Advantages ariſing from them candidly and impartially conſidered. Aſſes thrive as well, and live as long here as in moſt Countries in Europe: Hardy, healthy, patient, laborious, uſeful in many Reſpects, and might be made ſo in many more. Mules leſs frequent now than in former Times, yet might be rendered exceedingly ſerviceable in ſeveral Ways. Of ſome other Animals, that are for ſeveral Purpoſes uſeful to Mankind. Tame, wild, and water Fowl, with the Benefits that accrue to us from them. Bees, their ſignal Utility, together with ſome Thoughts on the Poſſibility of increaſing and improving the Advantages obtained from them. Of Fiſh, and the Profits that are and might be drawn from them. How far it is practicable or expedient to increaſe the Number of our Animals, by introducing new Species of them, from other Countries. Concluſive Conſiderations, drawn from the Contents of the Three laſt Chapters.

THE Productions of the Earth not only nouriſh, and yield many other Conveniencies for Man, but are alſo ſerviceable in the ſame Reſpects to other Animals, of which there are alſo many Kinds exceedingly uſeful and beneficial to the human Species [a]. Some of them afford him both Food and Phyſic, nay, and cloathing alſo, by which he is defended from the Inclemency of the Weather. Some again are employed in bearing Burthens, in carrying him from Place to Place, in drawing Carts, Waggons, and Coaches. There are many that ſupply very uſeful and profitable Manufactures, and others that adminiſter both to his Subſiſtence and to his Pleaſure from the

[a] Animals, through the Will and Wiſdom of the Omnipotent and Omniſcient Creator, are joint Tenants with Men of this terraqueous Globe. The ſame Power hath provided for their Subſiſtence, as well as ours, and regulated whatever regards their Oeconomy with admirable Policy. They have their proper Places aſſigned them, to which their Nature and Faculties are exactly adapted. Their Appetites are alſo reſtrained, ſome eat one Sort, ſome another Sort of Food, ſo that all have enough, and all have Variety. Their Numbers alſo are perfectly balanced, by the very different Periods of their Lives, by the ſeveral Meaſures of their Prolificacy, by carnivorous Animals that prey upon, and thereby limit the Increaſe of others: Points of divine Sapience, extremely worthy of our deepeſt and moſt ſerious Meditations, as well as our ſincereſt Praiſes.

Qualities with which they are endowed by Nature, and of which he is enabled by the Superiority of his Reaſon to make Uſe for his own Benefit and Advantage [b]. It is therefore juſtly eſteemed a very ſingular Happineſs for any Country to be plentifully ſtocked with a Variety of uſeful Animals, and no ſmall Privilege to be exempted from thoſe that are noxious to the human Race, or to other Animals, by their Rapacity or Venom. There are very few Countries conſidered in this Light, that ſtand more amply or more manifeſtly indebted to Providence than the Britiſh Iſles, which abound with Creatures every way ſuited to ſupply our Wants, and to anſwer other beneficial Purpoſes, at the ſame Time that we are very little expoſed to thoſe Ravages and Inconveniencies that ariſe from Beaſts of Prey, deſtructive Vermin, or poiſonous Reptiles [c]. It is to ſet the numerous and tranſcendant Advantages, which in this Reſpect we enjoy, in a clear and conſpicuous Point of Light, that this Chapter is deſtined, and in which ſo much only of natural Hiſtory is introduced as ſeemed requiſite to render theſe Benefits intelligible and inconteſtible.

In order to anſwer this Purpoſe effectually, we will begin with that Animal, which, as Varro tells us, was the firſt that Man took under his peculiar Care and Protection, and which indeed ſeems to want, and to deſerve it more than any other. This is the Sheep, the tameſt, the moſt inoffenſive, the moſt gregarious, the eaſieſt ſupported, and, in the Opinion of many, the moſt uſeful and beneficial of all Animals [d]. It is probably for

[b] But the ſame Supreme Being, who ſo beneficently and ſo effectually provided for the Happineſs of Animals, beſtowed the Dominion of them upon Man, who therefore ultimately reaps the Profits of the Proviſions made for them. In virtue of his ſuperior Abilities, he, for his own Emolument, or even for his Amuſement, enlarges for them thoſe Limits aſſigned them in a State of Nature. He makes Ponds and Canals to multiply Fiſh. He feeds and provides for Multitudes of winged Creatures, thence ſtiled domeſtic Fowl. Foreſts and Parks give Shelter to the Reſt of the feathered Tribe, and even to wild Beaſts. In reſpect to thoſe that are tame, by multiplying their Subſiſtence, he multiplies them to the Extent of his Convenience, or even to that of his Wiſhes.

[c] In reſpect to uſeful Animals, it is the Buſineſs of the Chapter to give an Account of them, and it would be needleſs to enumerate them here. In regard to the voracious and the venemous, we have of Quadrupeds, the Badger, Wild-cat, the Ferret, the Fox, the Martern, the Otter, the Pole-cat, and the Weaſel. Of Birds of Prey, we have the Eagle, the Falcon, the Hawk, the Keſtrel, the Kite, the Lanner, the Oſprey, the Sparrow-hawk, the Taſſel, and a few ſmaller of the Owl Kind chiefly. Of the venemous, the Viper, the Blind-worm, and as many think the Toad and the Spider. Some of theſe are only in particular Diſtricts, and in ſeveral Parts of the Britiſh Iſles moſt of them are not found at all. Wolves were formerly in theſe Iſlands, but have been long ſince rooted out, to our inexpreſſible Benefit.

[d] Num. xxxi. 32. 2 Kings iii. 4. 2 Chron. xvii. 11. Varro de re Ruſtica, lib. ii. Strabon. Geograph. lib. iii. p. 144. Columel. lib. vii. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 47, 48, 49. xxix. cap. xii. Fizherbert's Book of Huſbandry. Googe's Huſbandry, fol. 130—136. Harriſon's Deſcription of Britaine, Book iii. chap. viii. Markham's cheap and good Huſbandry, Book i. chap. i.—xxx. Mortimer's Huſbandry, Book vi. chap. vi. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. ii. p. 153—

for this Reaſon that Providence has given them ſuch a Nature, that they are able to thrive in almoſt all Countries and Climates, ſo as to be the Companions of Men, and the Objects of their Care, not only in mild and temperate Regions, but alſo in the torrid and frigid Zones, which perhaps we ſhould hardly believe, if we were not convinced of it by unqueſtionable Experience [e]. At the ſame time that they are thus generally ſpread over the Face of the whole habitable Earth, we may nevertheleſs truly aſſert, that there is no Part of it more fitly adapted to the Nouriſhment and Improvement of theſe gentle and beneficial Creatures than the Iſlands of Great Britain and Ireland [f]. In theſe the Soil ſupplies the moſt pleaſing, wholeſome, and luxuriant Paſtures, the Climate too is peculiarly agreeable to them, as being not ſo ſultry, even in the warmeſt Summers, as to affect their tender Frames, which frequently happens elſewhere, or ſo inclement even in our hardeſt Winters, as to prove any way prejudicial to them, or at leaſt but very ſeldom. It is not therefore at all wonderful, that this Nation ſhould have been in all Ages extremely attentive to its Flocks, more eſpecially as theſe were at all Times pregnant Sources of its Wealth [g], neither ought it to be any great Motive of Surprize, that in conſequence of this, we have at certain Times, in which commercial or indeed civil Policy was but indifferently underſtood, ſuffered our Partiality

p. 153—223. 356—363. Piero de Creſcenzi del Agricoltura, lib. xi. cap. lxvi—lxxv. Maiſon Ruſtique, liv. i. chap. xxv. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. col. 413. Negoce d'Amſterdam, p. 86. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 545. tom. ii. col. 568, 569. 940—961. 1191—1195. 1283—1286. 1451. tom. iii. col. 48—51. Inſtruction ſur la Maniere d'elever et de perfectioner les Beſtes a Laine, compoſer a Suedois, par Frederic W. Haſtfer, A Paris 1756, 12mo. L'Agronome, vol. i. p. 82. 127. 481. vol. ii. p. 62. Dictionnaire Univerſel d'Hiſtoire, Naturelle, tom. i. p. 280—291. tom. iii. p. 193. 522—525.

[e] The Scriptures ſpeak at large of the Sheep in Syria, Paleſtine, and the adjacent Countries. In the Empire of Indoſtan and in Perſia they have Sheep with Wool ſoft and ſhining as Silk. In Egypt and Ethiopia they have immenſe Flocks. In Barbary they have Two Kinds, one having coarſe and hairy, the other cloſe and fine Wool. In ſome Parts of Africa they have Sheep with large Tails. In Spain and Portugal they have been always famous for an excellent Breed. They have fine Sheep in Italy, more eſpecially in ſome Parts of the Kingdom of Naples. France, Flanders, and Germany abound in Sheep of various Sizes, and their Wool of different Qualities. In the Kingdom of Norway they have many Sheep, and much Wool. In the Iſles of Feroe and in Iceland the principal Subſtance of the Inhabitants conſiſts in Sheep, and they cloath themſelves with their Wool.

[f] There is an amazing Plenty of Sheep, not only in Great Britain and Ireland, through their whole Extent, but in all the ſmall Iſlands alſo dependant upon them. In Jerſey there were Sheep with Four and even with Six Horns, as there are ſtill in Feroe and Iceland. In Wight an excellent Breed both for Fleſh and Fleece. In many of the Weſtern Iſles there are as fine natural Paſtures as any. In a Word, there is not a Spot in which the Inhabitants cannot from their Flocks derive Food and Cloathing.

[g] Our Laws ſhew that we had Plenty of Sheep a Thouſand Years ago. One of our Saxon Kings, Edward the Elder, A. D. 925, married a Shepherd's Daughter. Under our Norman Kings, Wool was our great national Staple; and A. D. 1354. 28 Edward III. we exported in Wool, and in woollen Manufactures, to the Amount of more than Seven hundred Thirty-ſeven thouſand Pounds, according to the Value of our Money at this Day.

for Sheep, or rather for the Advantages ariſing from them, to carry us beyond the Meaſures that Reaſon dictated to us, in reſpect to our general Intereſts [h].

The Male of theſe Creatures, which is by us called the Ram, is held from Experience to be the principal Source of a good Breed, as the Lambs propagated by him have the ſame coloured Wool with his Fleece and Skin, and therefore a fine ſtout Ram ſells at a very high Price [i]. Theſe Rams kept for Breed are choſen with great Care from among the He-Lambs, and the reſt that are bred up are cut, and then called Weathers. The Females or Ewes bring Lambs uſually till they are Seven Years of Age, though they would live and breed to Twelve, and as ſome ſay to Twenty, but are ſeldom ſuffered to ſurvive Half that Time [k]. Sheep love open Fields and Light, but are very impatient of Heat, and for that Reaſon always in the Middle of the Summer Days affect the Shade. They are of a humid, tender, and delicate Conſtitution, very ſubject to the Rot, to the Dropſy, and in general to many more Diſeaſes than any other Animals, except Men and Horſes [l]. They thrive beſt in dry Paſtures, are endangered by moiſt Grounds and wet Weather, except only in Salt Marſhes, where they do very well. Indeed, nothing contributes to their Preſervation more than their having Recourſe, if indiſpoſed, to ſalt, hot, and bitter Herbs, ſuch as Broom, Parſley, Muſtard, Thyme, and Scurvy Graſs. They are uſually ſhorn with us, ſometime in the Month of June, before which they are carefully waſhed, that the Wool may be as clean as poſſible. Their Age

[h] This was in the Reigns of Henry VII. Henry VIII. and Edward VI. when, as hath been remarked in the former Chapter, a Spirit prevailed among the Land-owners, to give an unreaſonable Preference to Graſing. This concurring with, or perhaps being occaſioned by, the wretched Policy of the Two laſt Reigns, of debaſing the Coin, produced a general Dearneſs of all Things, and of Conſequence univerſal Diſcontent and Confuſion amongſt the Commons.

[i] As to the Signs of a good Ram, they are diſtinctly mentioned by Varro, by Virgil in his Third Georgic, and by Columella, who from the Experiments of his Uncle, M. Columella, has given more Light upon this Head than almoſt any other Author. In Spain, where the Nobility pique themſelves on the Breed of their Sheep, they give Two hundred Ducats, or Fifty Pounds, for a fine Ram. Strabo aſſures us, that in his time (under Tiberius) they gave more than Three Times that Sum for a Ram of the Breed of the Coraxi, who were a Pontic Nation believed at that Time to have the fineſt Sheep in the World.

[k] It is obſerved, that as Sheep grow older their Wool becomes finer, but then they have leſs of it. In Germany and Sweden, if a Ewe be a remarkably good Breeder, they keep her beyond the uſual Time, though her Mouth is broken, and ſupply her with ſoft Food when ſhe can no longer feed herſelf. The Ewe goes One hundred and Fifty Days or Five Months; ſhe knows her Lamb, and the Lamb her in a large Flock, though Sheep are looked on otherwiſe as very ſtupid Creatures.

[l] It is from this flegmatic Conſtitution that Sheep are expoſed to ſo many, and ſuch dangerous Diſtempers. It is obſerveable, that almoſt all the Cautions for preventing, and Remedies for the Cure of theſe, are to be found in Virgil, Columella, or ſome other of the Authors de re Ruſtica. It ſhould ſeem, that we have added little from our own Experience, which is ſingular, and the more ſo, as our Soil and Climate, and we may preſume too the Nature of our Sheep, to be in ſome Degree different from theirs.

is known by their Teeth; when a Sheep is one Shear, as they call it, they have Two broad Teeth before; when Two Shear, Four; when Three, Six; when Four, Eight; after which their Mouths begin to break [m]. They begin to bear Lambs at Two Years old, and have ſeldom more than One at a Time, ſometimes Two, very ſeldom Three. The third Lamb, that is, the Third a Ewe brings, is held to be the ſtouteſt, and commonly proves the beſt Breeder. In rich fat Paſtures the Sheep are tall, ſtrait, and of a large Size. Where they feed on Hills and ſhort Graſs they are ſmaller, but are ſtout and ſquare. In all dry Soils, whether rich or poor, they do well, but are thought to thrive beſt upon Land that is newly broken up [n].

It has been already ſaid, that Sheep are very uſeful to Men, and indeed they are not ſo only living and dead, but alſo every Part of them has its Uſes. Their Fleſh affords a pleaſant, light, and wholeſome Nutriment, inſomuch that People eat good Mutton oftener, and with leſs Satiety than any other Kind of Meat. Their Milk is much uſed in other Countries both for Butter and Cheeſe, and mixed with Cows Milk, is thought to give an excellent Flavour to the latter. It is alſo eſteemed very ſalutary, more eſpecially in Diſeaſes of the Breaſt [o]. The Skin when tanned or tawed, which is dreſſing them white, makes good Leather, and that is applied to a great Variety of Uſes. It is ſo dreſſed, in France eſpecially, as to reſemble Shamoy. Beſides this, it is made with much Skill and Pains into Parchment [p]. The Suet or Tallow is alſo a Commodity of great and general

[m] In order to underſtand this clearly it may be proper to remark, that a Lamb at a Year old hath eight Teeth in the lower Jaw, but theſe are all ſharp, or, as they are commonly called, Dog-teeth. At Two Years of Age Six of theſe remain, and in the Front they have Two broad Teeth. At Five Years old they have Eight broad, and no ſharp Teeth at all. But though their Mouths break at Seven, they will live, and their Fleeces grow, to Twenty. Vide Johnſtoni Hiſt. Nat. de Quadruped. p. 61.

[n] We have very different Kinds of Sheep in England; in Herefordſhire, Worceſterſhire, and Glouceſterſhire, for Example, they have ſmall Sheep with black Faces, which bear fine Wool, but their Burthens are not great. Warwickſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Northamptonſhire produce large boned Sheep of the beſt Shape and deepeſt Staple. Lincolnſhire the largeſt Sheep of all. In Wales the Sheep are ſmall, excellent in their Fleſh, but the ſame cannot be ſaid of their Fleece.

[o] Sanctorius has eſtabliſhed the Superiority of Mutton as an Animal Food from Experiment. Proſper Alpinus aſſures us, that the Arabs half boil their Mutton, then put it in a Pot well ſtopp'd, and ſo carry it even in their Journies under that hot Climate for Twenty Days without corrupting. Sheep's Milk is ſtill much uſed in ſome Countries, and is very rich in its Nature. The Brain, the Gall, the Oeſypus, or Sweat on the Thighs, the unwaſhed Wool, the Fat, Lungs, Cawl, Dung, Urine, Bladder, Head, Feet, incinerated Bones, and Rennet, are all uſed in Phyſick.

[p] The Curriers have many different Methods of dreſſing Skins, according to the different Purpoſes to which they are applied. Amongſt others, a Method hath been found to make them reſemble Shagreen. At Rome and Paris they diſcovered the Means of ſeparating, by the Help of Lime,

general Utility, ſo that what is annually conſumed, eſpecially at its preſent Price, amounts to a great Sum. Several Toys and other Utenſils are made of the Bones. The very Dung is eſteemed the beſt of all others, more eſpecially for cold Clays. It is for this Purpoſe that they are kept in Folds upon the Land, which by this Means is enriched by the Urine as well as the Dung, and the more if the Ground be ploughed immediately after the Sheep are removed, ſo that the Salts are leſs exhaled [q]. But the beſt Improvement is made in Flanders by the Help of a covered Fold, in which their Urine and Dung is mixed with Earth, Sand, &c. and this is afterwards ſpread upon the Land, which Method is alſo in ſome Places practiſed here. The vaſt Advantages which in this Reſpect are derived from theſe Animals, may by mature Meditation be clearly conceived, though it could not be eaſily reduced to Calculation [r]. The Swedes have endeavoured to expreſs it in a Proverb; "Sheep, "ſay they," have golden "Feet, and where-ever the Print of them appears the Soil is turned into "Gold."

THEIR Wool however, as the great Source of Profit, hath always been eſteemed the principal Thing to be regarded in Sheep, and by which their Excellence was to be diſtinguiſhed and determined [s]. In this Light our Wool has been very highly conſidered for a long Series of Ages abroad as well as at home, and as ſuch hath been a continual and a copious Source of Induſtry and Wealth to this Nation. A Subject, which as our Plan requires, we ſhall endeavour ſuccinctly to explain. It cannot be doubted, that as the Inhabitants of Britain and Ireland, ſo the Sheep alſo came origi-

Lime, the Epidermis or upper Tegument of the Sheep-ſkin, which prepared in a particular Manner is called Cuir de Poule, and the Gloves made of it Chicken Gloves. The Value of Sheep and Lambſkins is very conſiderable.

[q] There is ſcarce any Article reſpecting Agriculture in which Authors, ancient and modern, ſo clearly agree, as in prefering this to all other Dungs, which Unanimity can only be founded in Experience Mr. Liſle obſerves, the Virtue of Sheep's Dung varies according to the Food of the Animal. He ſays alſo, that the Dung of Ewes is preferable to that of Weathers. It is not only their Dung, but the very treading and lying of Sheep upon the Ground that warms and improves it.

[r] In ſome Parts of England they give Twelve Pence a Night for the Tails (as they Phraſe it) of an Hundred Sheep, that is for folding them One Night on the Ground. By this, ſome Gueſs might be formed of the Advantage derived this Way from Sheep. But it will be ſtill clearer, if we recollect what in the former Chapter hath been cited from Sir Richard Weſton, who affirms by the Method mentioned in the Text, the ſandy Heaths in Brabant were brought to produce twice, nay, thrice as much as the beſt natural Lands in the Province.

[s] Sheep are the only Creatures that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, bear Wool, and the French ſtile them very properly Betes a Laine. This Subſtance, which is compoſed of very fine Threads, twiſted in a particular Manner, ariſes from the moiſt lax Conſtitution of the Animal, the peculiar Texture of the Skin, and the Nature of its Food. If the Reader is inclined to ſee a very ſuccinct as well as ſcientific Hiſtory of the Sheep, he may conſult the Syſtema Naturæ of the learned and accurate Linnæus, vol. i. p. 70. Edit. xma.

nally

nally hither from ſome other Country, and moſt probably, for many Reaſons that might be aſſigned, from Spain [t]. But as to what is reported of Henry the Second, or ſome other of our Princes, ſending for Rams or Sheep from thence, in order to improve our Breed, it ſeems to be equally abſurd and fabulous [u]. Our Wool continued a ſtaple Commodity for many Ages after we had the Manufacture; and at what Time this was firſt introduced, is, in which there is nothing ſtrange, very far from being diſtinct or clear. But that we had it, at leaſt in ſome Degree, about the Beginning of the Twelfth Century is very certain [w]: Though it muſt be acknowledged the Introduction of it is commonly placed much lower, even by very intelligent Writers. There ſeems to be but ſmall if any Foundation for the Tale of Edward the Fourth ſending over ſome Engliſh Sheep from Cotſwold, from whence the excellent Breed of Sheep in Spain are ſuppoſed to be derived [x]. What the Spaniards themſelves ſay, that their Wool was much improved by the Care of Cardinal Ximenes, in bringing over Rams from Africa; that, is Rams bred by the Arabians there, is much more probable, and a practice by no means new in Spain, where the Management and Improvement of their Flocks hath been always the favoured Point of their Oeconomy [y].

As

[t] It is the Opinion of the moſt learned and judicious Authors, that the Northern Parts of this great Iſland were peopled from Germany, the Southern from Gaul, and the Weſtern from Spain; and there ſeems to be little Doubt, that the original Inhabitants of Ireland came from the ſame Country. There is therefore nothing unreaſonable in ſuppoſing they brought over Sheep with them, which ſeems to be confirmed by the Breed being the ſame in both Iſlands, and having a great Reſemblance unto thoſe of Spain.

[u] Part of the Ranſom of King Richard I. was raiſed by a Loan of Wool, which ſhews that long before this it was a ſtaple Commodity. P. Chomel, in his Dictionnaire Oeconomique, gives us a long formal Story of a wiſe King of England, who ſent an Ambaſſador to a King of Caſtile, from whom he procured Three Thouſand Sheep, which he diſtributed, a Ram and Two Ewes, to every Pariſh in which there was proper Paſture: All which is a pure Fiction, intended to ſhew how eaſily ſuch a ſcheme might be executed in France. It is Conjecture, not Authority that applies this to Henry II. But againſt this, our Hiſtory furniſhes a Fact that ſeems to be deciſive: For that Monarch, in the Thirty-firſt Year of his Reign, granted a Patent to the Weavers of London, that if any Cloth was found to be compoſed of Spaniſh mixed with Engliſh Wool, it ſhould be burned by the Mayor. Stowe's Annals, p. 419.

[w] In the former Note it hath been ſhewn, that we had this Manufacture, and were jealous of it, A. D. 1185. In A. D. 1224, we have an Act of Parliament regulating the Breadth of Cloths. Upon this Statute Sir Edward Coke very juſtly obſerves, that though this is the firſt Law reſpecting it, the Woollen Manufacture had nevertheleſs ſubſiſted here from Times beyond Memory. Yet our Hiſtorians fix it to A. D. 1331, which was 28th Edward III. becauſe in that Year the King brought John Kemp and other woollen Weavers from Flanders.

[x] The only Authority for this is Hall's Chronicle of Edward VI. fol. vii. and he miſtakes the Year of the Treaty. Some foreign Writers reverſe the Story, and ſay it was Edward IV. who procured Sheep from Spain. But the great Objection is, that allowing the Fact of a Preſent made to the King of Arragon of Sheep from Coteſwold, the fine Wool of Spain is not in Arragon but in Caſtile, and had been there long before this Time. It would have been eaſier for them to have mended their Breed from thence than from England.

[y] The Lanas Caſtillas, or fine Wools of Caſtile, are divided into Segovianas, Leoniſas, Segovias, Sorias, and Molinas. The Wools of Arragon are Albarazins, fine and middle, the Campos, and the blacks

As Wool and woollen Manufactures continued for many Ages the principal Commodities of this Country, ſo we need not wonder, that during this Space they were both of them the conſtant Objects of Government [z]. Our Kings drew a very large Revenue from the Cuſtom upon Wool exported, a great Part of which, though not all, went into the Low Countries, where it was manufactured in great Perfection, to the no ſmall Emolument of the Inhabitants, who while they could be plentifully ſupplied by us, did not give themſelves much Concern about procuring Wool from other Countries [a]. As our Manufacture alſo became conſiderable, and much of our woollen Cloth was exported, many Regulations were thought neceſſary for fixing the Reputation of it, by aſcertaining the Fineneſs and Meaſure of the reſpective Kinds of Cloth at home, and the aſſigning certain Ports both here and in foreign Parts from which, and to which only, they ſhould be exported, and theſe were ſtiled STAPLES which, according to the fluctuating Politics of thoſe Times, were frequently changed [b]. From the ſame Cauſe aroſe the Privileges granted at different Times, with reſpect to the Company of foreign MERCHANTS of the STEEL-YARD, and the Engliſh Company of MERCHANT ADVENTURERS, with Reſtraints upon the Reſt of the Subjects from exporting Cloths, which though they appear to us very ſtrange, and utterly incompatible with the publick Intereſt, were not ſeen in that Light then, at leaſt by thoſe who were intruſted with

Wool of Saragoſſa. There are alſo fine Wools from Portugal and Navarre. We have generally imported the Prime of the Caſtilian Wools, which were uſed in making our fineſt Cloths; our own from Herefordſhire, Coteſwold, and the Iſle of Wight being equal to the Reſt of the Caſtilian Wools in all Reſpects.

[z] It was for this Reaſon we find more Laws relating to them than in Reference to any other Subject. At home they made the Bulk of private Property. The Wealth of the Nobility, Clergy, and Monaſteries conſiſted chiefly in Wool. It was at the ſame Time the prime Article in Commerce. Aids to the Crown were granted therein. It ſupplied the Demands for the Support of Armies, the Payment of Subſidies, and all other Expences incurred on the Account of the Publick in foreign Parts.

[a] It was the Intercourſe in reſpect to Trade, that occaſioned for a long Series of Years ſo cloſe a Conjunction between the Two States, which was equally conducive to their Intereſts. Our Wools long ſupported their Manufactures, in which they were alſo our Maſters, as they likewiſe were in other Arts. But this Harmony between the States was ſometimes interrupted, generally through the Quarrels and Caprices of their Princes, and to the no ſmall Detriment of their reſpective Subjects, which however, when felt, brought them together again.

[b] There were various Motives aſſigned for the fixing and removing theſe Staples; but the great Object therein was the gaining a more perfect Knowledge of what was exported, and ſecuring the Cuſtom. But whatever the Object might be, the Places abroad and at home, where theſe Staples were fixed (though but for a Time) were exceedingly benefited by them. Thoſe originally aſſigned for England were Briſtol, Canterbury, Chicheſter, Exeter, Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Norwich, Weſtminſter, and York. For Wales, Caermarthen. For Ireland, Cork, Drogheda, Dublin, and Waterford. To facilitate Exportation they were to be ſent from York to Hull, from Lincoln to Boſton, from Norwich to Yarmouth, from Weſtminſter to London, from Canterbury to Sandwich, and from Wincheſter to Southampton.

Power [c]. In point of Fact however, very great Exportations were made, which could not but be very advantageous to this Nation, and at the ſame Time the Wealth of theſe Corporations enabled them to make great Loans, and to be in other Reſpects very ſerviceable to Government, which, generally ſpeaking, preſerved them againſt the Complaints that from time to time were very naturally raiſed againſt ſuch Monopolies [d]. But in Proceſs of Time, as Commerce became better underſtood, and a Spirit of Freedom gradually prevailed, the firſt of theſe Companies gave way, though the latter ſtill maintained its Ground, as being compoſed of Engliſh Merchants, whoſe Gains, whatever they were, naturally and neceſſarily centered in this Country, which made their Monopoly, though ſtill a Monopoly, more tolerable, and at the ſame Time the great Riches they acquired, gave them a very extenſive Influence, and procured them very conſiderable Support [e].

In the glorious Reign of Queen Elizabeth, many wiſe Laws were enacted for promoting our foreign Trade, ſeveral of which were in many Reſpects very favourable to this important Manufacture. Beſides, many new Channels were opened and ſeveral of theſe left free, by which in a Courſe of Years, the Exportation of Woollen Cloths of different Sorts was ſo increaſed, as to amount to a Million and a Half annually [f]. It does not how-

[c] Theſe great and opulent Companies, by Means of their extenſive Correſpondence abroad, and their numerous Connections, ſupported by their Privileges here, were enabled to export annually immenſe Quantities of Cloth to foreign Markets with much Regularity and Certainty, which naturally recommended them to every Government, who, as it was natural, preferred that Stability in Trade which certainly anſwered beſt to them, to the laying it open, though that might, in many Reſpects, have anſwered better to the People.

[d] The Trade to France, Italy, and the Iſles adjacent, at leaſt in ſome Periods, were in reſpect to Wool and Woollen Cloths left free. This gave the Subjects ſome Notions of unreſtrained Commerce, and indiſpoſed them eſpecially againſt the Merchants of the Hanſe. Yet even in regard to the Trade to Italy, it was not carried on in our Veſſels, but the Merchants from Genoa and other Places came with their Commodities to Southampton, ſold them to our Merchants, and took their Value in our Goods.

[e] In A. D. 1552 the Company of the Stilyard were diſſolved for the Abuſe of their Charter. But our Hiſtorians give an obſcure Account of the Matter, in ſaying they exported 44,000 Cloths, and all other Merchants but 1100. It could be no Crime to export a large Quantity of our Manufactures either againſt the Crown or the Nation. What was it then? Sir John Hayward (Kennet's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 326) ſays, all the other foreign Merchants exported but 1100 Cloths. The Merchants of the Stilyard were by their Charter favoured in their Cuſtoms, and in the Reign of Edward IV. forfeited their Charter for colouring other Strangers Goods, that is, exporting them as if they had been theirs, but had it reſtored. It is moſt likely they were guilty of the ſame Fault now. They were proſecuted before the Council by the Merchant Adventurers.

[f] There were ſome prudent Regulations made in reſpect to the Manufacture. A kind Reception was given to the Proteſtant Weavers driven out of Flanders by the Duke of Alva. The Purity of the Coin was reſtored. Trade was opened with Holland, France, and the Streights. After Antwerp was deſtroyed, a new Correſpondence aroſe from our Staples being transferred to Embden, Middleburgh, Stade, and Hamburgh. Our Commerce to Turkey, Barbary, and the Eaſt Indies, now firſt eſtabliſhed, procured us Variety of new Markets.

ever appear that there was any Prohibition by Law againſt the exporting of Wool, of which however there was probably no great Quantity ſent abroad, by reaſon of the great Demands of our Manufacturers at home. Theſe Circumſtances being duly and candidly conſidered, foreign Hiſtorians, and particularly the learned Grotius, and the judicious Preſident de Thou, are very excuſable, in ſuppoſing that our Woollen Manufacture was eſtabliſhed in this, or at the higheſt in King Edward's Reign, though it imports us very much to know, that in this Reſpect they were certainly very much miſtaken [g]. In the ſucceeding Reign the Exportation of Wool was forbidden by Proclamation, but was nevertheleſs probably permitted under Licences [h]. At length, Anno Domini 1614, a very plauſible Propoſal was made, and met with the Approbation of the Crown, which was for reſtraining the Exportation of white Cloths, and ſuffering only ſuch to be ſent abroad as were dreſſed and dyed at home. It is very evident, that if the End, which by this Meaſure was propoſed, could have been compaſſed, as in ſome Degree it might poſſibly have been, if the Dreſſing and Dyeing, in order to their being one as cheap as poſſible, had been left free, it would in a national Light have been very beneficial, by increaſing the Number of Hands employed in the Manufacture at home [i]. But as it was managed it proved highly detrimental. For as hitherto Foreigners, and eſpecially the People of the Low Countries, having participated in the Profit by Dreſſing and Dyeing our white Cloths, this intereſted them in extending their Sale; upon the depriving them of that Advantage they revolted againſt this Scheme, and being no longer ſupplied with our Wool as they

[g] Grot. de Rebus Belg. lib. vii. aſſerts, that in former Times Commerce was wholly in the Hands of the trading Cities in Germany, who had an Eſtabliſhment at London; the Engliſh in thoſe Days balanced in a great Meaſure with other Nations from the Produce of their Paſtures, exporting nothing but raw Wool till in the Reign of Edward baniſhed Perſons from the Low Countries taught them how to manufacture their own Wool, which enabled them to get rid of the Merchants of the Stilyard. Thuan. Hiſt. ſui Temporis, lib. xlvi. after giving a moſt pathetic Detail of the Cruelties of the Duke of Alva and their Conſequences, aſſures us, that it was from the Flemiſh Fugitives who fled hither from his Severities, that we learned all our Manufactures, having no Arts amongſt us before, except Agriculture and Gardening, adding a Liſt of Towns with Norwich at their Head, which being decayed and deſerted, were repaired and inhabited by theſe induſtrious Refugees.

[h] There are many Inſtances almoſt in every Reign of prohibiting or reſtraining the Exportation of Wool, ſometimes under the ſevereſt Penalties, which were always looked on as Grievances, becauſe the Intention was not to keep Wool at home, but to extort Money beyond the Subſidy (though that was very large) for a diſpenſing Licence, which was not refuſed if well paid for. Under this Reign the Prohibition was a popular Meaſure, Wool being dear, and the Licences were occaſional Reſources for the Supply of a neceſſitous Treaſury.

[i] This was by no Means a new Thought, for there had been a Statute made 27 Henry VIII. prohibiting the Exportation of white Cloths above the Value of Four Pounds a Cloth. But after ſome Years Experience the Merchant Adventurers repreſented this as highly prejudicial to Trade, and Q. Elizabeth granted them a Licence to export white Cloths, *non obſtante* this Statute. By this they recovered the Trade ſo as to vend 80,000 Cloths annually, all other Merchants remaining bound by that Statute.

had been formerly, began to look out for other Markets, and to ſtrike more generally into the Manufacture than they had done, in both which their Example was followed in Germany, which proved ſo manifeſtly injurious to our Trade, that in Two Years this Project was given up[k]. This palliated but did not cure the Wound. We have dwelt the longer upon this as it is by much the moſt remarkable Circumſtance in the Hiſtory of the Woollen Manufactory.

CHARLES the Firſt, after the Example of his Father, prohibited the Exportation of Wool by Proclamation, as a Thing, on account of the Dearneſs of Wool, generally acceptable to the People[l]. Some Regulations were alſo made in the ſame Reign in reſpect to the Company of Merchant Adventurers, which however, becauſe they ſtill left it a Monopoly, were not ſatisfactory. When the Parliament aſſumed the Power, Application was made to them on that Subject; but the Company advancing a Sum of Money for their Service, were allowed to retain their Privileges. In 1647, the Exportation of Wool, as agreeable to the Senſe of the Publick, was prohibited by an Ordinance of both Houſes, and after the Reſtoration this Prohibition was renewed by more than One Law under the ſevereſt Penalties[m]. When M. Colbert entered on his ſo much celebrated Plan for ſettling Manufac-

[k] It was the great Sale of the Merchant Adventurers which produced this Overture from Alderman Cockain and his Aſſociates, who procured a Patent for Dreſſing and Dyeing Cloths. They were oppoſed by the old Company at home, their Cloths were prohibited abroad, which produced an abſolute Stagnation of Trade, which intimidated the new Company. The Conſequences might have been, and indeed were ſoon diſcerned, and by an immediate Recall of the Patent might have been in a great Meaſure prevented. But according to the procraſtinating Humour of the Times, and out of too great Deference for ſome powerful Perſons who patronized the Project, it was over and over canvaſſed in Council, and not cancelled at laſt till voted a Monopoly by the Houſe of Commons. See Lord Bacon's Works, 1765, 4to. vol. iii. p. 327, 328. Coke's Detection of the Four laſt Reigns, p. 43.

[l] There was ever in this a great Jealouſy of other Nations depriving us of our Wool. At firſt it was apprehended from carrying abroad live Rams and Sheep, which was forbid by Proclamation ſo early as A. D. 1338, by Edward III. and again by a Law, A. D. 1424, in the Reign of Henry VI. The Practice however continued, which occaſioned the ſevere Statute 8 Eliz. cap. iii. by which for the firſt Offence the Criminal was to forfeit all his Goods, ſuffer Impriſonment for a Year, and Loſs of the Left Hand to be nailed up in the moſt conſpicuous Part of the Market Place where the Puniſhment was inflicted, and the ſecond Offence was declared Felony. This Law has been often ſaid to be againſt exporting Wool. But no ſuch Law paſſed during that or the Two ſucceeding Reigns, it was only prohibited by King James's Proclamation, A. D. 1604, and again by this of King Charles in A. D. 1630. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xix. p. 155.

[m] See the Three Statutes of the 12th, 13th, and 14th of Charles II. In the Preamble to the Firſt, the Deſign of the Act is declared to be, finding Employment ſufficient for the Poor, and that the whole Benefit derivable from the native Commodities of this Realm may redound to, and be ſolely enjoyed by its Subjects. It alſo enacts, that if any Perſon ſhall tranſport, or as Traders cauſe to be tranſported, Sheep, Wool, &c. and be convicted thereof, they ſhall be diſabled from requiring any Debt or Account from any Factors or Debtors, without taking away the heavier Penalty in the Act before mentioned.

tures in France, that of Wool was one of the firſt undertaken, and proſecuted with the greateſt Effect, which, as it excited much Jealouſy, ſo it occaſioned many, and thoſe not ineffectual Precautions, to be taken for the Security of this valuable Branch of Induſtry and Commerce here [n]. Soon after the Revolution, the Woollen Trade, in point of Exportation, a Thing ardently and univerſally wiſhed, was ſet entirely free, and from that Time, in every Reign, the Legiſlature hath ſhewn all poſſible Attention to its Encouragement and Support [o]. With this View many new Laws have been made to prevent by every poſſible Method the clandeſtine Exportation of Wool, either from Britain or Ireland, and for regulating the Trade of the latter, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, ſo as to prevent its becoming injurious to the former. By removing thoſe Impoſitions, which, however tolerable while we had fewer Rivals, were now no longer to be ſuſtained; by providing as far as Laws can provide for the due making and manufacturing of Cloth, and other Kinds of Drapery, that the Reputation of our Woollen Goods might not ſuffer in foreign Parts, through any Frauds in the making; by ſecuring the Journeymen from any Injuſtice or Oppreſſion from the Avarice of their Maſters, and by every other Means that appeared to have a rational Tendency to the preſerving this important Object, and which ought to be conſidered as none of the leaſt Marks of Kindneſs and Attention, altering, amending, and repealing [p] ſuch of theſe Laws as from Experience were diſcovered, from a Change of Circumſtances or any other Cauſes, to be ineffectual or injurious.

[n] It muſt be obſerved, that as we had Holland and Germany before, ſo from this Period France became our Rival, and a very formidable Rival ſhe hath been, though confeſſedly inferior in the Material, at leaſt of her own Growth. But this was made up by large Aſſiſtances from Government, Aſſiduity in Management, well planned Eſtabliſhments, the Aid of foreign Artificers, and Cheapneſs of Labour. All theſe have been ſteadily employed in the Support of her Manufactures ever ſince.

[o] In conſequence of ſeveral of theſe Laws, which removed many Obſtacles, furniſhed various Encouragements, and promoted a general and vigorous Spirit of Induſtry, the Engliſh Woollen Manufactory was enabled to cope with all its Rivals, more eſpecially by the Treaty concluded with Portugal in 1703, and the Demands from our own Plantations, particularly on the Continent of North America, and other new Channels of Trade that were opened, by our Merchants being releaſed from all Reſtraints, and left at full Liberty to promote the publick Intereſt and their own.

[p] This abundantly appears in the many Laws for regulating the ſeveral Sorts of Drapery, ſo as to correct every Species of Fraud, and to amend every Defect as ſoon as either was diſcovered. By the Statute, 11 William III. cap. xx. § i. All Duties on all Cloths and Woollen Goods, and Subſidy and Aulnage, were taken away. Yet by the Statute, 6 Ann, cap. xx. § i. a Duty of Five Shillings was, and from very prudent Motives, again impoſed on every Piece of broad Cloth exported White, but without any Reſtraint of Exportation. By ſeveral Laws paſſed in the Reign of King William, Ports in Ireland were fixed, from which only Wool was to be exported, and this only to certain aſſigned Ports in England, in which ſome Alterations were made in the Reign of Queen Anne. But in A. D. 1753, all theſe Reſtraints were taken away, and all the Ports opened for this Purpoſe in both Iſlands.

It is not to be doubted, that we have throughout theſe Iſlands very great natural Advantages in reſpect both to this valuable Material and its Manufacture, and ſuch as in regard to either cannot be taken from us [q]. For we have Sheep of very different Sizes, and their Wool is alſo of very different Qualities, yet all of them ſerviceable to ſome Purpoſe or other, and conſequently all of ſome, though not of the ſame Worth [r]. The Spaniſh Wools that we import are only thoſe of their firſt and fineſt Sort, ſince we have enough of our own, equal if not ſuperior to the Reſt. And with regard to thoſe fine Spaniſh Wools, they are equally neceſſary for the Uſes to which we apply them to the French, the Dutch, and all other Nations [s]. We have been able therefore to enter into every Branch of the Cloth and Stuff Manufactures, known in our Statute Books by the Name of Old and New Draperies, and to carry them to the higheſt Perfection. Beſides entering into the Fabric of theſe, Wool is employed in a vaſt Variety of Ways, in the making of Caps, Gloves, Stockings, and a long &c. of other Articles, ſo that the very Liſt of them, and of thoſe to whom they give Subſiſtence, though ever ſo briefly ſet down and explained, would ſwell to a conſiderable Treatiſe [t]. It is therefore much eaſier to conceive than it would be to compute, the prodigious Multitudes that are employed by them, and theſe too Perſons of all Ages and Sexes, ſo that nothing can extend farther

[q] In reſpect to the Excellency of Wool, the firſt Point is the Breed, and it is well known that we have as fine Rams as any in Europe. The next is the Paſture, and our Downs are as good natural feeding Grounds as are to be found in moſt Countries. The laſt Thing is the Care and Management, which is facilitated by the Mildneſs of our Climate, more ſuitable to Sheep than that of Italy. Add to this, our being entirely exempt from Wolves, and in a great Degree from all other ravenous Animals. Our Skill in the Manufacture, though derived originally from Foreigners, is now ſo much improved by Experience, that our very Rivals recommend their Goods by ſaying they are of the Engliſh Make, or reſemble Cloths from London. In this Situation it is evident we have but one Difficulty to overcome, which is the Dearneſs of our Labour.

[r] Our ſmalleſt Sheep weigh from under Five to Seven Stone, allowing Eight Pounds to a Stone. Theſe commonly bear fine Wool, and whereas in ſome Northern Countries ſuch Sheep ſeldom carry more than One Pound, ours carry at leaſt five Pounds. Our middle ſized weigh from Eight to Eleven Stone. Our largeſt Sheep from Eighteen to Twenty Stone. Our Ewes commonly bear Twelve Pounds, and our large Weathers from Fourteen to Eighteen Pounds of Wool, which by due Attention is rendered both long and fine.

[s] The judicious and accurate Mr. Liſle tells us, that the Clothiers complained in his Time that Spaniſh Wool was not ſo fine as formerly, and that they ſaid the ſame with regard to our Herefordſhire Wool. He likewiſe acquaints us, that amongſt the Spaniſh Wool there is often found a Bur, which being ſcattered on the Ground produced a Sort of Medica, the Feeding on which he ſuppoſes to have an Effect on the Wool, but can by no Means determine (which however deſerves to be inquired into) whether it contributes to Fineneſs or Coarſeneſs.

[t] It has been poſitively aſſerted, that from the Wool-grower to the Conſumer, a Piece of Broad Cloth paſſes through One hundred different Hands. It is as certain there are near the ſame Number of Trades dependent on the Woollen Manufacture, though not actually concerned in it. But if we add to theſe the numerous Trades employed in the ſeveral beneficial Commodities ariſing from Sheep, excluſive of Wool, ſuch as Tallow, Skins, Catgut, &c. and the Retailers of theſe when manufactured, it will render the following Calculation more intelligible.

or wider than the Produce of Wool in the Benefits derived from it to the whole Community [u]. Add to all this, that though the Crown no longer receives any Subsidy on Wool exported, or any Duties on most Branches of its Manufacture, yet it may be justly considered as contributing much more to the publick Revenue than in former Times, if we reflect on the amazing Consumption constantly and necessarily made by the Multitude of Persons employed therein of all exciseable Commodities [w]. Yet nowithstanding that already so much hath been done, there is no Doubt that much more may and will be done, in respect as well to the Material as the Manufacture. Our Wools, though in their present State scarce inferior to any, may still be considerably and generally improved [x]; and without Question there are a vast Variety of different Kinds of Woollen Goods that may be invented and wrought, which hitherto have never appeared in our Market; and as from the Ingenuity and Dexterity of our Manufacturers, so much has been effected in this Age, Posterity instructed by their Example, will, from a Principle of Emulation, undoubtedly carry it farther.

THERE is no Question, that in North as well as in South Britain, since it was originally peopled, there have been always Sheep and Wool, and these were formerly manufactured, not barely for the Use of the Natives,

[u] Many Computations have been made on this important Subject, and, amongst others, One about Thirty Years since, which at that Time was thought to be pretty near the Truth. According to the best Informations that can be obtained there may be from Ten to Twelve Millions of Sheep in England, some think more. The Value of their Wool may One Year with another, amount to Three Millions, the Expence of manufacturing this may probably be Nine Millions, and the total Value Twelve Millions. We may export annually to the Value of Three Millions, though One Year we exported more than Four. In Reference to the Number of Persons who are maintained by this Manufacture, there are probably upwards of a Million. Sanguine Men will judge these Computations too low, and few will believe them too high.

[w] The Duties on Cloth as well as Wool were of very old Standing. By a Patent Roll, 30 H. III. m. 4. it appears, that Monarch exempted Simon de Campis, Merchant of Douay, from paying any Duty on Cloths purchased here for Three Years. As this Trade encreased, the Revenue arising from it augmented, so as to become a very interesting Object in that Respect. But according to the present Mode of Taxation it is become much more considerable, since all who are employed in all these numerous and extensive Branches of Manufacture, must expend what they earn in all Kinds of Necessaries, which if we advert to their Numbers before, if not exactly, is at least under-rated, ought to be computed at between One and Two Millions, another Circumstance that puts Sheep, and what is produced from them, in a strong Point of Light.

[x] In respect to what may be effected by Attention to Breed it is well understood and practised. By this the Hair of Cornish Sheep hath been improved into good Wool. To this we owe, that exceeding fine, long, soft, shining, combing Wool from the Sheep in some Parts of Leicestershire, and the South Marshes of Lincolnshire, as also the long Wool from Warwick, Northampton, Rutlandshire, Rumney Marsh, &c. and indeed more or less in most Counties where due Attention hath been paid to this Circumstance. There is no Doubt therefore that this Advantage may be extended over all this Island. Mr. Stillingfleet's Proposal of sowing the best Grasses pure, will furnish, in Conjunction with fine Hay and Turnips in the Winter, the most proper Nourishment for the fine Fleece, which may of Course in like Manner with the Breed, and with like Facility, be expended.

but

but even, and that in no inconſiderable Quantities, for Exportation [y]. But as from a Variety of Circumſtances, the People of England came in Proceſs of Time to excel all other Nations in every Species of Drapery, it is no great Wonder, that the Trade, and in conſequence of that, the Manufacture of Scotland declined; and that thoſe who could afford it, choſe rather to purchaſe fine Cloths from their next Neighbours than to wear coarſe ones made at home [z]. However, before the Union, when the Nations were upon ill Terms with each other, ſome Attempts were made for reviving the Woollen Manufacture in this Part of the Iſland, and theſe Efforts were attended, though not with very great, yet with ſome Degree of Succeſs [a]. For the Wools of the Sheep in Lammer Moor, which is a very great Diſtrict in the Shire of Berwick, and in the ſeveral Shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Tweedale, Galloway, Carrick, Stirling, Dunbarton, and Fife, are ſtill for a Variety of Purpoſes in good Repute; neither are the Wools of Aberdeen, Sutherland, and Roſsſhire contemptible. But ſince that happy Event, the beſt of the South Country Wools have been ſold to their Neighbours, and the People here have in general contented themſelves with making a few Species of coarſe Goods for the Wear of the common People, more eſpecially ſince the Year One thouſand Seven hundred and Twenty-ſeven, when the Linnen Manufacture came to be encouraged by the Public [b]. In the Weſtern and Northern Iſles indeed, they ſtill continue to cloath themſelves with their own Produce. But if Induſtry and Commerce come to take Place amongſt them, there is little Reaſon to doubt, that they will follow

[y] Antient Hiſtories in North as well as South Britain record little relative to Manufactures and Commerce. Yet this is no Proof againſt their Exiſtence. The Scots, whatever might be the Caſe of the Picts, were always cloathed, and probably with their own Wool. In the Reign of their King James III. A. D. 1486, we find an Act of Parliament for the juſt Meaſuring of Cloth. In A. D. 1511, they exported into the Dominions of the Emperor Maximilian Cloth to about Half the Value of what was at that Time exported from England.

[z] This, before the Junction of the Two Kingdoms, was a favourite Trade with the Engliſh, becauſe it conſiſted chiefly in fine Goods; this was an open Trade, not included in the Charter of the Merchant Adventurers; and becauſe by the Help of the Scots Merchants conſiderable Quantities were exported into the Low Countries and other Places, to which theſe unincorporated Engliſh Merchants could not carry on a direct Commerce, this Trade therefore in ſome Meaſure continued even when the Peace between the Two Nations was interrupted.

[a] It was in the latter End of the Reign of Charles II. and when his Brother the Duke of York was Commiſſioner in this Country, that they ſet about reviving the Woollen Manufacture, and this Spirit ſubſiſted for ſome Years. In this Space they made as fine Cloths, and ſome other Species of Goods not inferior to thoſe made in England, but with a Loſs of 25 per Cent. notwithſtanding the Support of their Government, which with theſe Manufactures were determined by the Union.

[b] Advantages of promoting Manufactories, Edinburgh, 1683. Spruel's Account Current between England and Scotland, 1705. Intereſt of Scotland conſidered, Edinburgh, 1733. The laſt Author had the Intereſt of his Country very much at Heart, and underſtood it well. He had no Idea of eſtabliſhing the Woollen Manufacture there, from their Want of Skill in the Management, their Want of Money to raiſe and ſupport it, and their total Want of Means to reſiſt the Jealouſy which ſuch an Attempt would excite.

the Example of their Countrymen on the Continent, and affect to wear good Cloaths as ſoon as they find themſelves in a Condition to pay for them, which in that Caſe would be a great Benefit to this Country, and no Prejudice at all to them [c].

Ireland hath alſo always had a good Breed of Sheep, and the Excellence of their Wool for moſt Sorts of Manufactures is not to be diſputed, though for a long Series of Years, through the continual Wars and Diſturbances in that Country, much overlooked and neglected [d]. But after the Prohibition of ſending over their Black Cattle hither, A. D. 1666, they were in a Manner compelled to do what they could to repair that Loſs, by working up their Wool, in which they ſoon became very ſucceſsful, more eſpecially in Frizes and ſome other Kinds of Goods, which they made in great Perfection [e]. But the Country being again plunged in a civil War, this and every Species of Induſtry was interrupted, and which was ſtill worſe, prodigious Quantities of their Sheep were deſtroyed [f]. In a few Years

[c] Their Funds ought to ariſe from their Fiſheries, and the Manufactures and Commerce neceſſary to, or proceeding from them. For it will be the conſtant Endeavour of every wiſe Adminiſtration to promote extenſive Agriculture, and from thence a general Plenty through the whole Britiſh Dominions, to excite and encourage Induſtry every where, and by every Means, directing it always to proper Objects, ſo that an aſſiduous Exertion of Individuals, purſuing their private Intereſts in all Places, may, without croſſing or claſhing with each other, concur to the Accompliſhment of publick Good.

[d] The Iriſh Wool in general, but eſpecially in Limerick, Kilkenny, Kerry, Waterford, Cork, and other Counties, is fine long combing Wool, than which there is little in England ſuperior. It is this makes it ſo acceptable in foreign Parts, where it is not our ſhort fine Wools they deſire to have for the making fine Cloths; for theſe they may, and do procure from Spain and Portugal, but that before deſcribed, which is indeed not common, and therefore valuable in other Countries.

[e] We may ſafely affirm, that no Law was ever ſo warmly attacked, or ſo indifferently defended, as this for prohibiting the Importation of Iriſh Cattle, and yet being a popular Law it was perſiſted in, and by ſubſequent Statutes enforced. The Conduct of the People of Ireland was natural, and ſuch as might have been, and probably was foreſeen; and ſome Engliſh Manufacturers attentive to their own Intereſts, and knowing the numerous, and in reſpect to Manufactures and Commerce, important Advantages of Ireland, went over and ſet up there. It was not at all pleaſing here even in this Period, that the Iriſh ſhould manufacture for Exportation (though even then Wool could not be exported to foreign Parts); but as the Bulk of their Exportation conſiſted in Frizes and coarſe Stockings, which did not interfere with the Trade of England, it produced no new legal Reſtraint.

[f] The War that followed the Revolution in Ireland contributed to the Ruin of their Woollen Manufactures many different Ways. The Places where they were eſtabliſhed ſuffered by the Military Operations. Some who were at the Head of them returned to England. Numbers of the inferior Sorts fled into other Countries. The ſupplying Camps, the maintaining Garriſons, and the Depredations of the Soldiers and the native Iriſh, deſtroyed vaſt Numbers of Sheep. But as ſoon as the Nation was quiet, and the Manufactures re-eſtabliſhed, the Spirit of Jealouſy revived here, and ſhewed itſelf in ſeveral Inſtances, ſome of which will be hereafter mentioned, all pointing to that Meaſure which was thought to be the only effectual Remedy which was propoſed, in A. D. 1698, in an Addreſs to the Crown, and paſſed into a Law the Year following.

however after the Revolution, when Things were once more reduced into Order, the Woollen Manufactory began again to lift up its Head, and in a ſhort Time became ſo flouriſhing as to excite Apprehenſions here, on a Point of all others as to which with great Reaſon this Nation was moſt jealous; and therefore as the publick Tranquillity in Ireland had been reſtored at a great Expence of Engliſh Blood and Treaſure, it was thought neceſſary, the rather becauſe the Cheapneſs of Labour would have given great Advantages to the People there, to reſtrain by Law the Exportation of Wool and Woollen Manufactures from Ireland, except to England; and even this Exportation was confined to particular Ports in both Iſlands [g].

But to ſoften this as much as poſſible, the Linnen Manufacture was ſet on foot, and all poſſible Encouragement given to it by the Publick; and by this Means, as ſome of the moſt intelligent Perſons in that Country acknowledge, they had a very full Equivalent by the ſubſtituting as eaſy, as certain, and at the ſame Time a more profitable and advantageous Mode of employing their Labour [h]. Yet this, and all the Care that in other Reſpects could or can be taken, hath never prevented there, any more than here, the Smuggling of Wool, or the clandeſtine Exportation of Manufactures from thence. In order however to effect this, or at leaſt to leſſen and abate the Evil as much as poſſible, ſeveral legal Indulgencies have been granted; ſuch as the opening all the Ports in both Iſlands, removing the Duties upon Iriſh Woollen Yarn imported into England, and whatever elſe might contribute towards reconciling the Intereſts of the Two Nations [i]. This

[g] By Stat. i. W. & M. cap. xxxii. § 2. the Exportation of Wool from Ireland was limited to Six Ports in that Iſland. By Stat. vii. & viii. W. III. cap. xxviii. § 3. the former Act was confirmed, and the Importation limited to Eight Ports in England. By Stat. ix. & x. W. III. cap. xl. § i. the Exportation of Fullers Earth and ſcouring Clay into Ireland from England or Wales are prohibited; and by Stat. x. & xi. W. III. cap. x. § 1. the Exportation of any Woollen Manufactures from Ireland, except into England and Wales, are prohibited. The Woollen Manufacture in Ireland is now carried on for their own Conſumption, and many light and elegant Stuffs proceed from their Looms. They ſend over annually immenſe Quanties of raw Wool and Yarn into Britain, beſides what is clandeſtinely carried abroad, for want of Demand at home.

[h] The Beginning of the Linnen Manufacture may be dated from the Stat. vii. & viii. W. III. cap. xxxix § 1. when all Productions of Hemp or Flax were allowed to be exported into England and Wales Duty free; this was extended alſo to the Britiſh Plantations, and has been cheriſhed and aſſiſted ſince in every Reign. Mr. Dobbs, who was an able and an impartial Judge, computes, that in leſs than Forty Years from this Time, the Produce of this new Manufacture amounted in the home Conſumption and Exports to a Million per Annum. He farther ſtates, that all this aroſe from the Produce of no more than Thirty thouſand Acres, and afforded Employment and a Living to at leaſt One hundred and Seventy thouſand Perſons; an amazing Proof of what Induſtry will do, when duly encouraged, as well as properly directed! Eſſay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, P. i. p. 35.

[i] If one may be allowed to ſpeak freely on ſo delicate and ſo important a Point, the Caſe ſeems to be this: The Britiſh Dominions, in proportion to their Extent, produce more Wool than the Reſt of Europe. We endeavour, and wiſely, to avail ourſelves of this Advantage. By keeping at

This Article, however long, it is hoped will not appear tedious to the intelligent Reader, as it proceeds from an earneſt Deſire of affording him a comprehenſive View of a Subject, that might, and indeed hath employed many Volumes. A Subject of the greateſt Importance, as regarding the moſt ancient, and beyond Compariſon the moſt valuable of all our Manufactures, and by the treating of which ſo fully it may be allowed to be more conciſe in reſpect to the Reſt[k].

We come next to ſpeak of another Kind of Creatures nearly allied to Sheep, which are Goats. The Ancients were much more attentive to theſe than we are, for which ſome probable Cauſes may be aſſigned, and more eſpecially this, that in hot Countries their Fleſh is more juicy, ſweeter, and better taſted, eſpecially that of Kids, which in the Regions of the Eaſt hath been always, and is ſtill accounted a Delicacy[l]. The Goat is naturally more docile and ſagacious than the Sheep, and withal ſtronger, bolder, more active, and more lively. They are indeed conſtitutionally briſk, wanton, capricious, roving, and impatient of Reſtraint; but notwithſtanding theſe Qualities, they are eaſily tamed, grow familiar with Men, and even fond of them. In point of Colour, they are ſometimes black, ſometimes white, but more commonly theſe Colours are intermixed, and they are frequently ſpotted with what we call Fallow. The He-Goat is diſtinguiſhed by his Beard, which is ſometimes Nine Inches long, wreathed Horns, full Eyes, and very ſtately in his Walk. They are capable of breeding very young, the Male at a Year, the She-Goat at Seven Months;

home (as much as in us lies) we keep the Material low; while the Reſt of Europe, being in Compariſon with us in a State of Want, give a higher Price for our Wool than it will fetch at home; and this, in Spite of all our penal Statutes, they by this advanced Price obtain; and it is to be feared will always obtain, till by an Augmentation of our Inhabitants, and the Extenſion of our Commerce, we ourſelves are enabled to work it all up; which ought therefore to be the conſtant and aſſiduous Object of our Councils, and our Endeavours.

[k] The Hiſtory of Wool and the Woollen Manufacture in one Period, and in one Point of View, is the Hiſtory of our publick Revenue. In a ſucceeding Period it becomes the capital Object of our Commerce. It grew from thence the important Subject of our political Councils. The preſerving and ſupporting it againſt foreign Rivals, the due Regulation of its numerous Branches, and proper Reſtrictions, which were judged requiſite to the commercial Benefits reſulting from it to this Country, have occupied our ableſt Stateſmen for more than a Century paſt. Whoever deſires to be more circumſtantially informed in any or all of theſe Particulars, may meet with Satisfaction by conſulting that accurate and laborious Work publiſhed by the ingenious and indefatigable Mr. Smith, in Two large Volumes, intituled, Memoirs of Wool.

[l] Var. de re Ruſtica, lib. ii. cap. xi. Columel. lib. vii. cap. vi. vii. viii. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. l. Jonſt. Quadrup. 47. Raii Synopſ. Animal. 77. Linnæi Syſt. Naturæ, vol. i. p. 68. Hariſon's Deſcription of Britaine, Book iii. chap. viii. Googe's whole Art of Huſbandry, fol. 136—139. Markham's cheap and good Huſbandry, p. 96. Worlidge's Syſtem of Agriculture, p. 173. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, Book vi. chap. vii. Piero de Creſcenzi. del Agricoltura, lib. ix. cap. lxxvi. Maiſon Ruſtique, liv. i. chap. xxvi. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. col. 576—580. L'Agronome, tom. i. p. 191. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 868, 869. Beauſobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, des Finances, et du Commerce, tom. i. p. 173. Dictionnaire univerſelle d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 352, 355.

but

but the proper Time of matching them is when the Male is Two, and the Female Three Years old [m]. The former is ſerviceable till he is Five, the latter to Seven Years, and they ſeldom live, or rather are ſuffered to live, beyond Eight. But this is by no Means their uſual Term of Life in a State of Nature [n]. They carry their Young like Sheep about Five Months, bring ſometimes One, ſometimes Two, rarely Three Kids; though in Egypt and in the Eaſt Indies they have frequently Four.

THEY love rocky, mountainous, ſhrubby Grounds, where they live on any Thing they can find, affecting a Variety, though at the ſame Time they are very fickle in their Food [o]. They are beſt kept in ſmall Herds of about Fifty, for which one Male is ſufficient. They are ſubject, at leaſt with us, to fewer Diſeaſes than Sheep; and if they are allowed full Liberty, ſeldom fail of finding Remedies for their own Diſtempers. It is eaſy to diſcern even from this ſhort Account of theſe Creatures, that they are by no Means fit for, and indeed they by no Means thrive in, level, rich, or well-cultivated Countries. But they are more eſpecially hurtful where there are any Nurſeries or Plantations of young Trees, where they can get into any Gardens, eſpecially Kitchen Gardens, in which they make great Devaſtation, or even into common or Corn Fields, where they deſtroy whatever they find. But in Places that are proper for [p] them, they are or might be made very

[m] The He-Goat ſhould be of a large Size, his Neck ſhort, his Head long and thin, his Ears pendant, his Thighs ſtout, his Legs firm, his Hair thick, ſoft, and ſleek, and his Beard full-ſized and buſhy. The Female alſo ſhould be large and plump, eſpecially behind, her Thighs fleſhy, her Head light, her Udder full, her Teats long, with thick, ſoft, ſhining Hair. Virgil, who ſpoke from his own Experience, highly commends theſe Animals in his Third Georgic, and even places them on a Level with Sheep.

[n] If any one had conjectured theſe Creatures might reach to the Age of between Thirty and Forty Years, and even then retained their Strength, he would ſcarce have gained Credit. Yet this is a Fact, as appears from Lord Anſon's Voyage, p. 169, his Crew, in the Iſland of Juan Fernandez in the South Seas, having ſhot ſeveral Goats which had the Mark of Alexander Selkirk, who lived there a long Time alone, and had been delivered from thence Thirty-two Years before. Theſe Goats living wild, were ſweet and well taſted like Veniſon. The Spaniards, to deprive their Enemies of the Subſiſtence afforded by theſe Goats, had ſince Selkirk's Time put Dogs of different Kinds upon the Iſland to deſtroy them; and in this they ſo far ſucceeded as to diminiſh their Numbers very much, and to drive the Remainder into Places ſo ſteep and full of Precipices, as to be inacceſſible to all other Animals.

[o] It appears from the PAN SUECUS, that Goats eat more different Herbs than any other Cattle, but are obſerved to feed chiefly on the Tops of Herbs and Flowers. They alſo eat Hemlock freely, though to moſt other Animals it is Poiſon. But they delight particularly in browſing on the tender Boughs of Trees, more eſpecially, as Columella remarks, on the Branches of the Alaternus, or evergreen Privet, the Arbutus or Strawberry Tree, and the Cytiſus or ſhrub Trefoil.

[p] There are many Places in the Weſt and North even of South Britain, as well as Wales, North Britain, and the Iſlands dependent thereon, exceedingly adapted to the Support of theſe Animals, and in ſome of which they are very common, but in none of them much eſteemed, or the keeping them turned to ſo much Profit as they might, and as they actually do in other Countries, where they are inferior in all Reſpects to ours, and conſequently there is nothing wanting but a little Attention to render them as uſeful here. It may not be amiſs to remark, that in Places

very beneficial; for they will thrive very well where other Cattle would ſtarve, are very hardy, never incommoded, as Sheep ſometimes are, by the Heat of this Country, nor much by the Cold; though in rainy and very ſevere Weather they are the better for being houſed, provided the Floors of the Places where they lie be well pitched with Flints or paved with Tiles, ſo that they may be eaſily waſhed and kept clean, ſince in this Reſpect there are few Animals more nice or more eaſily injured by Filth of any Kind. It is a general Opinion that the ſmell of them is very ſalutary to Horſes; for which Reaſon, even in great Cities, they are commonly kept in Stables [q].

In Countries where they have Abundance of Sheep and Black Cattle, as they have no need of Goats, ſo they are little regarded. But in Places where thoſe are leſs common, and in which, from their Nature and Situation, theſe laſt mentioned Creatures can be much more commodiouſly kept, they may with very little Pains taken about them be rendered very profitable, more eſpecially if they are of a good Kind, as ours are in the Opinion of our Neighbours, who in this Reſpect are the beſt Judges [r]. Goats give more Milk than Sheep, and in ſome Places it is very highly eſteemed, as being leſs heavy than Cows, and not ſo aqueous as that of Aſſes. The Cheeſe produced from it, or at leaſt from a Mixture of this with our Cows Milk, when well made, proves very good [s]. As for the Whey, it is thought preferable to any other, as being aperient, abſtringent, attenuating, and laxative; for which, as well as the Milk, it is exceedingly commended

where they are moſt common, the Inhabitants have frequently need enough of Reſources for adding to the Means of their Subſiſtence, and are not like to be diſpleaſed with any Informations that may advance, or are even offered with an Intention of advancing, ſo laudable an End.

[q] We find this mentioned in very antient Authors, who ſpeak of it as an old Cuſtom. It is not eaſy to conceive how this Practice, which ſtill generally prevails, could have kept its Ground, if not ſupported by Experience. Yet it is this Rankneſs, which is chiefly in the Skin, that hath created a Prejudice againſt Goats. It is probable that the keeping them in Parks, and hunting them, as Giles Markham ſays, was the common Method in the Azores, freed them from this ſtrong Scent.

[r] Father Chomel in his Dictionnaire Oeconomique, aſſerts, "Chevres d'Angleterre trois fois plus "utiles que celles de France," i. e. the Goats of England are thrice as uſeful as thoſe of France. Not ſatisfied with making us this Compliment, he adds, we had the Wiſdom to bring over this fine Breed from Barbary and the Indies, and the Prudence to diſtribute them through all the barren, rocky, and mountainous Parts of the Iſland. Other French Writers ſay the ſame Thing as to the Superiority of our Goats.

[s] Dr. Cheyne, an able Phyſician, and a moſt worthy well-meaning Man, obſerved that Goats feeding in pure Air, on high Places, on the moſt tender, light, and aromatic Plants, muſt communicate a Spirit, Balſam, and Sweetneſs to their Milk and Whey. He wondered that the amazing and indiſputable Cures done by this eaſy Remedy in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, did not more recommend it; and laments, that the moſt beneficial and ſanative Things are ſlighted and overlooked, while new, foreign, coſtly, and complicated ones are admired.

for

for the Recovery of conſumptive and emaciated Perſons [t]. Some Uſe is made of our Goats Hair, particularly by the Dyers [u]. But as ours are believed to be of the ſame Species with thoſe in Aſia, ſo there is little Reaſon to doubt that the Breed might be improved in ſuch a Manner, as to furniſh us at home with that long, ſhining, ſoft, and ſilky Hair, that we at preſent import from the Levant, and from which many Kinds of Goods are made which bear a conſiderable Price [w]. The Skins both of Goats and of Kids are made into Leather of different Sorts, ſome reſembling Shamoy, which is indeed only the Skin of the Alpine Goat. They likewiſe are dreſſed white, eſpecially thoſe of the Kids, and are employed in making Gloves, and for other Purpoſes [x]. It has been already hinted, that the Suet or Tallow of this Animal is the hardeſt, and, if we except that of Deer, the beſt of any, and makes Candles cloſe and white, very little inferior to Wax. In other Countries theſe Productions turn to great Account, more eſpecially the laſt; and with a View to this, they not only cut the old He-Goats, but alſo many of the Kids, which with the She-Goats when paſt breeding they fatten with dry Food, and drive a conſiderable Trade

[t] As the moſt eminent Phyſicians, antient and modern, concur in theſe Sentiments, it is ſurely very practicable to introduce the like Uſe of this eaſy and effectual Remedy in ſome Parts of England, ſuch as Malvern Hills which ſeparate Worceſter from Herefordſhire, ſeveral Places in Cornwall, and very many in the Northern Counties. It cannot be doubted that under a proper Regimen as to Air, Diet, and Exerciſe, Goats Whey would be found as ſalutary in any of them, as in any other Parts whatever in this Iſland. It is by no Means improbable, that an annual Reſort of Company in the proper Seaſon might gradually produce Villages and Hamlets, where otherwiſe they will never be ſeen.

[u] Virgil acquaints us, that in his Time Goats were conſtantly ſhorn as well as Sheep, and that coarſe Cloths were made of their Hair, which were worn by Seamen. Ropes made of this laſt long in Water without rotting. The French, who are very great Artiſts in Dyeing, make an excellent Red, by boiling Goats Hair, ſhred ſmall, in a certain Lye in which it diſſolves. This Colour they call Nacarat de bourre, which is eſteemed very laſting. See the Preparation and Uſes of it in le Teintereur Parfait, p. 9. 17. 22.

[w] In reſpect to mending our own Breed, by importing He-Goats from Aſia, it ſeems practicable, becauſe ſaid to have been tried with Succeſs in France. But it would be probably better to import both the He and She Goats, and to preſerve the Race pure, which might be eaſily done in ſome of our ſmall hilly Iſlands. This is what the Swedes, encouraged by mending their Wool, through the getting over (in ſpite of our ſevere Laws) Engliſh Rams, have already attempted; Mr. Alſtroemer, one of the Members of their Board of Trade, having for this Purpoſe expreſly commiſſioned ſome fine Goats from Alexandria. This ſhews the Notion not to be either ſingular or chimerical.

[x] The ſeveral Kinds of Leather made of the Skins of theſe Animals prove that they may be rendered very profitable: To mention only a few; that ſoft, ſmooth, fine grained Sort, which we call Spaniſh Leather, Morocco of all Sorts, and of all Colours, the beſt brought from Conſtantinople and the Levant, much from Barbary and Spain, though it might be made in great Perfection here. In Spain and France they make uſe of Goat ſkin Bags for tranſporting Oil and Wine, whence the latter acquires a peculiar Taſte, which we call the Borachio.

with

with the Tallow and Hides [y]. It is by no Means meant to recommend the Breeding of Goats in any Part of the Britiſh Dominions where they are not to be found at preſent; but in Places where they already are, the making the moſt of them is a Point that deſerves to be conſidered [z]. It may poſſibly deſerve alſo to be attempted.

In reſpect to Black Cattle in general, theſe Iſlands have been always, and very deſervedly, famous. We have, and have always had, Animals of this Kind of very different Sizes, according to the Richneſs or Poverty of the Soil, rather than the Climate where they were bred. But we have been for about a Century paſt very ſucceſsful, in many Places where this hath been particularly attended to, in the Improvement of our Breed, and in rendering them better, and more profitable in all Reſpects then formerly [a]. The Bull is with us of a ſtout, ſtrong Body, and of a very fierce Countenance and Nature, with ſhort ſmooth Horns, and not arriving at his full Growth until between Two and Three Years Old. They are fit for propagating their Species before that Time, and are of very little Value in that Reſpect when they are above Four or at moſt Five. Bateing them was formerly a Diverſion, and ſuppoſed to render their Fleſh more tender, but it is al-

[y] The Number of Uſes to which this Commodity (excluſive of making Candles) is now applied, ſuch as the Compounding Soap, Dreſſing of Leather, Caulking the Bottoms of Ships, &c. hath much increaſed the Demand for, and of courſe raiſed the Price of, Tallow. In conſequence of this, Exportation is prohibited under ſevere Penalties, and vaſt Quantities are imported. It ſhould ſeem therefore a Matter of ſome Importance to augment our Stock, eſpecially ſince for medicinal Uſes this is preferable to any.

[z] The moſt fertile Countries have their barren Spots. Italy hath its Alps and its Appenines; and ſo, as Camden long ſince obſerved, hath England. On theſe the Goats are the Cattle placed by Nature. In ſuch rude Corners where Nature ſeems to have taken the leaſt, Men deſtined to live in them muſt take the moſt, Pains. Sagacity and Induſtry muſt ſupply all Defects, and if they will have Plenty they muſt earn it. There cannot conſequently be a more honeſt or humane Action, than to endeavour at leaſt towards contributing to ſuch Mens Felicity. This in the preſent, and in many other Caſes, hath been my ſincere Aim; in which if I meet with any Succeſs, it will add to that Satisfaction which the Intention gives me.

[a] Varro de re Ruſtica, lib. ii. Virgil. Georg. lib. ii. iii. Columel. lib. vi. cap. 1—26. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 45. xi. cap. 37. 39 41. 42. xviii. cap. 19. xx. cap. 7. xxviii. cap. 10. 11. Geſner. Quadrup. 25. Raii Synop. Animal. 70. Linnæi Syſtem. Nat. tom. i. p. 71. Fitzherbert's Book of Huſbandry. Googe's Huſbandry, fol. 120—129. Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, Book iii. chap. 8. Markham's cheap and good Huſbandry, p. 59—84. Fuller's Worthies of England, Lancaſhire, p. 106. Lincolnſhire, p. 149. Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, chap. vii. § 68. Houghton's Collections for Improvement of Huſbandry and Trade, vol. i. p. 277—413. Mortimer's complete Art of Huſbandry, Book vi. ch. 5. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. ii. p. 85—153. Tratado del Agricoltura di Creſcenzi, liv. ix. cap. 60—66. Maiſon Ruſtique, liv. i. chap. 13. 14. 22. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, vol. i. col. 347—367. vol. ii. col. 1228—1233. Beauſobre Introduction a la Etude de la Politique des Finances, et du Commerce, tom. i. p. 66—69. Dictionnaire Univerſel de Commerce, tom. i col. 446—449. tom. iii. 1125—1127. col. 1141—1147. L'Agronome, tom. ii. p. 417—427. Dictionnaire Univerſel d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. v. p. 354—373.

ways hard and coarſe, and therefore ſeldom eaten [b]. Large Cows are moſt eſteemed, more eſpecially if their Udders be large alſo; they carry their Young Nine Months, and calve in the Beginning of the Tenth, bring ſometimes Two, and ſometimes Three Calves, are looked on as in their Prime between the Age of Five and Eight, and fall off about Ten. Yet they will live to twice that Age, though they are generally fatted and killed much ſooner. They make good Beef, the Heifer eſpecially [c]. Our OXEN are in many Places of a very large Size, remarkably fair and beautiful, their Fleſh, when graſs-fed, very ſweet and wholeſome if eaten freſh; but they muſt be ſtall-fed to take Salt well, and if their Fleſh be then properly cured it will keep perfectly ſweet for full Two Years [d]. They are ſeldom kept beyond Seven Years old. Our Calves are large, and our Veal remarkably white and fine. There are few CALVES reared in the Neighbourhood of London, not only from the Vicinity of ſo great as well as ſo good a Market, but becauſe the Land, generally ſpeaking, lets too dear to admit the raiſing them with Profit [e]. Black Cattle are ſubject to ſeveral

[b] Black Cattle ſeem confined to Europe, Part of Aſia, that is, as far as Armenia and Perſia, Barbary and Egypt, where they are very large, in ſome of the African Iſlands, and in America, to which they were tranſported by Europeans. Our Farmers ſay proverbially, an old Cock and a young Bull. This Animal, choſen with much Care, and reared with ſome Trouble and Expence, is worth near thrice as much at One as at Four Years old. He is then commonly gelt, called afterwards a Bull-ſtag, worked ſome Years, then fatted, and killed when their Fleſh is tolerable.

[c] Cows have larger Horns than Bulls; in other Reſpects the more they reſemble them, or Oxen (which ſhall be particularly deſcribed) the more they are eſteemed. The Ancients kept their Cows from Breeding till Four Years old. We, for the Sake of Profit, admit them ſooner. It is ſaid (but it is unuſual) that a Cow hath had Nine, nay, Ten Calves in the Space of Three Years. In Eſſex, Cows have had Three Calves, which having been brought up with Care, have been ſold to the Butchers for Nine Pounds. In Moreton's Northamptonſhire, p. 446, we have a ſingular Inſtance of a Cow that had Two Calves at Eighteen Years old, and both Cow and Calves remained ſound and healthy.

[d] It is univerſally allowed, that for all Uſes whatever, but more eſpecially for Salting for Land and Sea Service, our Engliſh Beef is as good and as wholeſome as any in the World. If therefore our Manner of Living, and the conſtant Demands for our Shipping, be conſidered, we may eaſily conceive the Conſumption, and of Courſe the Value of Beef muſt be very great. The Conſumption of Beeves within the Bills of Mortality exceed (according to the beſt Lights that could be obtained) One hundred thouſand, in the Reſt of South Britain perhaps Five hundred thouſand or more, the Amount of which muſt come to many Millions; but how many muſt depend upon the Size of the Beaſts, the Price of Meat, and other contingent Circumſtances which vary annually, indeed we may ſay, alter continually.

[e] The breeding Calves for the Butcher many Miles round London has been long in Uſe, and attended with great Profits, in conſequence of the Judgment, Skill, and Pains exerted in rendering them of a large Size, and very delicate. They are brought partly in Carts or Waggons, partly on Horſes, by which they waſte leſs. It appears from the Returns of the Clerks of the Market, and other Informations, that the Number of Calves is about double the Number of Beeves conſumed in this Metropolis; and it is from thence evident, that there is annually ſpent in Veal upwards of Half a Million; an amazing Sum! but greatly, at leaſt for many Years paſt, within Compaſs.

Diſeaſes,

Diſeaſes, and yet not near ſo many as Sheep; but are, like them, liable ſometimes to Infection, or, as it is called, the Murrain, which carries them off in great Numbers, creating a Scarcity not ſpeedily to be repaired [f].

We not only receive moſt wholeſome and ſubſtantial Nouriſhment from the Fleſh of theſe Animals, but they likewiſe render Mankind very eſſential Services while living. It is for this Reaſon they have been very highly, as well as very juſtly, celebrated by the ancient Writers on Huſbandry [g]; and if they appear leſs uſeful, or rather leſs neceſſary in theſe Times, it is our Fault, ſince undoubtedly they are ſtill as fit for the Labour of the Plough as ever. We may alter our Cuſtoms, but Nature will remain the ſame. Bulls, though it ſeldom happens, may be thus employed; but then they are to be yoked as Horſes are in a Line, and not in Pairs [h]. Oxen however are generally uſed for this Purpoſe, to which they ſeem admirably ſuited, by their Size, their Strength, the Make of their Body, and their Temper, which is naturally patient. They are to be trained, or, as the Country Phraſe is, broke to it at a proper Age, that is about three Years old, when they have attained their full Growth, and while they are ſtill docile and manageable [i]. They are then duly fed, very gently uſed, and never urged beyond their accuſtomed Hours. The old and awkard Method of faſtening their Harneſs to their Horns hath been long laid aſide, for that which enables them to exert their Force more equally, and with greater Eaſe; in which it is not impoſſible however that ſome farther Im-

[f] This Diſeaſe hath been hitherto but indifferently explained, more eſpecially as to the Cauſe. It has ſometimes ſpread over a great Part of Europe, but gradually, and not all at once. Some aſcribe it to a putrid Humour in the Juices of the Cattle, others to an infectious Diſpoſition of the Air, ſome to a peſtilential Vapour from the Earth, and others again to Inſects, which ſeems to be the moſt natural, as the moſt effectual Preſervatives and Remedies are Soot, Saltpetre, Gunpowder, Brimſtone, and ſuch-like.

[g] Heſiod, the oldeſt Author on theſe Subjects, makes the Farmer's Family conſiſt, in the Huſband, the Wife, and the Ox. He was termed the faithful Miniſter of Ceres, and the conſtant Companion of Man in the Labours of the Field. Virgil gives it us as a ſtriking Circumſtance of the Saturnian Age, that it preceded that in which an impious Race firſt feaſted on ſlain Bullocks. In thoſe Days the Horſe was only for the Saddle, and the Culture of the Earth entirely committed to Oxen.

[h] The Reaſon of this is his fierce, ſurly, and obſtinate Nature. If Two Bulls were yoked, they would gore each other with their Horns; on the other Hand, it ſhould ſeem more practicable with an Ox of the ſame Size. This alſo hath been tried, but with little Succeſs, not barely from the miſchievous Diſpoſition of the Bull, but chiefly from the nauſeous Rankneſs of his Breath, by which the Ox, as the Farmers aſſert, (ſee Liſle's Obſervations, vol. ii. p. 85) would be very ſpeedily killed, and therefore whenever Bulls are wrought they draw in a Line.

[i] Varro ſays, the Ox fitteſt for Labour hath a broad Forehead, large black Eyes, rough hairy Ears, Jaws wide and ſtrong, thick black Lips, Dewlap large reaching to the Knees, thick brawny Neck, his Shoulders broad, his Hair not rough or ſtubborn, well ſet ſtraight Legs, rather ſhort, to ſuſtain better the Weight of his Body, his Knees large and ſtrong, his Feet turning out, ſpreading wide, and broad withal, his Coat thick, ſhort, and ſleek, his Tail long, and covered well with hair.

provement might be made. They are alſo cued, that is, ſhoed properly, and great Care is taken to keep them dry while wrought, and to afford them proper Nouriſhment in the Winter. They are wrought till about Ten or Eleven Years old, and are then fatted for the Shambles [k].

Oxen are fitteſt for Ploughing in a deep, heavy, or clayey Soil, for they do not ſo well on Gravel, and ſtill worſe on Chalk, which very ſoon beats and ruins their Feet. They are cheaper than Horſes in many Reſpects, particularly in their Food, as they require no Oats, ſtill more in their Shoes and Harneſs, and in their being leſs Subject to, and conſequently leſs expenſive from their Diſeaſes [l]. But what makes the greateſt Difference, is their not becoming either uſeleſs or of no Value in caſe of Lameneſs, or when paſt Service, ſince they are then fatted, and that too in a ſhort Time, and brought to a good Market, as their Fleſh is in every Reſpect as tender and wholeſome as that of younger Beaſts [m]. There is therefore Reaſon to wonder, that the Uſe of Oxen, in this material Part of Huſbandry, is ſo much declined. It muſt however be admitted, that even ſo early as the Days of Fitzherbert, it was held problematical whether Horſes or Oxen

[k] In Marſhland, and other Places, where they pique themſelves on fatting Oxen to a large Size, they are very plentifully fed with fine Hay, live at their Eaſe, and are very carefully attended. But perhaps this may be more eaſily and cheaply performed. Mr. Houghton aſſures us, that an Ox which ſold for Thirty Pounds, was Seventy Years ago fatted upon Cabbage Leaves in Suffolk. They are now very well and very ſpeedily fatted with Carrots, as hath been already mentioned. Some of our Stall-fed Oxen are in Truth of an almoſt incredible Bulk. In A. D. 1755 an Ox was killed at Sunderland which weighed Two hundred Seventy-ſeven Stone Five Pounds, or 2221 lb. A.D. 1754, a Pair of Oxen, belonging to Mr. Conſtable of Burton Conſtable, were killed at Beverley, which weighed Five hundred Forty-two Stone and One Pound, or 4337 lb. But theſe fell all ſhort of an Ox of Sir Walter Wagſtaff Bagot, Baronet, killed A. D. 1753, at Blyth Field in Staffordſhire, which weighed Three hundred Thirty-five Stone and Six Pounds, or 2686 lb. But theſe, out of many more Inſtances that might be produced within theſe Seven Years, are to be regarded as extraordinary and unuſual. They ſhew however to what prodigious Sizes our Beaſts may be raiſed; that this may be done, wherever there are good Paſtures and due Attention; and that conſequently very large Beeves may be had in any Part of the Iſland where the Courſe of the Markets may require them.

[l] It is true, that in Summer Oxen as well as Horſes Feed on Graſs. Yet it hath been long ſince remarked in favour of the Ox, that by his Dung he reſtores to the Soil as much as he takes from it. By this, and by the Thickneſs of his Lips, which hinder him from biting cloſe, the Ox leaves his Paſture better than he found it; whereas an Horſe gradually impoveriſhes and conſumes it. In Winter, Straw and a few Turnips content Oxen, or at moſt a little Hay. A Lad that finds his Hands full in managing Four Horſes, would look to Eight Oxen with much more Eaſe.

[m] This is the moſt weighty Argument, more eſpecially if we conſider the Price and the Demand for Beef of late Years. An Ox when his Vigour abates, and he is no longer fit for Plough, by which for Seven Years he has amply earned his Living, fats kindly at laſt, and ſells for a good Sum. A diſabled or a ſuperannuated Horſe is utterly uſeleſs, and as ſuch is conſigned to the Dogs. Indeed the Death of Horſes, and the many Accidents to which they are liable, make an heavy Article in moſt Farmer's Expences, as themſelves allow.

were the fitteſt for this Labour [n]; and perhaps the Solution of this Queſtion may depend on the Difference of Soils. But allowing the diſuſe of Ox Teams to be, as indeed it ſeems to be, an Error, it will be beſt remedied by gentle Methods, by having Recourſe to convincing Experiments, and by Gentlemens ſetting Examples of reviving the old Method, where they hold any Quantity of Ground in their own Hands [o]. It may be proper to remark before we quit this Subject, that the barren Cow, called by the Country People a Free MARTIN, has almoſt as much Strength, and is nearly as fit for this Labour, as the Ox, and proves afterwards alſo as good Meat [p].

IF the Labour of the Ox be of ſuch Conſequence in the Cultivation of arable Land, from whence we are ſupplied with Grain, we may with the ſtricteſt Juſtice affirm, that an equal Tribute of Praiſe is due to the Cow for the Support of our DAIRIES. Theſe are unqueſtionably of great Importance in many Countries, but in none more than in this, where their annual Produce is amazingly large in Quantity, and at the ſame Time no leſs excellent in Quality. The Ancients were very exact in their Deſcriptions of the Marks of a good Cow, and entered ſo thoroughly into the Characteriſtics eſtabliſhed by Nature, that they are acknowledged as the ſureſt Rules at this Day [q]. Varro ranges the Colours of Kine in this Order,

[n] The Romans marked very ſtrongly their Notion of Oxen only being adapted to the Plough, by giving their Acre, which was the Baſis of their ſuperficial Meaſure, the Denomination of Jugerum, i. e. A Day's Ploughing of a Yoke of Oxen. Our Saxon Anceſtors on the ſame Principle had their Oxgang or Bovata Terræ, which was Fifteen Acres, and Six of theſe made a Plough-land, that is as much as Six Oxen could plough in a Year. Three Jugera make very nearly Two of our Acres. It ſhould ſeem therefore that the Ancients did by no Means over-work their Cattle, ſince in many Places a Pair of Oxen will Plough One of our Acres in a Day without being faint or fatigued.

[o] It ſeems unreaſonable at leaſt to recur haſtily to Authority in a Caſe of this Nature. We know not what the Farmers have to ſay for themſelves; but without knowing this, we may ſafely conclude they think Ploughing with Horſes moſt for their Intereſt. Convince them it is not ſo, and there will need no coercive Methods to bring them back again to the old Manner of Ploughing with Oxen. His Grace the Duke of Queenſberry in Wiltſhire, and Lord Clare in Eſſex, have already purſued this Mode, and it would be well if they were imitated by others of Rank and Fortune. This would quickly put the Fact out of Diſpute; and, if they are in the wrong, the Farmers out of Countenance.

[p] The Romans were acquainted with this ſterile Cow, and called her Taura. In Moreton's Northamptonſhire, p. 447, we are told the Opinion of the Graziers in that County, which I take to be general on this Head. They ſay, that when a Cow brings a Bull and a Cow Calf together, the latter is always a Free Martin, and never bears. He profeſſes not to know whence the Name ariſes, and in this I profeſs alſo to be no wiſer. But I much Doubt the abſolute Truth of the Graziers Account of this Matter. Mr. Liſle obſerves from an intelligent Farmer, that a Free Martin's Head is coarſer, her Horns more open, her Udder ſmaller than that of a Heifer. He adds, that the Fleſh of a Free Martin when fatted will fetch an Halfpenny a Pound more than any Cow Beef.

[q] The Truth is, moſt modern Writers copy Varro and Columella in copying each other, and they could not do better, as theſe great Men, as is ſaid in the Text, copied Nature. The latter

inſiſts

Order, firſt the Black, next the Red, then the Dun, after that the White, and laſtly the Black and White, though of this Virgil ſeems to have had ſomewhat a better Opinion. A Notion prevails amongſt us, founded as it is ſaid upon Experience, that a Red Cow gives the beſt, and a White the moſt Milk, but that the Black produces the beſt Calves [r]. The prodigious Extent, the natural Fertility, and the modern Improvements which have been introduced into our Paſtures, enable our Farmers to furniſh from them immenſe Supplies both of Butter and Cheeſe, which partly from the different Methods in making, and partly from the peculiar Qualities of the Soils where the Cattle are fed, afford much Diverſity of Flavour, and thereby gratify all Taſtes, ſo that there is a reciprocal Demand for the ſeveral Sorts of both in almoſt all Parts of the Iſland. From thence ariſes the Expediency of eſtabliſhing numerous Fairs and Marts, where theſe are expoſed to Sale at ſtated Times [s]. Hence alſo ariſes much Land Carriage, beſides what is ſent on our navigable Rivers by Water, and in Coaſting Veſſels, to the no ſmall Emolument of Thouſands of Families, that derive a Subſiſtence from this Trade in a great Variety of Ways [t].

It would be very difficult, if not altogether impoſſible, to form an exact Calculation of the Value of theſe Articles; but from a very mature and impartial Conſideration of a Variety of Circumſtances, we are led to believe,

inſiſts on an open well ſpread Fore-head, ſmooth ſhining Horns of a deep Brown, large full black Eyes, a capacious Belly, ſtrait Legs, and ſmall Feet. Yet Pliny remarks, that Cattle may be very good although unſightly, which ſeems to be verified in the Normandy and Alderney Cows compared to ours.

[r] Mr. Liſle, who is very exact, informs us, that Six Cows may be milked in an Hour, and ſome Women have milked Eight. In the Iſle of Wight they reckoned their Cows one with another gave Two Gallons of Milk a Day, which would make Four Pounds of Butter in a Week. He mentions the common Opinion to be, that a Quart of Cream will make a Pound of Butter, but he thinks it requires Three Pints. A Cow was let at the Beginning of this Century for Forty-five Shillings, the annual Profits of a Cow are eſtimated now at double that Sum.

[s] If we conſider the Difference between Chedder, Cheſhire, Cottenham, Glouceſter, Stilton, Wiltſhire Cheeſes, and how commonly moſt of them are to be met with in all Parts of the Iſland, the Truth of what is ſaid in the Text will moſt evidently appear. In regard to the great Fairs and Marts, thoſe who live near them in the Country, and even thoſe who have ſeen them only occaſionally, know, that Cheeſe is a very conſiderable Article in them all, and in ſome of them the moſt conſiderable of any.

[t] This is a Point always deſerving Attention; for whatever creates Labour, creates alſo the Means of Subſiſtence, and the Factors, the Seamen, the Waggoners, the Porters, the Cheeſemongers, are as much maintained by the Dairy as the Farmer; as for Inſtance, they ſend great Quantities of Cheſhire Cheeſe into Wales, into the Midland and Northern Counties by Land-carriage, to London, to Scotland, and Ireland by Sea, to the Amount, as ſome have computed, ſee Atlas Maritimus, p. 17, in the Whole of Thirty thouſand Tuns annually. It is poſſible this may ſomewhat exceed the Truth, but moſt certainly a very great Quantity is ſent by all theſe different Conveyances, and the Charge of the Carriage is included in the Price.

that there is no Exaggeration in affirming, that the total Amount of the Produce of the Dairies in South Britain, in reſpect to Home Conſumption only, excluſive of a large Exportation of Cheeſe eſpecially, amounts annually to many Millions Sterling [u]. It will in ſome Degree abate the Wonder, that at firſt Sight may ariſe from ſuch an Aſſertion, if we reflect, that all Ranks, Sexes, and Ages are in a Manner equally Partakers of their various Productions. For it is evident, that at the ſame Time they furniſh Delicacies to the Rich, they compoſe a great Part of the daily Food, and of courſe eſſentially contribute to the Subſiſtence of the Poor, entering alſo generally in ſome Form or other into every Regimen of Diet preſcribed by the Phyſician. It is therefore at once a very obvious, and no leſs ſtupendous Bleſſing, that Things of ſuch neceſſary, ſuch conſtant, and ſuch extenſive Uſe, are every where throughout theſe happy Iſlands ſo cheap, and ſo common. But this prodigious Plenty inſtead of leſſening may be be ſaid in ſome Meaſure to encreaſe their Value, by putting it into the Power of all Perſons to procure them, which is the plain Source of ſo amazing a Conſumption [w].

The principal Reaſon why Black Cattle are ſoon killed, is from the Profits that are drawn from almoſt all Parts of them, excluſive of the general Advantage ariſing from the Fleſh, which has been already mentioned. It would be a very long and difficult, though by no Means an uſeleſs or an

[u] In all Computations of this Kind no Sort of Preciſion can be had, or indeed ought to be expected. The utmoſt that can be done, is to make the beſt Inquiries in one's Power, to conſider and compare them carefully, and to leave the Reſult of them to the Reader's Judgment. It hath been reckoned by Mr. Maitland, who took all the Methods he could deviſe to come at Certainty, that there were conſumed within the Bills of Mortality upwards of Sixteen Millions of Pounds of Butter, above Twenty-one Millions of Pounds of Cheeſe, together about Thirty-eight Millions, and Five Millions of Gallons of Milk, every Year. As this Account was taken about Thirty Years ago, if it was then a little too large, it can hardly be thought ſo now. It alſo agrees very well with the Principles of another Calculation, as to the general Expence in Proviſions in this Metropolis, in which I find all theſe Articles rated together at upwards of One Million annually.

[w] Our Black Cattle are very conſiderable in point of Size. Some of our Oxen meaſure Two Yards between the Tips of their Horns, whereas a French Ox's Horns are aſunder about Two Feet. Theſe large Cattle are bred in Lancaſhire, Lincolnſhire, and Yorkſhire, and in other Northern Counties. The Daniſh Cows are large, brought into Holland, and there, though ever ſo well fed, they do not grow fat, but give prodigious Quantities of Milk, which is alſo very good. The French, who purchaſe them from thence, call them Flandrines. In general however their Cows yield leſs Milk than ours, ſince, according to a very modern Calculation, the Profit of a milch Cow is reckoned there at Thirty Livres per Annum. As to the Beauty of Cattle, the Preference is given to thoſe of Egypt, from the perfect Symmetry of their Limbs, and the exact Regularity of their Marks. They are alſo of a large Size. The Antients highly commended the Breed of Cattle in Epirus; theſe were of a red Colour, very large and ſtrong, the firſt they attributed to the Circumſpection uſed in the Choice of their Bulls, and the latter to the not ſuffering their Cows to have Calves till they were between Four and Five Years old. Our Graziers are allowed to be as expert as in any Country whatever.

unpleaſant Taſk, to give an accurate and diſtinct Detail of theſe, and to ſhew their ſignal Benefit and Importance with regard to the public Welfare, and the Number of Families to whom they afford conſtant Employment, and comfortable Subſiſtence [x]. But for all theſe we have not Room, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with inſiſting only on a few of the moſt remarkable, briefly pointing out ſome of the Reſt. At the ſame Time recommending it to our Readers, to inform themſelves farther, as Opportunities offer, on all theſe Heads, that they may acquire juſt Notions of the numerous beneficial Conſequences, which flow continually from our national Advantages, and derive from thence a diſtinct and proper Senſe of our Independency, and of the intrinſic Riches of this great Country; for Want of Attention to which, we are too frequently led into falſe Sentiments on a Subject, which, if we reflect on our Honour and Happineſs as Natives of Britain, ought of all others to be the moſt thoroughly underſtood [y].

But to return to the Point from which we digreſſed.

To begin then with their Horns, which ſerve for an Infinity of Uſes, after they have been properly prepared by thoſe who exerciſe that Trade, and are from thence ſtiled Horners, and whoſe ſole Buſineſs it is, by a great Variety of very ingenious Methods, to render them fit for the ſeveral Purpoſes to which they are applied [z]. When thus prepared, they paſs into the

[x] This is the great Point; for whatever produces Labour, in this Country more eſpecially, produces a Living. We do not ſufficiently advert to another plain Propoſition, that Perſons of all Ranks live upon Labour, that is, either their own or other Peoples Labour. In every Country thoſe who live on their own Labour, be that what it will, contribute ſomething to the publick Stock, whereas thoſe who never Labour at all contribute nothing. It is upon a juſt Proportion between theſe different Sorts of People, both neceſſary in a Community, that the Welfare of it depends, to which nothing can be more conducive than the having a Number of Methods in which Mens Induſtry may exert itſelf on the natural Produce of the Country. In this Caſe Conſumption, whatever it be, is a Saving, and Commerce, to whatever it amounts, is ſo much clear Gain.

[y] Upon the Principles explained in the foregoing Note, Egypt in former Times, and China at preſent, have been celebrated as the fineſt Countries in the World. Yet without any Tincture of Partiality it may be affirmed, this Country is or may be made in this Reſpect equal to either, as in another it may be truly ſaid to excel them both. For the antient Ægyptians, and the modern Chineſe, affect to ſhew their Independency by declining an active and extenſive Navigation. This, by producing Ignorance and Timidity, enervated Mens Minds, and deſtroyed all natural Courage, the only permanent Support of Independency, which by a contrary Conduct we have always maintained. The native Riches of Britain ſupport her Commerce, and to her Commerce ſhe owes her Naval Power. To diſtinguiſh the inſeparable Connexion between theſe, which can only be done by minutely examining the Productions of this Country, and how they contribute to the Subſiſtence of the Inhabitants, is an effectual Method to evince our Independency, and to render us ſenſible at the ſame Time, that it cannot be either ſhaken or ſapped, but by the general Prevalence of Folly, Indolence, and Corruption.

[z] The Horners were a very ancient and conſiderable Fraternity in the City of London ſome Hundred Years ago. In the Reign of Edward IV. they complained to Parliament, that by Foreigners

the Hands, and are the Objects of the Induſtry of other Artificers, ſuch as Comb-makers, Cutlers, Makers of Spectacles, and ſeveral more, to all of whom they ſupply the Means of Subſiſtence; and are beſides uſed in making of Tobacco and Snuff Boxes, Ink-horns, Powder Flaſks, Blowing Horns, Shoeing Horns, drinking Cups, artificial Flowers, and a vaſt Variety of other Things, but more eſpecially when ſplit into Plates or Leaves, are put into Lanterns, and various Contrivances to admit Light, for which in this Shape they are peculiarly fit, as being leſs fragil, though at the ſame Time leſs tranſparent than Glaſs. But independent of theſe, the very ſmalleſt Fragments, and even the Duſt and Filings of Horn, are found very ſerviceable in manuring cold Lands [a]. Beſides the great Conſumption, which is continually made of them at Home, there is a very large Exportation both in Leaves and Manufactures, from their Superiority to other Horns in Size and other Qualities [b].

The Hair hath alſo its Value, and is employed in many different Ways. The long Hair of the Tail is frequently mixed with Horſe Hair ſpun into Ropes, and ſometimes wove. The ſhort Hair ſerves to ſtuff Saddles, Seats of ſeveral Kinds, Mattreſſes, and Chairs. The Refuſe is a good Manure, and operates more ſpeedily than the Horns [c]. The Teguments, Cartilages, and

reigners buying up our Horns they were in Danger of being ruined, and this Buſineſs loſt to the Nation; and thereupon was made the Statute, 4 Edward IV. by which the Sale of Horns to Foreigners (except ſuch as the ſaid Horners refuſed) was prohibited, and the Wardens had power given them to ſearch all Markets in London, and 24 Miles round, and to inſpect Sturbridge and Ely Fairs, to prevent ſuch Practices, and to purchaſe Horns at ſtated Prices. But on plauſible Pretences this Law was repealed, Stat 1. Jac. I. cap. xxv. and thereupon the old Evil revived. The Horners again applied to Parliament, and by Stat. vii. Jac. I. cap. xiv. the Act of A. D. 1464 was renewed (except as to the Inſpection of the Fairs, and the old Prices) and remains in Force. The preſent Company were incorporated, Jan. 12th 1638, 13th of Charles I. conſiſting of a Maſter, Two Wardens, and Nine Aſſiſtants, without Livery or Hall. They have a Warehouſe in Spitalfields, to which the Horns are ſent as brought from Town and Country Markets, and thence regularly divided, the Widows and Orphans of deceaſed Members having equal Shares.

[a] The Matter lying within, on which the Horn is formed, is called the Slough, and when dry is uſed in making Walls or Fences, in which covered from wet it will laſt a long Time. It is alſo moſt admirable in mending Roads, where the Soil is ſoft and ſpewy; for diſſolving it becomes a glutinous ſubſtance, that binds amazingly with Gravel. As a Manure they allow between Two and Three Quarter Sacks to an Acre. Horn Saw-Duſt with Mould is an excellent Compoſt for Flowers. It is alſo of Uſe in the hardening, and giving what is called a proper Temper to Metals.

[b] It has been ſhewn in a former Note how deſirous Foreigners were of having our Horns unwrought, which is wiſely prohibited, as is alſo the Importation of unwrought Horns into this Country. In A. D. 1750, we exported to Holland only of Lantern Leaves 514,500, beſides Powder Flaſks, &c. There was formerly a Duty of Twenty Shillings a Thouſand, under which Duty we exported, A. D. 1683, in the Whole 76,650. But by Stat. 8 Geo. I. cap. xv. theſe, and all other Manufactures made of Horns, may be exported free.

[c] Some of the Uſes to which this Material is applied have been mentioned in the Text, and others might be mentioned here, which however would not apprize the Reader of its Value

or

and Griſtles for the indifferent; and for the finer, all the Cuttings, Parings, and Scraps of Hides are boiled in Water, till the gelatinous Parts of them are thoroughly diſſolved; the Maſs being properly dried in the Sun or by the Wind becomes GLUE, which, while ſoft, is cut into Tablets or ſquare Pieces, which hardened become tranſparent, but having a greeniſh Caſt, and when uſed is diſſolved again in hot Water. The older the Beaſt, the better the Glue, more eſpecially if made from a Bull's Hide. The Conſumption of this Commodity by the numerous Artificers to whom it is of indiſpenſable Utility is prodigious, and of courſe the Value of it is very conſiderable. Of this likewiſe there is a very great Exportation, as Engliſh Glue is univerſally allowed to be the beſt in Europe, partly from the Excellency of the Materials, and partly from the Skill of the Manufacturers [d].

THE SINEWS are prepared ſo as to become a Kind of Thread or ſmall Cord, uſed in ſewing Saddles, in making Racquets, and other Things of a like Nature. The BONES, thoroughly burned, are reduced to a fine Powder, and become then of a beautiful and gloſſy black, which is uſed by the Painters. All of theſe Articles which have been ſuccinctly treated are of ſome, and ſeveral yield a good Price [e]. Many more might be added to theſe Inſtances without any Danger of exhauſting the Subject [f]; but we will

or Conſequences, which however is not inconſiderable. Serving as it does for a Variety of Purpoſes, it is in conſtant Demand, and is not worthleſs when decay'd. For when it hath loſt its Elaſticity in Mattreſſes, Cuſhions, &c. it is pulled out and wove; and worn out in this Shape, is torn for Manure. It pays Two Shillings an Hundred on Exportation.

[d] Innumerable Uſes are made of this Subſtance, by the Multitude of Artificers to whom it is neceſſary, ſo that there is a conſtant and regular, as well as very large and quick Sale for all that can be made. Experience however ſhews that Glue is much better for keeping. Our Glue bears a high Price abroad, and the Glue made in Flanders is next in Value. In both it is made by the Tanners from Fragments of good Skins, dried with much Care. In France it is a ſeparate Trade, and the Glue-makers pick up their Materials as they can, from the ſeveral Dealers in Skins, and boiling theſe with Cow Heels make their Glue, which as they purchaſe every Thing muſt render it dear, as well as of inferior Quality. The Duty on Exportation is Ten Pence, and on Importation Three Shillings and Ten Pence on an Hundred Weight.

[e] It is acknowledged that all theſe Accounts (though much Pains were taken about them) are very imperfect, and therefore we ought, as Occaſions occur, to aim at obtaining a more diſtinct Notion of each of theſe Articles. As to Bones we ſee the Rag-gatherers carefully pick them up (large one's eſpecially) in the Streets. Theſe make certain Rings, Tobacco Stoppers, Boxes, and who knows how many Things beſides? Ox Bones are alſo exported. In the Book of Rates, the thouſand is valued at Six Shillings and Eight Pence. A. D. 1754, we exported Thirty-two Thouſand to Holland. It is a theological Maxim of the judicious Lord Verulam, "That whatever GOD judged worthy of Eſſence, Man ought to eſteem worthy of Science." It is a Maxim taught us by Experience, that there is ſcarce any Thing ſo ſeemingly deſpicable out of which human Induſtry cannot extract a Living.

[f] Whatever is of Uſe hath its Value. The Hoofs of Oxen are employed in Caſe-hardening Iron, and alſo as a Manure. The Gall, from its ſaponaceous Nature, is of great Service to Dyers, and

will content ourſelves with adding only Two great and important Manufactures.

The firſt of theſe is Leather, the Benefits ariſing from which put the Capacity to the Stretch, and ſurpaſs our Powers of Calculation. It may ſeem ſtrange that this ſhould be aſſerted of the Skins of Bulls, Cows, and Oxen, for which the only Apology that can be made is, that in Point of Fact it is ſtrictly true, and that it may be ſaid farther, which ought to reconcile us to a ſtrict Attention to the homely Subject, that all theſe Benefits accrue to the Britiſh Nation [g]. Hides paſs from the Butcher to the Tanner, and from him to the Currier, and by their Labour theſe are converted into Leather, and are immediately after conſigned to ſuch a vaſt Variety of Tradeſmen, as are exceeded only by the Number of thoſe employed in the Woollen Manufacture [h]. In order to be convinced of this we need barely to make uſe of our Eyes. If we look abroad on the Inſtruments of Huſbandry, on the Implements uſed in moſt mechanic Trades, on the Structure of a Multitude of Engines and Machines, or if we contemplate at Home the neceſſary Parts of our Cloathing, Breeches, Shoes, Boots, Gloves, or the Furniture of our Houſes, the Books on our Shelves, the Harneſs of our Horſes, and even the Subſtance of our Carriages; what do we ſee but Inſtances of human Induſtry exerted upon Leather? What an Aptitude hath this ſingle Material in a Variety of Circumſtances for the Relief of our Neceſſities, and ſupplying Conveniencies in every State and Stage of Life?

others, for cleanſing, ſcouring, and other Purpoſes. Blood is uſed in ſome Places in boiling Salt, as a Compoſt for Fruit Trees, and is a capital Ingredient in making Pruſſian Blue. Bladders are in daily Demand for their Cheapneſs and Utility. The Guts of Oxen are put to many Uſes, exported, nay, and re-imported as a Covering to Bologna Sauſages. The thin Membrane of the Rectum or Streight-Gut is by a very curious Proceſs made into what is called Gold-Beaters Skin. From the Feet of Oxen is extracted Neats Foot Oil, which is in common Uſe, and hath this ſingular Property, that it will not freeze. True it is, that none of theſe are of conſiderable Worth; but it is as true, that they are all in every Beaſt that is killed.

[g] The Size of the Skin depends on the Size of the Beaſt, as is ſelf-evident. But the Value of the Skin is computed by its Weight; and it ſhould ſeem that in Proportion to the Weight of the Beaſt, the ſmaller Skins are heavieſt. In an Ox of Seven hundred Eighty-four Pounds the Skin was Eighty-four, that is nearly a Ninth. In an Ox of One hundred and Seventy Stone the Skin was Twelve Stone, nearly a Fourteenth. In Sir William Bagot's great Ox of 2686 lb. the Skin was 155 lb. which is but a Seventeenth.

[h] Beſides thoſe mentioned above, there are other conſiderable Dealers in Leather as a Commodity. Such as the Leather Cutter, the Leather Dreſſer, the Leather Dyer, the Leather Grounder, and the Leather Seller. All of theſe are very great and gainful Trades, and require large Capitals, becauſe moſt of them purchaſe with ready Money, and ſell on Credit. Some of them are very ingenious, and at the ſame Time laborious Employments, ſo that to their Skill and Induſtry the Superiority of our Leather is in ſome Meaſure owing.

Without

Without it, or even without it in the Plenty we have it, to what Difficulties ſhould we be expoſed [i]?

After thus anſwering almoſt innumerable Purpoſes, the very Rags, Relicks, and Recrements are not uſeleſs, as we have already ſeen. In order to form ſome Idea of the mighty Importance of this Article, we muſt attend to the very great Number of Perſons maintained by its different Manufactures, and by the Vending and Diſpoſing of them in very different Manners [k]. We muſt next recollect how large a Revenue the Publick reaps from theExciſe on this Commodity, which ſhews the Extenſiveneſs of Home Conſumption [l]. We muſt alſo advert to the conſtant and prodigious Exportation of tanned Hides and manufactured Leather, the whole Amount of which is ſo much clear Gain to the Nation. Laſtly, we ought to recollect, how well this beneficial Trade has been from time to time preſerved and protected, by a Diverſity of Laws enacted, altered, or repealed, as the publick Intereſt directed; and which Laws ſtill requiring frequent Reviſions, oblige the Legiſlature to an uninterrupted Attention to what contributes ſo much to the Welfare of private Perſons, and thereby to the Welfare and Happineſs of Society [m].

But

[i] It is underſtood, that a Cow Hide is the beſt; and the French have a ſenſible Proverb, which turns upon this, A la Boucherie les Vaches ſont Bœufs, et à la Tannerie les Bœufs ſont Vaches. In the Market Cows are Oxen, at the Tannery Oxen are Cows. In this Country the Addreſs of thoſe who prepare our Leather is ſo great, and they know how to manage the Materials ſo well, that every Manufacturer is not only readily ſupplied with Leather, but alſo with the particular Sort of Leather fitteſt for his Uſe.

[k] There is no better Method, at leaſt that I can deviſe to give ſome Notion of this Matter, than to give a Liſt of ſuch Trades, excluſive of thoſe already mentioned, as principally work on Leather. Such as Bellows-makers, Book-binders, Breeches-makers, Bridle-cutters, Buff Belt-makers, Cap-makers, Clog-makers, Coach-makers, Collar-makers, Cordwainers, Engine-makers, Fellmongers, Glovers, Harneſs-makers, Holſter Caſe-makers, Leather-bottom Chair-makers, Leather Bodice-makers, Leather Bucket and Pipe-makers, Leather Caſe-makers, Leather-Gilders, Patten-makers, Powder-machine-makers, Pump-makers, Sadlers, Screen-Makers, Sedan-makers, Shaving-ſtrap makers, Skinners, Sword-cutlers, Trunk-makers, Truſs-makers, Vellom and Parchment-makers, Whip and Thong-makers.

[l] The Exciſe on Leather was originally impoſed by Stat. 9 Ann. cap. xi. § 2. and extends to all Species of Leather tanned, tawed, or dreſſed in Oil. But the Expence of the War againſt France made it neceſſary to lay additional Duties, by Stat. 10 Ann. cap. xxvi. § 2. both for Thirty-two Years. Theſe Duties and additional Duties were made perpetual, and Part of the General Fund by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. vii. By the Statutes of Queen Anne before mentioned a Drawback was allowed on all manufactured Leather exported of Two thirds of the Exciſe, which by a ſubſequent Statute in the ſame Reign was altered to Three Halfpence on every Pound-weight. This Exciſe Duty on all Sorts of Leather, Vellom, and Parchment, produced, A. D. 1760, 204,291 *l.* A. D. 1761. 211,483 *l.* A. D. 1762. 218,700 *l.*

[m] Whoever peruſes theſe Laws, as they lie in our Statute Books, with Attention, and conſiders them candidly, will be convinced of the Truth of what is aſſerted in the Text. For theſe Statutes provide againſt the Exportation of raw Hides, which by 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. vii. is declared a common Nuiſance; for the preventing Butchers from Cutting, Gaſhing, or otherwiſe injuring

But before we abſolutely part with this Subject, it may not be improper to ſay ſomewhat with reſpect to Calves. Theſe, though they yield no Profit living, become notwithſtanding very valuable when killed, not only in reſpect to their Fleſh but their Skins, which are ſerviceable in a Variety of Ways, and of Courſe ſupply Materials to a Variety of Trades [n]. The Superiority of the Leather made from them occaſioned a great Exportation, eſpecially to France. The high Duty impoſed upon them, rendered the Commodity to them very dear. But what was ſtill more grievous to the French than the Duty, was the abſolute Prohibition of exporting any Skin weighing more than Four Pounds. It was this induced Mr. Colbert to countenance an Undertaking in the Suburb of St. Marcell at Paris for Dreſſing Calve Skins *façon d'Angleterre*, and very great Expectations were formed upon this Project. Yet, after the expending great Sums, this Scheme was dropped, the Undertaker declaring, that the Engliſh Animal was ſtronger when calved than the French when a Fortnight old, were afterwards better fed and managed; and that in conſequence of this, their Skins were of a ſuperior Nature, and not to be imitated by any Manner of Dreſſing [o]. The French were however great Gainers by the very Attempt, though, as we ſee, it had utterly miſcarried. For the Apprehenſions we were under of loſing ſo valuable a Trade as that then was, induced us to remove the Limitation, and to take ſome other Methods for its Preſervation, by which at the Time it happened both Parties were pleaſed. Certain it is, that our Calve Skins, whether tawed or otherwiſe dreſſed, continue ſtill to preſerve their Superiority, and, in conſequence of that, their Price [p]. But this

juring Skins; for the Tanning and otherwiſe Dreſſing them properly; for the preventing Differences and Diſputes amongſt the ſeveral Trades dealing in and manufacturing of Leather; and for committing the Inſpection of the Commodity to the principal Perſons in the Trades moſt intereſted in ſeeing thoſe Laws ſtrictly executed. By theſe Means, as the Subſtance of our Skins is remarkably good, ſo the Leather is moſt admirably dreſſed for anſwering every Purpoſe.

[n] Calve Skins are made into Leather every Way; that is, they are tanned, tawed, and dreſſed in Oil, and thus prepared, they may become the Material of many Manufacturers, as Cordwainers, Book-binders, Sadlers, &c. the thin ſmall Skins anſwer beſt for ſome Purpoſes, thoſe that are thicker and ſtronger for others. The thinneſt of all, and the Skins of abortive Calves, are made into Vellom. The Hair alſo is applied to the ſame Purpoſes with that of Oxen and Cows, and is therefore commonly mixed and ſold with them.

[o] This Fact may be found in Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 1142, 1143, but is confirmed by our Statute Book. By the Act, 12 Car. II. the high Duty and Prohibition of exporting large Skins were impoſed. By Stat. 20 Car. ii. cap. v. theſe Reſtraints were removed, and a Duty of One Shilling an Hundred-weight ſettled. It is remarkable, that it is ſaid in the Preamble of this Law, that the former Act, by diſcouraging Exportation, had abated the Price of Skins, to the Detriment of the Landed Intereſt.

[p] By the Act of the Ninth of Queen Anne theſe Skins tanned are charged with an Exciſe of Three Half-pence a Pound-weight, and the like Duty on Skins tawed or dreſſed. By the Act of the Tenth, with an additional Duty of Two Pence a Pound on tanned, and Three Half-pence a Pound on tawed. If exported, there is a Drawback allowed as ſettled by thoſe Acts. By the Firſt of thoſe Acts a Duty of One Shilling a Dozen, and by the Second Four Shillings a Dozen is im-

this Trade is not now ſo great an Object, becauſe our Home Conſumption is very much increaſed ſince that Period.

The Second capital Article in reſpect to Profit, that we derive from Black Cattle, is Tallow, which on a ſuperficial View may, to vulgar Apprehenſions, ſeem as ſordid, if not more ſo than Skins; but to the Eyes of the Conſiderate, will appear what it really is, a Thing of very conſiderable Value, ariſing from its extenſive Utility. In all the Beaſts that ruminate or chew the Cud, there is a particular Kind of Fat, which fixes and becomes hard of itſelf, which is called Suet, and this when cleaned, melted, and refined for Uſe, is what we ſtile Tallow [q]. The Conſumption of this is equally large and indiſpenſable, particularly in Candles and Soap, Things of neceſſary and continual Uſe; and it is likewiſe employed in moſt Branches of the Leather Manufacture, by Plumbers, and a Multitude of other Artificers, in a Variety of domeſtick Services, and in Phyſick [r]. It is evident therefore, that ſo conſtant, ſo copious, and we may truely add encreaſing an Expence of a Commodity, which though in ſmall Quantities of little Value, and therefore more freely uſed, muſt accumulate to an immenſe Conſumption. To attempt however the aſſigning its total Value with any Pretence to Exactneſs, would be very weak and abſurd, as it is altogether impoſſible to collect the Materials requiſite for making ſuch a Calculation. The only Means of helping the Reader to form a tolerable Notion of this Matter, is to mention the Produce of the

poſed on Vellom. The Diſadvantages that might ariſe from all theſe Duties upon Leather were foreſeen, and were conſequently laid (the additional Duties eſpecially) by the Houſe of Commons with much Difficulty and Reluctance; ſo that nothing but a viſible Neceſſity could have induced their Conſent. They have been continued from the ſame Neceſſity for the Support of publick Credit.

[q] In an Ox that weighed Seven hundred and Eighty Pounds, the Tallow weighed Eighty. In One that weighed One hundred and Seventy Stone, the Tallow weighed Nineteen. In an Ox weighing Two hundred Seventy-ſeven Stone the Tallow weighed only Twenty-one Stone. In Sir Walter Wagſtaffe Bagot's great Ox, which weighed no leſs than Two thouſand Six hundred and Eighty-ſix Pounds, the Tallow weighed Two hundred and Twenty-ſix Pounds, which is ſomewhat more than a Twelfth Part, whereas in the ſmalleſt of theſe it was between a Ninth and a Tenth.

[r] It is by this gradual Conſumption, if the Thing is in neceſſary and conſtant Uſe, that a Commodity (be it what it will) ſwells into Value, and in Conſequence of this, becomes an Object of private Oeconomy, then in Commerce, and at laſt in Policy. This will Excuſe that Serioufneſs with which Tallow is treated in the Text. For upon theſe Principles it was, that ſo early as the Firſt of Elizabeth it was made Felony to export Tallow clandeſtinely. This Law was indeed repealed; but by Stat. 18 Eliz. cap. v. the Prohibition is renewed under very heavy Penalties, confirmed by Statute 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. vii. § 5. The Importation of Tallow from other Countries is alſo allowed, but under ſuch a Duty as not to interfere with our own Commodity. By theſe Means (ſo far as Laws can do it) the publick Intereſt is guarded, for if at any Time expedient this Duty may be reduced or ſuſpended.

Tax upon Candles [s], a Moiety of which only belongs to the Head that we are now treating, and the other Moiety to Sheeps Tallow. As to the Conſumption in Soap, upon which there is alſo a Tax, that is ſtill leſs concluſive, as it is compoſed of a Variety of Ingredients, of which this is only One, and that but in ſome Kinds of Soap [t]. We muſt therefore truſt to the Obviouſneſs of the Facts that have been before ſtated, and leave them to the Reader's Conſideration.

In regard to Deer, the Hiſtory of them as Animals belongs to the Naturaliſts, as Beaſts of Chace to thoſe Authors who have wrote on Hunting, all that comes within our Plan is to ſhew their Utility [u]. No Country in Europe, in the Opinion of Foreigners as well as our own, is in all Reſpects fitter for them than this, or breeds them of a larger Size. In our Foreſts and Chaces we have Plenty of Red Deer, the Male of which is called a Stag or Hart, the Female a Hind, and the young One a Fawn. The Hart is a noble Creature, tall, admirably ſhaped, and remarkable for Strength, Swiftneſs, and Beauty. His Head is adorned with ſtately Horns, which, after he comes to his full Size, he caſts annually. The Hind wants theſe, but in all other Reſpects is as fine a Creature as the Stag [w]. The Fallow

[s] The Duties were originally impoſed by Stat. 8 Ann. cap. ix. § 1. of One Half-penny on a Pound for Thirty-two Years. By Stat. 9 Ann. cap. xxi. § 7. the former Duty was rendered perpetual, and by the ſame Act an additional Duty was laid of another Half-penny, and by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. vii. made perpetual, and Part of the General Fund. Theſe Taxes produced, A. D. 1752. 150,051*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* and A. D. 1762. 184,545*l.* 18*s.* 5½*d.* But the whole Duty is drawn back if Candles are exported.

[t] By Stat. 10 Ann. cap. xix. § 1. a Duty of One Penny on every Pound of Soap was impoſed for Thirty Two Years, made perpetual, and Part of the General Fund by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. vii. By Stat. 12 Ann. cap. ix. § 1. an additional Duty of One Half-penny was laid for the ſame Term, which was alſo made perpetual by Stat. 6 Geo. I. cap. iv. Theſe Duties produced, A. D. 1751. 143,737*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* and the groſs Produce in A. D. 1761. 183,459*l.* 2*s.* 11½*d.* But the whole Duty is drawn back on all Soap that is exported.

[u] Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib. iv. cap. xi. p. 502. Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. lib. vi. cap. 11. lib. vii. cap. 39. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 48. viii. cap. 32. xxviii. cap. 9. Raii Quadr. 84, 85. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 166. Linnæi Syſt. Nat. vol. i. p. 67. Hariſon's Deſcription of Britaine, B. iii. chap. 7. Fuller's Worthies, Hampſhire, p. 1. Oxfordſhire, p. 325. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 55. Moreton's Natural Hiſtory of Northamptonſhire, p. 11, 12. 253. 452, 453. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 288, 289. Salmon's New Survey of England, vol. i. p. 145—153. Hill's Hiſtory of Animals, p. 577, 578. Maiſon Ruſtique, liv. vii. chap. 24, 25, 26, 27. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. p. 487, 488. L'Agronome, tom. i. p. 150. 192. 243. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 724, 725. Beauſobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique des Finances, et du Commerce, tom. i. p. 75. Dictionnaire Univerſel de Hiſtoire Naturelle. tom. i. p. 493. 616. tom. ii. p. 181. La Nouvelle Maiſon Ruſtique, tom. ii. p. 610—625. Encyclopedie portative, tom. i. p. 277. 414.

[w] We have now no Idea of Red Deer, other than as wild, fierce, and intractable Animals, from whence no Profit is to be drawn till dead. But this was not always the Caſe, as we learn from Girald Barry, commonly ſtiled Geraldus Cambrenſis (Itiner. Cambriæ, lib. ii. cap. 6.) who ſays, that in A. D. 1188, when he attended Baldwin Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who went to preach

FALLOW DEER are moſtly kept in Parks, of which it is ſaid we have more in this Iſland than in all the Reſt of Europe. The Male of theſe is ſtiled the Buck, and the Female the Doe. In point of Size, they are inferior to the Red Deer, yet are juſtly eſteemed for their exquiſite Beauty, reſembling thoſe in moſt other Reſpects, notwithſtanding which they never herd or mingle with them. Of the Fallow Deer there are many Varieties, ſome finely marked, ſome mottled, but commonly of a red ſandy Colour, which from them is called Fallow [x]. They are at preſent kept for Sport, Pleaſure, and Grandeur, though by no means in ſuch Numbers as heretofore, many Parks being turned into Farms.

THE Red Deer live moſtly by browſing on the green Boughs in Summer, and on the Bark of Trees in Winter; but the chief Food of the Fallow Deer is Graſs, though they will alſo browſe on the tender Shoots. Both the Hind and the Doe carry their Young between Eight and Nine Months, they bring generally One, and very rarely Two Fawns at a Time, which they educate with great Tenderneſs, and teach them to avoid the Purſuit of the Dogs, to which they readily expoſe themſelves for their Preſervation. The Hart or Stag was anciently ſuppoſed to be a very long-lived Animal, and to have often exceeded the Term of a Hundred Years, but of late this has been controverted; and it is now held, how juſtly I pretend not to ſay, that they do not reach to more than Forty, and the Buck but to Thirty [y]. There were formerly in this Country Abundance of Roebucks, though there are few or none of them now. Theſe ſtill remain in North Britain, in the Highlands eſpecially; but they are gradually wearing out even there. Theſe Animals, though much ſmaller than even the Fallow Deer, are certainly of the ſame Kind, very beautiful and very ſprightly, delighting to live in rough Countries, exceedingly wild; but their Fleſh is eſteemed excellent Veniſon [z].

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the Croiſade through Wales, they were hoſpitably entertained at a Nobleman's Houſe, whoſe Wife regaled them with Cheeſe made of Hinds Milk, the Produce of her own Dairy.

[x] The great Difference next to Size, between the Stag and the Buck, is in the Horns, thoſe of the latter being flat and broad at the Top, ſpreading out like an Hand, whence it is called Cervus palmatus, ſive, platyceros. The Skin is ſofter, the Fleſh finer, and the Creature in all Reſpects more delicate than the Stag. The Fallow Deer ſeem to be confined to temperate Climates, ſeldom found in the bleak Forreſts of the North, and of a diminutive Size in the warmer Regions of the South. In Spain, the Bucks are however almoſt as large as Stags.

[y] If Antiquity could derive any juſt Credit to Opinion, the long Life of Stags could ſcarce be called in Queſtion, being firſt aſſerted by Heſiod, and ſupported ſince by general Aſſent. It is indeed true, that the noble Verulam (Hiſt. Vitæ et Mortis, Art. iii. § 8.) drew this old Notion into Suſpicion, from the Time this Animal arrives at its full Growth, which he fixes at Five Years. Modern Authors have poſitively denied the Longevity of Stags on this Suggeſtion, and framed thereupon a new Term of Life. But after all, this is a Point which Facts, well atteſted, can only determine.

[z] The Roebuck, in Latin Capreolus, and by the French called Chevreil, is undoubtedly of the Deer Kind, reſembling in ſome Properties the Stag, in others the Buck, yet in ſome Reſpects different

It is to the Idea of Pleaſure, Amuſement, and Magnificence, connected with the Poſſeſſion of Deer, that we owe the ſtill numerous Foreſts and Chaces, and the very many extenſive and beautiful Parks that adorn this Iſland, which in their preſent State are of conſiderable, and might be made of much more conſiderable Utility [a]. But excluſive of theſe, Deer, conſidered in themſelves, though principally Objects of Delight, are not altogether unattended with Profit. In reſpect to their Fleſh, that of the Stag is but coarſe, neither is the Hind much commended; but the Fawn, when fat, and in the proper Seaſon, is very fine. The Fallow Deer are in this Country the Veniſon moſt eſteemed, and ſupply the Tables of the Great and Rich with excellent Food, both in Summer and in Winter. The Horns both of the Stag and Buck furniſh a great Variety of Medicines, which though more regarded heretofore than at preſent, are notwithſtanding ſtill in ſome Form or other in general and common Uſe [b]. They are likewiſe employed by the Cutlers, and in the making ſome Sort of Toys. The Hair when taken from the Skins is held rather better than any other Sort,

different from both. In Courage, Fierceneſs, and Activity, at leaſt equal to the Hart, fuller of cunning, and harder to be taken; in Colour, Shape, and Look, nearer the Buck; but neater, and hath brighter Eyes. It is eaſier to mark the Differences that effectually diſtinguiſh this Species. The Horns are ſtrong, and have ſeldom more than five Tines, they are ſhed in Autumn, not in the Spring like the Stag. The Doe brings her Young in the Middle of the Sixth Month, and hath Two Fawns, a Male and a Female. The Roebuck is conſtant to his Doe; they do not live like the Fallow Deer, but in Families. They are hardly ever tamed, cannot be well kept in Parks, and are uſually killed by a Shot. The Fleſh, Horns, Skin, &c. anſwer the ſame Purpoſes as thoſe of other Deer.

[a] Parks are of greater Antiquity in this Country than Foreſts, for theſe were introduced by our Norman Princes, whereas Parks were in Uſe amongſt the Saxons, as appears by Doomſday. In their Parks, our Anceſtors preſerved and bred foreign Animals, remarkable for Beauty or Uſe, and this was no Doubt a Point of Prudence not unworthy Imitation. Mr. Anſon, at his Seat of Shugborough in Staffordſhire, hath Two of the Muffoli, a Kind of Corſican Stag, with Horns turning back like Rams, and their Skin almoſt impenetrable. Theſe were alſo, and ſome ſtill are Nurſeries of ſtately and uſeful Timber, and in all of them Corners might be found planted and fenced, where ſome Hundred of Oak, Aſh, and Elm might riſe unheeded to Perfection. Thus the Park ſpringing from the Pride of one Generation may become a Source of Profit to the next. In theſe alſo exotic Trees may be, and in ſeveral are already reconciled to our Soil and Climate. Thus, near a Century ſince, the Anceſtor of the Earl of Moyra, cauſed many curious Trees and Plants to be brought from Jamaica, which ſtill live and flouriſh at his Seat in the County of Down, in our Siſter Iſland of Ireland. Parks ſeem likewiſe to be Places exceedingly proper for the making Eſſays in Huſbandry; and this Kind of Experimental Agriculture, which might be here practiſed very commodiouſly at a ſmall Expence, would at once afford a rational Amuſement, and prove a moſt eſſential Service to this Country, by rendering the Science of Cultivation reſpectable, and giving every new Improvement the faireſt Chance, by putting it into the moſt proper Hands.

[b] It is almoſt ſufficient to mention the Word HARTSHORN to juſtify all that is ſaid in the Text. Shavings of Hartſhorn boiled become a Jelly, which hath been thought ſtrengthening, nouriſhing, and ſitting Light on the Stomach. Calcined Hartſhorn is uſed to ſtop Fluxes. The Spirit of Hartſhorn is in common Uſe, and the Oil is generally applied externally, the volatile Salt is by many held a moſt noble and efficacious Medicine. Without entering into their Merits, there is a large and conſtant Conſumption of all, and ſome of them bear a good Price.

and

and is ſold with other Hair for Purpoſes that have been already mentioned. The Marrow is very rich and high flavoured, ſuppoſed to have many medicinal Virtues, and in France is melted, then caſt into little Cakes, which are ſold at a pretty good Price. The Suet is eſteemed the beſt of any, is very emollient, ſubtile, and penetrating, and moſt of it is uſed in Phyſick [c]. But theſe are all of little Value in compariſon of the Skin, which is cloſe, ſoft, warm, and very beautiful. It is dreſſed in every Way that Leather can be dreſſed, and is held preferable to any other for a Multitude of Purpoſes, ſuch as the making Gloves, Breeches, Belts, and many other Things [d]. It is alſo in Credit with the Furriers, who make it into Muffs with the Hair on. We have more of theſe Creatures, as is on all Hands allowed, than in any of the neighbouring Countries, and yet their Skins would ſcarce ſuffice for our Home Conſumption. It is therefore not at all wonderful, that we ſhould annually import, eſpecially from our own Colonies, very large Quantities of Deer Skins of different Kinds. Theſe become the Objects of the Skill and Induſtry of our Artificers, by whom they are wrought up into different Articles, and furniſh a very plentiful as well as a lucrative Exportation [e].

SWINE, though never eſteemed for their Beauty, in their Nature rather diſagreeable, and affording little either of Profit or Pleaſure while living, from their almoſt inexpreſſible Utility, when once deprived of Life, have been always conſidered as exceedingly beneficial to Mankind. On this Account we find them highly celebrated by the Ancients, to whom the Moderns ſtand much obliged for the beſt and moſt ſenſible Precepts that can

[c] Anciently it was believed that Stags lived much upon Serpents, and from thence it was concluded that all Parts of the Stag had very ſingular Virtues. They diſtilled a Water from the Head; the Powder of the calcined Bones in the Tail was eſteemed a Specifick for the Stone, Dyſentery, and Colic; the Blood dried was an effectual Sudorific; and the Bone in the Heart taken in Powder contributed to long Life. Theſe have loſt their Credit; but the Marrow and Suet, and an Oil diſtilled from the latter, are yet in Uſe as Unguents.

[d] Theſe Skins are in their Nature exceedingly good tawed or dreſſed in Oil, are incomparable for all Uſes; but through the Neceſſities of the State, they are charged with very heavy Duties; for by the Firſt Act in the Reign of Q. Anne, theſe Skins tawed are charged with Three Pence a Pound-weight, and with the ſame Sum by the Second. Deer Skins dreſſed in Oil pay by the firſt Four, and by the ſecond Two Pence a Pound. In neither Caſe (as I apprehend) is there any Drawback allowed upon Exportation.

[e] We import theſe Skins under a Duty, and upon Payment of this they are ſtamped, which exempt them from the Exciſe Duties. The Dexterity and Neatneſs of our Artificers make all the Manufactures into which they are wrought ſo beautiful, and at the ſame Time ſo ſtrong and ſerviceable, as to give them, notwithſtanding their high Price, a Superiority over our Competitors at foreign Markets; and no Doubt, as ſoon as the Circumſtances of our Finances will admit, our Legiſlature will take away, or at leaſt diminiſh thoſe Impoſitions that are ſo viſibly detrimental to Commerce.

be given for their right Choice, and the proper Management of them [f]; Precepts founded in Reaſon and Nature, and confirmed by the Experience of later Writers, who knew not that they had been publiſhed by them before. As theſe Creatures are of ſuch general Advantage, we find them almoſt univerſally ſpread over the Face of the Globe. By the benevolent Hand of Providence they have been placed in Europe, in Aſia, and in Africa, and by the aſſiduous Care of the Spaniards and Portugueſe, in many of the Iſlands, and on both the Northern and Southern Continents of America, where they have ſince run wild [g]. In the Southern and warmer Climates their Fleſh is finer, their Juices are richer, and their Taſte better; but they are more regarded, and much greater Attention is ſhewn to them in temperate and colder Countries, eſpecially in the North, where they thrive exceedingly, and yield the People in return for their Care no inconſiderable Part of their Subſiſtence [h]. There is however perhaps no Country in which Swine have been more happily managed, and in conſequence of this in no Country do they turn to more Benefit or produce a larger Profit, than in Britain. This however is by no means to be reckoned amongſt the Number of new Acquiſitions; on the contrary, for this our Iſland hath been always famous. It is notwithſtanding a Point of Juſtice to acknowledge, that all our Writers on rural Oeconomy have paid a proper and a conſtant Regard to this Subject, and ſpared no Pains to ſupport, and even to augment that Reputation, which in this Reſpect we had ſo long Time ſince attained [i].

[f] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib. v. cap. xiii. lib. vi. cap. xvii, xviii. lib. viii. cap. ix. Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. lib. x. cap. xvi. Var. de Re Ruſtica, lib. ii. cap. iv. Columel. lib. vii. cap ix. x xi. Florentinus in Geopon. lib xix. cap. vi. Plin. Hiſt. Natural lib. viii. cap. li. Aldrovan. Biſulc. 937. 1013. Raii Quadr. 92. 96. Meretti Pin. Rerum Natur. Britannicarum, p. 166. Sibbaldi Prodrom. Nat. Hiſt. Scotiæ, P. ii. lib. iii. cap. iii. Charlt. Exer. 13. Linnæi Syſtema Naturæ, tom. i. p. 49. Vanier Præd. 302.

[g] There is beſides theſe, a Species of Hogs natural in and peculiar to America. They are of a dark Colour, ſmaller than ours, having a Gland open on the Rump, which ſome Writers ſtile its Navel. It contains a thin yellow Muſk-ſcented Liquor, the Briſtles, as they are called, are ſhort, and ſoft on the Limbs and the Body, but hard, reſembling thoſe of a Porcupine, and Five Inches long on the Back. It is called Tajacu, is common in Panama, New-Spain, Nicaragua, Terra Firma, and the Braſils. See Dr. Tyſon's Accurate Deſcription in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. cliii. p. 359.

[h] Maiſon Ruſtique, liv. i. ch. xxiv. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. col. 624—631. L'Agronome, tom. i. p. 207—210. tom. ii. p. 212. 416. 444. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 790—794. 943. tom. iii. col. 289. Introduction a la Etude de la Politique, des Finances, et du Commerce, tom i. p. 74. Dictionnaire Univerſelle de Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. v. p. 90—100. La Nouvelle Maiſon Ruſtique, Part. ii. liv. iv. ch. v. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. ii. p. 719.

[i] Fitzherbert's Book of Huſbandry, p. 67. Googe's Whole Art of Huſbandry, fol. 140—145. Hariſon's Deſcription of Britaine, B. iii. ch. viii. Fuller's Britiſh Worthies in Hantſhire, p. 2. Markham's Cheap and Good Huſbandry, p. 99—107. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, B. iii. ch. viii. Derham's Phyſico Theology, p. 206. 213. 257. 321. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. ii. p. 322—340. Hill's Hiſtory of Animals, p. 571.

THE Male of theſe Creatures is called a BOAR, an Animal of an uncouth Aſpect, dull in the Senſes of Taſting and Feeling, but exceedingly quick in his Sight, his Hearing, and his Scent; choſen with great Care when kept for the Propagation of his Species, and thus employed from the Age of Two to Five Years, and then either ſold or fatted [k]. The Males not allotted to this Uſe are caſtrated, ſometimes at the Age of Six Weeks, and ſometimes when they are Six Months old, and then fed to a Size either for Sale or for the Uſe of the Family. Sows are kept for Breed generally from One Year old to Seven, and are then ſpayed and fatted. They have commonly more Greaſe on their Inteſtines than Hogs, theſe being fatteſt on their Backs [l]. As to the Age of theſe Animals, we know nothing of it with any Certainty; ſome of the Moderns ſay, they will live Thirty Years, but the older they are, the more difficult it is to make them fat, and therefore they ſeldom reach to the Tenth Part of their natural Age, being killed for Pork at Nine, and for Bacon at Fourteen or Eighteen Months [m]. As theſe Creatures have very large Stomachs, they are exceedingly voracious, inſomuch that Sows often eat their Pigs. But as they will feed almoſt on any Thing, they are bred and kept every where, and are quickly and cheaply fatted [n]. The Sow farrows in Sixteen Weeks or a little more, and conſequently

[k] It is obſerved by Columella, that in Swine, as in other Quadrupedes, much depends on the right Choice of the Male. A Boar ought to be of a large Size, but rather ſquare and compact, than either long or round. His Belly capacious and depending, his Flanks ſtout and fleſhy, his Legs not over long, his Hoofs proportionable, his Neck thick and ſturdy, his Snout ſhort and turning up. The Sow ſhould be of a longer Make, in other Reſpects the liker the Boar the better. Varro beſides theſe Marks bids us remark the Nature, the Kind, and the Country from which the Boar is brought. Columella ſays, that in a cold Country the Herd ſhould have exceeding ſtrong, thick, black Briſtles. In warmer Climates they may be of a lighter Colour, in ſome they are not the worſe for being ſmooth and white. With us they differ in their Colour and their Size; but our Farmers know very well how to make them, of whatever Size they are, turn to Account, and how, if they think it neceſſary, to mend the Breed. This appears from the Difference of the Pork expoſed to Sale, which is commonly between Ten and Twenty Stone, or Twenty-five Stone at moſt. Hogs however may be and have been fed up to no leſs than Fourſcore Stone, or Six hundred and Forty Pounds.

[l] Fitzherbert, the Parent of our Huſbandry, though he highly commends Swine, is by no Means a Friend to Hogs. "See, ſays he, how many Swine thou art able to keep; let them be all Boars "and Sows and no Hogs." His Reaſoning in Support of this, I might have Weight in his own Times. A Boar is as cheap kept, adds he, as a Hog, affords more and better Meat at any Time, either eaten freſh or ſouſed. A Sow pays for her Keeping by her Pigs. Since we have no longer the ſame Taſte for Boar's Fleſh it is no Wonder our Oeconomy in this Reſpect ſhould alter.

[m] It may ſeem ſtrange that we ſhould not know the natural Term of theſe Creatures Lives that are ſo very common. But a true and it is hoped a ſatisfactory Reaſon is given in the Text, viz. that it is inconſiſtent with our Intereſt to know it. Ariſtotle ſays, they may reach Twenty; Lord Verulam, from Fifteen to Twenty; ſome French Authors extend their Age to Twenty-five or Thirty; and this, though not eſtabliſhed by any poſitive Fact, is nevertheleſs very likely to be true, and poſſibly wild Swine may live longer.

[n] Swine are fit for all Countries, and if they eat much, will eat alſo whatever can be eat, and what no Animals beſides would eat, and this conſtitutes One great Part of their Value. In miry

ſequently may, though they rarely have Three Litters of Pigs in a Year. They have at moſt but Twelve Teats, and conſequently cannot bring up more Pigs, though there have been Inſtances of their having Twenty at a Litter [o]. Theſe Animals in different Counties are of very different Sizes. In Leiceſterſhire, Northamptonſhire, and Pembrokeſhire they are very large. In Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, and where-ever they can run in the Woods, and feed on Maſt and Acorns, their Fleſh is firmer and better. They are ſubject to many Diſeaſes, proceeding moſtly from their foul Feeding. Their Sickneſs is more eaſily diſcovered than cured, and is beſt prevented by the keeping them, as the Ancients ſtrongly recommended, very clean in their Sties, allowing them Air, Exerciſe, and Plenty of Water [p]. Many Improvements have been made of late Years in their Management, ſo that we feed them cheaper, keep them ſweeter, and Cure their Fleſh much better than formerly. There are ſtill ſome of the wild Breed, and formerly many more were preſerved in Chaces. Theſe are not ſo large or ſo fat as the tame; but their Fleſh is whiter, more delicate and firmer. The Chineſe Breed are common; they are ſmaller, blacker, and their Legs ſhorter than ours, ſo that when fat their Bellies,

and in marſhy Grounds (to which they are not averſe) they devour Worms, Frogs, Fern, Ruſh, and Sedge Roots. In drier and in woody Countries, they feed on Hips, Haws, Sloes, Crabs, Maſt, Cheſnuts, Acorns, &c. and on this Food they will grow fleſhy and fat. They are a Kind of natural Scavengers, will thrive on the Traſh of an Orchard, the Out-caſts of the Kitchen, the Sweepings of Barns and Granaries, the Offals of a Market, and moſt richly on the Refuſe of a Dairy. If near the Sea they will ſearch the Shores for Shell Fiſh; in the Fields they eat Graſs, and in Cities and great Towns they are kept in great Numbers, and ſupported chiefly by Grains. It is evident that the Facility of Feeding them every where at a ſmall Expence is a national Benefit, more eſpecially in a Country where the People are accuſtomed to eat Fleſh daily, and could not perhaps perform their daily Labour if they did not. It is no leſs obſerveable, that notwithſtanding this Facility of Feeding, and the Multitudes of Swine maintained, they ſeldom fail of coming to a good Market.

[o] The great Fecundity of theſe Animals is not ſimply an Inſtance, but a Proof of their Utility; for in the Oeconomy of Providence, Beaſts of Prey have few, Beaſts of Profit many Young. In the preſent Inſtance, the wild Sow farrows but once, the tame One commonly twice, in April and in October, and may rear Sixteen to Eighteen Pigs. Mr. Liſle obſerves (it is probable with Truth) that Gentlemen ſeldom gain as Farmers do by breeding Swine, but the Nation gains in both Caſes.

[p] In no Part of Europe is the Management of theſe Creatures better underſtood than in this Country. The Time of Farrowing is adjuſted to the Nature of the Farm, the Food it can Supply; and the Number of Pigs ſold and kept are in like Manner adjuſted. New Kinds of Food, more wholeſome and nutritive than what were uſed formerly, have been introduced, ſuch as Turnips, Carrots, Clover, &c. They are in moſt Places regularly managed, and cloſely attended. Tuſſer many Years ſince affirmed from his own Experience, that a Sow might bring as much Profit as a Cow. In ſome Counties (if I am not miſinformed) a Sow dependant on a Dairy hath produced, all Expences deducted, about Ten Pounds in the Space of a Year. It may be ſome Satisfaction to the Reader to know, that on a nice Calculation, the annual Profits of a Sow in France are found to be between Fifty and Sixty Livres.

literally touch the Ground. They thrive exceedingly well with us, are very prolifick, and their Fleſh admirably fine and well taſted [q].

In treating of the Advantages derived from theſe Creatures, it is to be obſerved, that the Fleſh of all their different Kinds, and at all Ages, is looked upon as a very wholeſome, ſubſtantial, and agreeable Aliment, and of Courſe, in their proper Seaſons, the different Sorts of Proviſions this ſupplies are all of them very ſaleable. The wild Boar was eſteemed a prime Delicacy amongſt the Romans, and the Fleſh of the tame was much more in Favour with our Anceſtors than with us, though BRAWN has ſtill many Admirers, is made in the greateſt Perfection, and conſidered as a Rarity peculiar to this Country [r]. Pork, though it might be wiſely prohibited in ſome warm Countries, is found by Experience equally nutritive and ſalutary here. As ſuch it furniſhes a very large Proportion of that Food which is vended in our Markets, and the Conſumption of it is prodigious when pickled or ſalted, more eſpecially in our foreign Garriſons, and in the Sea Service [s]. Our Bacon is differently cured, ſo as to render it acceptable to all Palates, and our Hams not at all inferior to thoſe of other Countries [t]. The Entrails of other Animals are of little Value, but thoſe of Swine are ſo acceptable in themſelves, and ſo diverſified in their Preparations, as to be deſervedly conſidered in another Light [u]. Lard, which is the firmer Fat of theſe

[q] Theſe are the ſame Kind with thoſe of Siam and through the Eaſt Indies, coming nearer in all Reſpects to the wild Breed than ours. The Banians abſtain from all Fleſh; the Moors abhor Swines Fleſh; but the Chineſe prefer it to all Kinds of Food, and thoſe who can afford it have Hog Meat of ſome Sort or other at their Tables every Day. The Chineſe are great Farmers and excellent Oeconomiſts, ſet an high Value on Swine, keep many of them, and at ſo ſmall an Expence, that they are always at a reaſonable Price.

[r] Pliny tells us, P. Servillius Rullus was the firſt who brought a whole Boar roaſted to Table; but that in his own Time it was not uncommon to have Two or Three ſerved up Whole at one Feaſt. In Queen Elizabeth's Time, the Head, the Fleſh of the Neck called Collars, the Shoulders ſtiled Shields, and the Ribs were dignified with the Title of Brawn, the Reſt, from the Liquid in which it was kept, and which was often changed to prevent its becoming ſour, had the Name of Sowſe, and was eaten by the Servants and meaner People.

[s] Small labouring Families in the Country ſeldom taſte any Fleſh but that of their Pig, which if they could not keep almoſt for nothing they would ſcarce taſte Fleſh at all. As they are ſupported by, they are alſo the great Support, in point of Profit, of our Dairies. Hogs are a principal Commodity in moſt of our conſiderable Fairs. In a Word, the breeding, feeding, managing, carrying to proper Markets, buying and ſelling them, forms a great Object, maintains Multitudes, and is a Trade daily encreaſing.

[t] In this we have made great Improvements within theſe laſt Fifty Years; ſo that in Hampſhire, Berkſhire, and in ſeveral other Counties, it is prepared and cured in the utmoſt Perfection, which is not only a Benefit to the original Proprietors, but to the Waggoners who carry, and the Cheeſemongers who vend it; to ſay nothing of the immenſe Conſumption it occaſions of Greens, Roots, &c. for the Production of which we have Thirty Thouſand Acres of Garden Grounds well let in the Vicinity of this great Metropolis.

[u] This is undoubtedly a Fact. The Heads, Ears, Feet, Chitterlings, &c. are all ſold; the Inmeat compoſes Sauſages, black and white Puddings, &c. It is true, theſe are ſmall Matters, all of them very

theſe Animals, ſerves for ſuch a Variety of Uſes as renders it even dearer than Suet. That which is ſofter, and is commonly ſtiled Hog's Greaſe, hath likewiſe its Uſes, and conſequently its Value. The Skin is peculiarly fit when dreſſed for ſeveral Purpoſes [w]. The Briſtles are alſo employed in various Ways, and in different Manufactures. The Dung of Swine is reputed next in Value to that of Sheep, and is of excellent Uſe in Vineyards, and as a Manure in general to Fruit Trees [x]. It is from this ſuccinct Repreſentation of Particulars, that the Value of Swine muſt be rendered very conſpicuous to every intelligent Reader; and to what Height this Value ariſes, might be rendered equally evident, if we could come at any exact Calculation of the Conſumption. But though this is by no Means in our Power, yet it is ſufficiently known to be very great here at Home; and for the Encouragement of Exportation there is a Bounty allowed of Five Shillings on each Barrel of ſalted Pork [y].

After ſpeaking ſuccinctly to ſuch Animals as ſupply us with Subſiſtence, Cloathing, and are otherwiſe of Uſe, we come next to thoſe which, though not in theſe, are ſerviceable in Carriage, Draught, and in many other Reſpects. The Horse claims the firſt Place amongſt thoſe for his Spirit, Strength, and Sagacity, all which in a Variety of Ways render this Creature

very ſmall Matters: But ſmall as they are, Labour, Skill, and Induſtry raiſe them into ſuch a Value as furniſhes Subſiſtence to Numbers, and thereby creates Circulation. What, except in a greater Degree, can the richeſt Commodities do more? Theſe Appurtenances have been computed at Ten Shillings; if ſo, theſe ſmall Matters even in this Town will produce in a Year Seventy thouſand Pounds.

[w] The firm Fat before melted is much uſed in the Kitchen, though not near ſo much as in France. So alſo is the Lard, which is alſo of Uſe in Phyſick, and in various Manufactures; the ſofter is employed by Woolcombers, &c. Of the Skin they make Collars for large Dogs and Sieves; and of the Boars Skin, with the Hair on, Covers for Trunks. Of the Briſtles, which the French call Soye de Porc, are made ſeveral different Kinds of Bruſhes, as alſo ſome Sorts of Pencils. They are likewiſe uſed by Sadlers, Shoemakers, &c. in ſewing their Work.

[x] Mr. Worlidge (Survey of Huſbandry, p. 172) propoſes that Swine ſhould be turned into a Cloſe, well paled, and planted with Greens, Pulſe, and Roots, on which they may feed, and by their trampling and their Dung raiſe a great Quantity of excellent Soil. Mr. Mortimer aſſures us (Art of Huſbandry, vol. i. p. 117.) that ſome, on poor light ſhallow Land in Staffordſhire, ſow a ſmall white Pea, which they never reap, but turn in ſo many Hogs to eat them as they think they will fat, and there they lie Day and Night, and their Dung will ſo enrich the Land, that it will bring a good Sward upon it, and will graze many Years afterwards. Our old Huſbandmen had an ill Opinion of this Dung, as ſuppoſing it bred Weeds, which any Dung will do that abounds in Salts. In ſome Places they waſh with Hogs Dung for want of Soap, which anſwers tolerably well, if the Linnen hangs long enough in the Air to become thoroughly ſweet.

[y] It is exceedingly difficult to come at any competent Knowledge of the Number of Hogs ſpent in London in a Year. Yet without this no diſtinct Notion can be formed on a Subject ſo much laboured. After comparing carefully ſeveral Accounts taken in different Methods, it ſeems certain that there are at leaſt One hundred and Fifty thouſand Hogs brought annually hither, about Fifty thouſand more in Bacon, and upwards of Sixty thouſand Pigs.

infinitely

infinitely uſeful to Men. The Ancients have given us very copious and accurate, as well as moſt elegant Deſcriptions of this Animal, and entered very amply into the proper Methods of managing Horſes according to the ſeveral Ways in which they were then employed [z]. The Moderns alſo, ſince the Revival of true Science, have written very largely on the ſame Subject, and many of them with great Skill and Judgment, as on a Matter of much Importance, and of the moſt extenſive Uſe [a]. Some Perſons of diſtinguiſhed Rank have likewiſe in different Ages treated of Horſes and their Management with equal Science and Perſpicuity [b]. The generous STEED, to ſay the Truth, is ſo peculiarly adapted to the Occaſions of the Rich and Great, and ſo uſeful to them eſpecially, both for Service and Sport, that we need not at all wonder at his becoming the particular Object of their Attention.

THE Horſe in his Nature is as gentle and docile, as in Appearance he is a noble, majeſtic, and well-proportioned Animal, but his peculiar Excellencies are determined by the Service for which he is deſigned [c]. A Stone-horſe intended for the Covering of Mares is called a STALLION, and is choſen for that Reaſon with great Caution, as perfect in all Reſpects as poſſible, and may ſerve for this Purpoſe from Three or Four to Seventeen or

[z] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. vi. cap. 22. Var. de Re Ruſtica, lib. ii. cap. 7. Virgil. Georg. lib. iii. Columel. de Re Ruſtica, lib. vi. cap. 27—35. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 48. Camdeni Britan. p. 26. 524. Verulam. Hiſt. Vitæ et Mortis Art. iii. § 7. Geſner Quadrup. 132. Raii Quadr. 62. Sibbaldi Prodrom. Nat. Hiſt. Scotiæ; P. ii. lib. iii. § ii. cap. 6. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 166. Linnæi Syſtem. Naturæ, vol. i. p. 73.

[a] Libro de Albeyteria; por Franciſco de la Reyna, en Salamanca, A. D. 1580, 4to. Della Agricoltura, di M. Africo Clemente Padouano, lib. v. cap. viii. p. 344. Creſcenzi dell' Agricoltura, lib. ix. cap. 1—57. L'Arte di ben conoſcere, e deſtinguere le qualita de Cavalli, di introdure, e conſervare una razza nobile, e di riſanare il cavallo da mali, a'quali ſoggiace, ſtudiata da Marino Garzoni Senatore Veneto, 1757, 8vo. Maiſon Ruſtique, liv. i. ch. 28. Inſtruction du Roi en l'Exarciſe, de Monter a Cheval, par M. A. de Pluvinel. Le parfait Maréchal, par M. Solleyſel, 1762, 4to. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. col. 524—575. Ecole de la Cavaliere par M. de la Gueriniere, 1733, fol. Le Nouveau parfait Maréchal, par M. de Garſault, 1746, 4to. Dictionnaire de Commerce tom i. col. 838. 859. La Nouvelle Maiſon Ruſtique, P. i. liv. iii. chap. 1, 2. P. iv. liv. ii. chap. 3. Art. iv. Dictionnaire Univerſel d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 592—613. Beauſobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, des Finances, et du Commerce, tom. i. § xxi. p. 64, 65.

[b] Among the Ancients, Xenophon, one of the greateſt Generals, one of the moſt learned Scholars, and one of the moſt elegant Writers of Greece, hath left Two Books on the Hippiatric Art, which have been ever in high and juſt Eſteem. William Cavendiſh, Marquis and Earl, afterwards Duke of Newcaſtle, publiſhed a new Art of Horſemanſhip, in which he appears both as an Author and Inventor with univerſal Applauſe. The preſent Earl of Pembroke hath alſo given the Public an inſtructive Treatiſe on this Subject.

[c] We have already ſeen, in treating of Oxen, that the Ancients uſed thoſe Cattle, and not Horſes, for the Plough. Theſe laſt were reſerved for the Saddle, the Chariot, and the Race. The Deſcriptions therefore of Varro, Virgil, and Columella, though accurate and admirable in themſelves, belong only to a particular Kind of Horſe. We require Horſes for various Purpoſes, and to ſuit theſe they muſt have various Properties, indeed ſo various, that what are regarded as Excellencies in ſome would be Defects in others.

even

even to Twenty Years old [d]. The MARE is alſo a very beautiful Creature, and may breed from Three to Ten or more Years of Age. She carries her Young Eleven Months, and foals in the Twelfth. Such Horſes as are not intended to propagate are commonly caſtrated when they are very young, though it may be performed when they are older, though not with equal Safety [e]. As to the Age of theſe Animals, the Moderns mention very poſitively Thirty, the Ancients, and amongſt them Ariſtotle, perhaps with more Truth, Fifty Years, as the utmoſt Period of their Lives [f]. Their Food, if we except Graſs and Hay, is different in different Climates. In Southern Countries they feed them with Barley, eſteeming it to have a cooling Quality, whereas in Northern Regions, beſides Hay and Straw, they give them Oats, Beans, Peas, &c. [g]. Yet after all, the Excellency and the Utility of this moſt valuable Creature, as it contributes to the Service, ſo it ariſes from the Skill, Induſtry, and Addreſs of Men, in nothing more conſpicuous than in the Management of theſe Animals. It is very probable, that with the many and great Advantages derived from thence, it may ſubject Horſes to more

[d] It hath been the conſtant Practice (ſince we have ſhewn a juſt Attention to this Matter) to form Studs, for raiſing with the greateſt Care and at no ſmall Expence a regular Succeſſion of what are ſtiled Bred Horſes. In this there is great Sagacity, deep Judgment, and much Application requiſite; and we have in this, as in moſt other Purſuits depending on Knowledge, Method, and Perſeverance, ſucceeded in the Opinion, and by the Teſtimony of Foreigners, beyond any other Nation in Europe. But there being ſtill much of Accident and Incertainty in this Buſineſs many young Horſes prove unfit for the Race, which yet are very valuable as Hunters, Saddle Horſes, remounting our Cavalry, and when paſt Service in theſe are deſtined to many other Uſes, ſo that for all Purpoſes we have a conſtant and regular Supply of excellent Cattle.

[e] It is allowed this Operation diminiſhes their Spirit, Strength, and Courage, but it renders them more gentle, docile, and manageable. Pliny ſays, lib. xi. cap. 37. they did not loſe their Sucking, or as we call them, Foal Teeth, which ſhews the Ancients caſtrated early. It is a Practice not uſed in the Eaſt, except in China. We have always had a Reputation for this Kind of Horſes. Sir Thomas Chaloner, in the Reign of Henry VIII. carried a Number of them through France over the Pirennees into Spain, where they arrived freſh, ſound, and fit for Service.

[f] The firſt Speculation in reſpect to the Duration of the Lives of Animals, was its being in Proportion to the Time of their Geſtation. When this appeared inconſiſtent with Facts, in this Inſtance particularly, it was then ſaid to be Seven Times the Space of their Growth. Lord Verulam ſays a Horſe grows to Six, and may (though it ſeldom happens) live to Forty. The French Philoſophers fix his Growth to Four, and reduce his Age to Thirty. Pliny ſays (Ariſtotle had heard the ſame) it was reported a Horſe had lived to Seventy-five. But the Term he aſſigns them is Fifty, and this from his own Knowledge. At Twenty, he ſays, a Horſe quitted the Circus, ſerved as a Stallion to Thirty-three, and was then diſmiſſed. In the Iſlands of Shetland, Horſes of Forty are not at all uncommon. Dr. Plot found Three of this Age or above in Oxfordſhire only. Upon a ſtrict Inquiry no doubt as many might be found in ſeveral other Counties.

[g] We have a great Superiority over our Neighbours, as they themſelves confeſs, in the prodigious Plenty and excellent Qualities of our Green and dry Provender. No Paſtures are more kindly luxuriant, or better diverſified than ours, no where more or finer Hay, ſweeter Oats, fairer Beans and Peas, freſher Straw, Chaff, and Bran, all occaſionally neceſſary for the Support of theſe Creatures. It is true, that at ſometimes, and in ſome Places, their Keeping is dear; but this is commonly in Proportion to their Labour, and conſequently repaid by it.

Diſeaſes

Diſeaſes than any other Creature, the human Species only excepted [h]. An Obſervation as old, perhaps older than the Days of Ariſtotle.

WHOEVER were the firſt Inhabitants of this Iſland, and from whatever Country they came, it was very natural for them to bring over with them, or to procure as ſoon as they could, the moſt uſeful Animals, and amongſt theſe we may very well ſuppoſe Horſes might be included [i]. But this happily does not, though it might very well reſt upon Suppoſition. The Fact is, that when Julius Cæſar came over hither he found the People not only well provided with Horſes, but, which is very remarkable, theſe Horſes were ſo excellently well-diſciplined as to exite both the Terror and the Admiration of the Romans [k]. When they became the peaceable Poſſeſſors of this Country, we find, that among other Precautions taken for ſecuring it, they had many Poſts of Cavalry in different Parts, eſpecially on the Coaſts; nor is it at all improbable, that for maintaining theſe they brought over not only foreign Troops but foreign Horſes. The Saxons alſo had them in great Numbers, and eſteemed them very much, as evidently ap-

[h] Mr. Fitzherbert ſays, that in his Time there were Three principal Dealers in Horſes. 1. The Horſe Maſter, who bought wild unbacked Horſes, of which he broke and ſold ſome, and ſome he ſold as he bought them. 2. Horſe Courſers, who dealt only in ſuch as were trained, broken, or fitted for ſome Kind of Service. 3. The Horſe Leche, or, as we now ſtile him, the Farrier, who undertook the Cure of their Diſeaſes of all Kinds. To theſe, ſays he, if you add an Apothecary, you will have Four, the beſt of whom it would be hard to truſt.

[i] Fitzherbert's Book of Huſbandry, p. 52—67. The Art of Riding, by Thomas Blundevill, 4to. Googe's Whole Art of Huſbandry, fol. 107—117. Hariſon's Deſcription of Britaine, Book iii. chap. 8. Fuller's Worthies of England, Yorkſhire, p. 187. Drayton's Polyolbion, Song iii. at the Beginning, Song vi. at the Cloſe. Markham's Maſter Piece, the firſt Edition, A. D. 1599. After this he continued to add and alter upwards of Fifty Years. His Cheap and Good Huſbandry, Book i. p. 1—70. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 73. De Grey's Compleat Horſeman, A. D. 1656, 4to. Methode et Invention Nouvelle, de Dreſſer les Chevaux, par Guillaume Marquis et Comte de Newcaſtle. A Anvers, A. D. 1658, Folio. Snape's Anatomy of a Horſe, 1686, Folio. The Compleat Horſeman, by Sir William Hope, A. D, 1696, Folio, which is a Tranſlation from Soleyſel, with a Supplement. Mortimer's Art of Huſbandry, Book vi. chap. 2. Gibſon's New Treatiſe of the Diſeaſes of Horſes, A. D. 1754, 2 vol. 8vo. Liſle's Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. ii. p. 223—238. Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 238. Hill's Hiſtory of Animals, p. 570. A Method of breaking Horſes, and teaching Soldiers to ride, by Henry Earl of Pembroke, A. D. 1762. Rules for bad Horſemen, by Charles Thompſon, Eſq; A. D. 1765.

[k] Cæſar. de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 24. 29. lib. v. cap. 8. 11. 15. Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. Hiſt. lib. v. p. 209. Strab. Geog. lib. iv. p. 200. P. Mela de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 6. Tacit. vit Jul. Agricolæ, cap. 12. With theſe Chariots they drove up and down ſteep Hills, charged their Enemies with great Impetuoſity, threw their Darts amongſt them, and if they made any Impreſſion leaped down and fought on Foot. They had them alſo in great Numbers; for Caſſibellanus, when he diſmiſſed his Army, retained Four thouſand of theſe Chariots to harraſs the Romans whenever they attempted to forage. Does not this, together with their Dexterity in running out on the Shafts, and if overpowered retiring to thoſe Chariots poſted at a proper Diſtance to receive them, demonſtrate they had Plenty of Horſes, muſt have had them long, and knew very well how to train them?

pears

pears from their Laws[l]. The Danes likewiſe employed Numbers of light Cavalry in their Incurſions[m].

But after the Norman Conqueſts, the Value of our own Horſes ſeems to have declined, which may be reaſonably aſcribed to the Difficulty found in tranſporting them, at leaſt in Numbers, for Service in their Wars upon the Continent; which Circumſtance made it cheaper to purchaſe Horſes bred for the Wars in thoſe, or in the adjacent Countries, whence ours were very ſeldom trained, but were left for domeſtic Uſes. The Saddle Horſes, in thoſe Days ſtiled Palfreys, were chiefly uſed for Grandeur and Parade. As for the Reſt, though they anſwered common Occaſions very well, yet, as well as the former, they were much inferior in Price to foreign Steeds kept by our Princes and Nobility[n]. Henry the Seventh, who had very juſt Notions of whatever might contribute in any Degree to the improving his Dominions, made the firſt Laws that are to be found on this Head in our Statute Books; in which he was followed by his Succeſſors[o]. Theſe Laws had chiefly Two

[l] In King Ethelſtan's Reign, as we read in Bromton, a Law was made to prevent ſending Horſes abroad for Sale. In the Senatus Conſulta de Monticolis, in the Time of King Ethelred, A. D. 1000, if a Horſe be loſt, the Compenſation muſt be Thirty Shillings, for a Mare or Colt of a Year old Twenty Shillings, a Mule or young Aſs Twelve Shillings, an Ox Thirty Pence, a Cow Twenty-four Pence, a Swine Eight Pence, a Man One Pound. This ſhews the relative Value of Things in thoſe Days; but then we muſt remember this was Saxon Money, of which Forty-eight Shillings made a Pound, and Five Pence a Shilling. According to this Valuation, an Horſe was worth Five Oxen, and a Cow worth Three Swine. It may not be amiſs to add, a Sheep was then valued at a Shilling, and a Goat at Eleven Pence; that is, Two Shillings and a Penny.

[m] The Danes did not fight on Horſeback, but made uſe of theſe Creatures to drag their Veſſels againſt the Stream, in conveying Plunder to their Ships, but more eſpecially for expeditious Marches, which enabled them to come upon their Enemies, by Surprize, whom, freſh and unfatigued, they boldly attacked on Foot. When they had but few of their own, they compelled the Peaſants where-ever they came to furniſh them with Horſes. This perhaps is as early an Inſtance of Dragoon Service as is to be found in Hiſtory. For this the Daniſh Horſes are ſtill famous, being tight, ſtout, ſpirited, well moulded, and very hardy. In the Army of the Allies at the Beginning of the current Century they ſerved with much Reputation. The Sale of Horſes is indeed a principal Article of the Commerce of Jutland.

[n] William I. won the deciſive Battle of Haſtings by the Superiority of his Cavalry, which he brought over with him. It is alſo to be conſidered, that our Norman Monarchs had Dominions on the Continent, where theſe Horſes might be eaſily procured, and conveniently kept and maintained. In the Reign of Edward I. his Son, afterwards Edward II. bought againſt a Tournament of ſome Italian Merchants Nineteen Horſes, which coſt him 489 l. 2s. 8d. Yet Mathew Paris tells us, p. 1051, that the Abbot of St. Albans going a Journey with Six Pages, hired for them Six ſtrong handſome Horſes, on Condition that if any of them died they ſhould be paid for at the Rate of Ten Shillings an Horſe. This was A. D. 1232. In A. D. 1425, a prime Horſe for the Prior of Burceſter's Stable was purchaſed at One Pound Six Shillings, and Eight Pence.

[o] Mr. Snape, in his Dedication of his Anatomy of a Horſe to Charles II. ſays, that ſome or other of his Family had been Farriers to the Crown for the Space of Two hundred Years, which carries this Office as high as the Reign of Henry VII. As this Monarch had great Knowledge of the World, he was deſirous for many Reaſons of raiſing here at Home a good Breed of Horſes; and in order to this,

Two Points in View, the mending the Breed, by raiſing the Size of our Horſes, and preventing their being ſent into foreign Countries p. Theſe Statutes did not effectually anſwer the Purpoſes for which they were intended, ſince we are told, that One of the principal Motives which inſtigated the Spaniſh Invaſion in the Reign of his Grand-daughter, was the Knowledge they had of our Weakneſs in reſpect to Cavalry. In regard to this, when they made the Attempt, the Arrangements made by Authority, for reſiſting them, put the Truth of their Intelligence beyond all Diſpute q.

The Horſes on board their Armada, when it was defeated and diſperſed, came on Shore on Galloway and in other Parts of Scotland, by which their Breed was very much improved. It is not at all improbable that ſome of theſe Spaniſh Horſes were carried into the Northern Counties of England, for in them it appears they firſt began to ſhew a proper Attention to this Matter, and their Application therein was no doubt encouraged by their finding it attended with extraordinary Profit r. The civil Wars ſhewed

this he forbid the ſending Stallions abroad without Licenſe, but permitted the free Exportation of Mares when more than Two Years of Age, and under the Value of Six Shillings and Eight Pence. If the Mare was above that Price ſhe might be exported by a ſpecial Licenſe, paying Six Shillings and Eight Pence Cuſtom. Any Man however who made Oath that he carried over his Horſe purely for his own Riding, and not for Sale, might do it notwithſtanding, to prevent probably his laying out his Money on a foreign Beaſt. Stat. 11 Hen. VII. cap. 13.

p Henry VIII. made more than One ſevere Law againſt allowing Stallions in ſome Places under Fourteen, in others Fifteen hands high, and above Two Years old, to run in any Foreſt, Moor, or Common, where there were Mares. Magiſtrates were likewiſe commanded to drive ſuch Foreſts, &c. about Michaelmas; and if any Mares were found unlikely to bear Foals of a good Size, or any Geldings or Foals they judged would not prove ſerviceable, they were impowered and required to put them to Death. But the Northern Counties were exempted, which ſhews that they had at this Time no remarkable Breed of Horſes. It was alſo enacted, that in every Park wherein there were Deer, there ſhould be kept a certain Number of breeding Mares Thirteen Hands high at leaſt.

q The beſt informed Stateſmen in that critical Year could not, after the ſtricteſt Inquiry, rely on more than Three thouſand fit for Service. A Thing by no Means ſo ſtrange, as at firſt Sight it appears. Our Nobility, though rich and potent, were thin in Number, and yet they muſt have been collected from their Stables, and thoſe of a few of the Prime of our Gentry, by whom in all Probability they were alſo mounted. With this Defect in Horſes, ſome French Politicians reproached us long after, as if it had been a national and incurable Blemiſh. Mr. R. Child, the Author of that Epiſtle which makes the beſt Part of Hartlib's Legacy, takes Notice of this at the Diſtance of Half a Century after that memorable Event, as an Error not even in his Time wholly corrected, though he wrote at the End of the Civil War.

r We do not perceive that Racing, though not unknown, was at all in Faſhion in the Times of Elizabeth. It ſeems to have followed King James out of Scotland. It was introduced there, by the Spirit and Swiftneſs of their Galloways. Yet in Ten Years Time, as we learn from the ingenious Drayton, it had travelled as far as Wiltſhire, where he ſays they began to lay as high Bets as the Scots, whom in this Reſpect he taxes with Prodigality. Before the Cloſe of this Reign (ſee the Scots Acts, vol. i. p. 974, 975) a Law was made in that Kingdom, that if any Perſon won in the Space of a Day more than a Hundred Marks, the Overplus ſhould be given to the Poor. But as

ſhewed the Uſe of a ſuperior Race of Horſes, and put Men upon contriving how to procure them, and on inquiring into the State and Management of theſe Animals in other Countries. The peaceable Times that followed gave many Opportunities for, and afforded at the ſame Time much Aſſiſtance to, the compleating ſuch Enquiries; and the ſpeedy Progreſs of numerous Improvements, moſt of which occaſioned new Demands for Horſes, contributed not a little to quicken Peoples Attention in this Reſpect, by opening an extenſive Market [s].

But though in general this is as juſt an Account as in ſo narrow a Compaſs we could give, yet it may, and indeed muſt admit of ſome Exceptions, in regard to a few of our ancient Nobility, who by bringing in foreign, and more eſpecially Spaniſh Horſes, ſought to raiſe an excellent Breed here for the Purpoſes of War and Hunting [t]. It is alſo true, that at the very Entrance of the laſt Century our Gentry had ſome Notions of Racing. Yet this did not extend far, and was at the ſame Time attended with ſuch an Expence as put it out of the Reach of Imitation. A little before the Reſtoration, we begun to have clearer and more enlarged Ideas, as to many Points of domeſtic Oeconomy, which after that Event influenced our public Conduct, as appears by the permitting our Horſes to be exported, though under very high Duties, and the giving Plates to encourage Races [u]. As our

is ſaid in the Text, the Breeding the beſt Horſes was quickly transferred to the Northern Counties in England, eſpecially Yorkſhire, as Fuller tells us, and where indeed many of the moſt celebrated of our Horſes have been bred.

[t] Theſe, though more placid, proved more potent Inducements to the mending our Breed of Horſes than the ſevere Law, 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 13. which was altered from Fifteen to Thirteen Hands in the Iſle Ely and the Fens, by Stat. 8 Eliz. cap. 8. § 2, 3. and was totally repealed as to Cornwall, by Stat. 21 Jac. I. cap. 28. § 12. By which, as the worthy Corniſh Antiquary Borlaſe informs us, a moſt valuable Race of ſmall Horſes, called, from an extenſive Moor in which they paſture, Gunhillies, and are exactly ſuited to the Roads and Labours of that County, were preſerved. Laws made to controul Nature, or even old Cuſtoms, operate very ſlowly, if at all. But if Laws favour the Intereſts or go along with the Inclinations of the People, they meet with an implicit Obedience, and are ſure to make a very ſpeedy and very extenſive Progreſs.

[s] There is a Tradition, that Arundel in Suſſex received its Name from a favourite Steed of Bevis Earl of Southampton. Roger Earl of Shrewſberry is reported to have brought over ſome Spaniſh Horſes into Montgomeryſhire. Italy, and eſpecially Naples, was for a long ſeries of Years the grand School for Horſemanſhip. Henry VIII. brought over Two famous Maſters from thence. Mr. Thomas Blundevill was the firſt who in our Language publiſhed a Treatiſe on the Art of Riding. This much enlarged he republiſhed in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, and dedicated it to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, whom he highly commends for bringing over Claudio Corte, who was his riding Maſter, and at the ſame Time deeply deplores the miſerable State of Horſes and Incapacity of Horſemen in this Country. He profeſſedly copied Griſoni an Italian Author; and Markham, De Grey, and others have copied him.

[u] As it was well underſtood, that for various Purpoſes, and more eſpecially for Stallions, it was requiſite to import foreign Horſes; theſe, by Stat. 12 Car. II. cap. 4. were rated at Ten Pounds, and the Duty fixed at One Pound Eighteen Shillings and Six Pence. But though our Horſes were allowed

our Horſes grew, in conſequence of theſe Meaſures, both numerous and valuable, a very worthy and intelligent Patriot ſuggeſted, that a free Exportation would be very advantageous, and bring large Sums of Money into this from other Countries. The Propoſal ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that it was in a ſhort Space adopted, and the Sum paid on Exportation ſo reduced, as to become rather a Regiſter than a Duty[w]. This was very quickly attended with very good Effects, fine Studs were eſtabliſhed in moſt Parts of the Kingdom, which ſupplied bred Horſes, not only for the Courſe, but for the Mounting of our Cavalry, and the Saddle, and this too in Plenty.

As this ſingular Improvement was chiefly accompliſhed by the Interpoſition of Perſons of ſuperior Rank and Fortune, no Expence was ſpared in procuring Stallions from the moſt diſtant Countries, and ſuch Pains were taken in all other Reſpects, as had quickly very viſible Effects, and thereby attracted the Notice, and gradually raiſed the Reputation of our Horſes with all our Neighbours[x]. As a Spirit of Emulation is natural to the Inhabitants of this Iſland, ſo in the ſame Proportion that this firſt Rate Race of Horſes grew better in their Kind, other Sorts of Horſes were likewiſe improved with great, if not equal Aſſiduity[y]. The Advantages attending

allowed to be exported, the Rates gave little Encouragement; a Stone Horſe was rated at 66l. 13s 4d. a Gelding at 20 l. to the Plantations at 10 l. and a Mare at 126l. 13s. 4d. The Royal Plates at Newmarket in Cambridgeſhire, and at Black Hambledon in Yorkſhire, were given with an Intention, and under ſuch Regulations, as might promote an Emulation amongſt Perſons of Rank and Fortune in breeding fine Horſes, which it was foreſeen would become a national Advantage, as, notwithſtanding ſome Inconveniencies attending this Practice, it has certainly been.

[w] The Patriot referred to in the Text is Mr. Samuel Fortrey, who, A. D. 1663, addreſſed to King Charles II. a ſmall Treatiſe, intituled, "England's Intereſt conſidered in the Advancement of the Trade of this Kingdom." In p. 22, he ſays, "There is not any One of ſo great Profit as the Exportation of Horſes, which of all Commodities is raiſed at the leaſt Charge at Home, and is of the greateſt Value Abroad." He alſo very fairly ſtates, and fully anſwers Objections. In conſequence of this the Law before mentioned was altered; and, by Stat. 22. Car. II. cap. 13. § 8. every Perſon may export into any Country in Amity with Great Britain any Horſe, Mare, or Gelding, paying the Sum only of Five Shillings. This Liberty took Place at Midſummer, A. D. 1670, and in Twelve Years after we exported, viz. A. D. 1682, Twenty-one Horſes, as appears by the Cuſtom Houſe Books.

[x] It is evident, the true or ſtandard Value of our Horſes is beſt collected from their Prices when bought by Strangers, who we may be ſure will not give more than they are worth. It is true, that from our old Laws forbidding Exportation, it ſhould ſeem there was a Demand for our Horſes before theſe Improvements. Whence could this ariſe? Not from their Excellency; for in ſpite of thoſe for retaining, and the Laws for improving their Size, we were indiſputably very low in this Reſpect in the Days of Elizabeth; but plainly for their Cheapneſs, and indeed they were too cheap for us to get any Thing by ſelling them. But ſince our Improvements, we no longer ſell cheap but fine Horſes, and theſe at a high Price, which muſt be very beneficial to this Country, as a Horſe coſts nothing but the Keeping, and in that Reſpect a worthleſs Horſe coſts very near as much as the beſt.

[y] It is to this emulating Spirit, joined to the Sagacity and Perſeverance of the middling Rank of People, that we are to attribute thoſe ſtately and valuable Teams, we ſee not only in the Neighbourhood of London, but in ſome of the moſt diſtant Counties. Our Waggons carry immenſe

tending ſo general a Regard to theſe Animals were ſo many, and withal ſo manifeſt, that in Conjunction with the Amendment of our Roads, which might alſo be eſteemed a Conſequence, have in a Manner entirely changed the Appearance, and perhaps it will be no treſpaſs on Truth to ſay the Circumſtances alſo, of the better Part of this Iſland. It is therefore by no Means ſurprizing, that this being ſo evidently the Caſe, theſe Creatures ſhould become both much more numerous, and much more valuable [z]. Neither ought it to be eſteemed extraordinary, that as the natural Conſequence of this, our Exportation ſhould gradually increaſe, or that both theſe ſhould in the Judgment of many be looked upon as national Advantages [a]. Yet ſo it is, that Doubts have of late ariſen, and much hath been very ſeriouſly advanced, to ſhew, that taking all Things into our View, it may very poſſibly appear, that we have already too many of theſe Animals, and that for the Sake of the publick Welfare, and out of Regard more eſpecially to the Poor, ſome Means ought to be employed rather to diminiſh than to increaſe them. This no Queſtion, if it can be clearly and effectually made out to the Satisfaction of the Legiſlature, by the Light of Evidence as well as Force of Arguments, will meet with that Attention which, when thus maturely and impartially conſidered, it ſhall be found to deſerve [b].

THOSE.

Loads by the amazing Strength of their Horſes. The Pack Horſes move ſingly each under a prodigious Burthen, and this through the worſt Roads. Millers Horſes carry yet heavier Loads. All Kinds of Work that require Horſes find them here of a fit Age and Size, and find them with Certainty and Eaſe; Hunters, Road, and Poſt Horſes, ſuch as no Country beſides can boaſt for Steadineſs, Strength, and Spirit. As to the quick Draught, from the Chaiſe to the heavieſt Coach or Berlin, our Horſes are no where excelled, either for Shew or Speed.

[z] It is extremely difficult to form any near, or ſo much as probable, much leſs certain or exact, Computation of the Horſes in South Britain. Mr. King, whoſe Calculations are moſt eſteemed, judged they amounted at the Cloſe of the laſt Century to One Million Two hundred Thouſand, and ſuppoſing them worth one with another Two Pounds Ten Shillings a Horſe, fixes their Value at the Sum of Three Millions. There is no doubt they are much increaſed both in Number and Value ſince that Time, but then there is no ſmall Reaſon to queſtion the Certainty of this Computation. In the Time of the laſt War, the Number of Horſes within the Bills of Mortality were found to be between Twenty-three and Twenty-five thouſand, about a Fiftieth Part of this Sum. But ſuppoſe we have now a Million, and theſe worth Five Pounds one with another, this is a vaſt Article in our national Account.

[a] Dr. Davenant, from whom we have Mr. King's Account, to which he gave entire Credit, was ſo far from being alarmed thereby, that he wiſhes we could breed double the Number, for the Sake of Exportation. At this Time, which ſhews how highly and univerſally they are eſteemed, we export Horſes to Denmark, Norway, the Eaſt Country, Flanders, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Madeiras, Portugal, Ruſſia, Sweden, Guernſey, Jerſey, and our American Colonies on the Continent and the Iſlands. In the Year 1766, the Total was One thouſand Nine hundred Sixty-ſeven, and in the Year 1767 (both in profound Peace) One thouſand Six hundred Sixty-three. Very conſiderable no Doubt, but much inferior to what hath been publiſhed by common Report. It ſhews indeed, that the Syſtem formed for amending our Breed hath operated very extenſively as well as effectually.

[b] It is with a View to facilitate this that ſo much Pains have been taken with the preſent Article. We have endeavoured to point out the Period in which, and to trace out the Cauſe whereby,

THOSE who eſpouſe theſe Sentiments maintain them by many Reaſons, which ſeem to borrow no ſmall Weight, from their declaring the ſole Object of their Endeavours to be the promoting publick Good. They exclaim againſt Horſe Races, as the moſt deſtructive Species of Gaming, productive only of pernicious Conſequences, attended with immenſe Charges, and which ſerve no other Purpoſe than to raiſe a Breed of Horſes that are confeſſed to be too good for Uſe. Poſitions which can hardly be controverted; and therefore, as they conceive, this ought to be eſteemed a Practice, that inſtead of being at all countenanced, ſhould be diſcouraged and ſuppreſſed [c]. They inſiſt on the prodigious Increaſe of Chaiſes, Coaches, and Saddle Horſes, as ſo many glaring Inſtances of the moſt enormous Luxury, and which ought therefore no longer to be indulged [d]. They repreſent the Expence of maintaining theſe Creatures as prodigious in itſelf, far exceeding their real Utility, and of courſe an unneceſſary Diminution of

by, our Horſes were depreciated. The Fact is fairly ſtated in the Preamble to Henry VII. Statute; but it was then aſcribed to the ſending Abroad our beſt Horſes, for which the proper Cure no Doubt was a Prohibition to export. This not anſwering, his Son made coercive Laws, which, except diſpleaſing the People, had no Effect. At length it was perceived, that the true Remedy conſiſted in following the Cuſtom of other Nations, and that bringing over foreign Stallions, attending to the Breed, allowing all Ranks of Men entire Liberty in this Reſpect, encouraging a Love for and a Pride in good Cattle, were the only Means. Whether we may not go too far in ſo pleaſant a Road is a new Queſtion, and hard to be diſcuſſed. We ſee how ſtrangely our Anceſtors miſtook the Road when they attempted to raiſe a Breed, and by what Steps, when once in the right Path, they, from being inferior to moſt, came in this Reſpect to be ſuperior to all other Nations. But we cannot look with the ſame Certainty into Futurity, or decide on the Conſequences that may attend the giving a Check to this Spirit.

[c] That Races are Sources of many and great Inconveniencies muſt be allowed. That however, the Paſſion for this Sport, wiſely managed, gave us a Breed of Horſes of which we were in the greateſt Want is not to be denied. It ſerves alſo, and is perhaps indiſpenſably neceſſary, to maintain it. We know likewiſe, it keeps up the Reputation of our Horſes Abroad. It may be, that theſe were amongſt the Conſiderations which induced the Legiſlature to repeal Stat. 13 Geo. II. cap. 19. which enacted no Races ſhould be run but at Newmarket or Black Hamblédon, by Stat. 18 Geo. II. cap. 34. § 11. which allows the running them any where (under the Regulations in the former Act) provided the Prize be of the Value of Fifty Pounds or upwards. It cannot be doubted, this Matter, thus canvaſſed, ſhewed the true State of Things, and that ſome Inconveniencies had ariſen from that Reſtraint, which was now removed. It ſhould be remembred too, that this is a Sport peculiar to this Country, retains many who are addicted to it at Home is eminently ſerviceable to very many Places, and that all the Money won or loſt at Races ſtill remains here.

[d] There are Perſons however who ſee this in a different Light: They think, that Induſtry ſhould be encouraged to acquire, and then, what Men have acquired, they ſhould have Liberty to ſpend. They obſerve, that theſe opulent and luxurious People only keep, but do not make or drive Coaches, neither do they harneſs, dreſs, or feed their Horſes, but have all theſe done for them; ſo that how luxurious ſoever they may be, they are certainly the Paymaſters, if Patrons ſhould be thought too good a Word, of Labour and Induſtry in other Men. Theſe, thus maintained, ſpend in exciſeable Commodities what brings to the Revenue Five Times as much as would ariſe from taxing Horſes; and therefore, ſo far as ſuch a Tax operated in ſuppreſſing Luxury, juſt ſo far would it go in turning honeſt, induſtrious, hard working-People out of their Livings.

the

the national Stock [e]. They attribute to this unſeaſonable, and therefore needleſs Multiplication of theſe Animals, the preſent high Rent of Graſs Farms, which might have been otherwiſe employed to Purpoſes more uſeful, that is, more beneficial in reſpect to the Community [f].

They aſſign to the ſame Cauſe the Decreaſe of Black Cattle, and the great Scarcity and Dearneſs of all Kinds of Animal Proviſions, ſo ſeverely felt by all Ranks of People, and more eſpecially grievous to the Poor [g]. They are diſſatisfied likewiſe with Exportation, as it ſerves apparently to aſſiſt Strangers with better Horſes than their own Countries can produce, may in ſome Degree promote their Induſtry in Time of Peace, and in caſe of a War ſerve to remount the Cavalry of our moſt inveterate Enemies [h]. All which,

[e] All the World are not in this Sentiment, otherwiſe there would be no need of a Tax to check the breeding Horſes. The Feeding them would be a Tax heavy enough to produce that Effect. They are kept in great Cities for Profit, or for Pomp; if the former, their keeping (though certainly expenſive) is paid for by their Labour, or they would not be kept; if the latter, there is no more Hurt done to the Community than in buying Pictures, Plate, or China. In the Country it is quite another Caſe. For Mr. Liſle, who was too obſerving a Farmer to be deceived, and a Gentleman of too much Veracity (eſpecially ſpeaking from his own Experience) not to be believed, ſays expreſly, that a Brace of Saddle Geldings, which would coſt Fifty Pounds keeping in London, may be kept by a Gentleman in the Country, having Land in his own Hands, for Nothing, and this he proves. Obſervations in Huſbandry, vol. ii. p. 230.

[f] In reſpect to Graſs Land, great Improvements have certainly been made in them of late Years, with regard to the Increaſe of their Produce. Upon this Account, it is highly probable their Rents have riſen, and this is not only natural but reaſonable. Horſes no Doubt eat Graſs and Hay, which conſtitute Part of the Produce, and by ſo doing give Value to both. But it may be well ſuppoſed, that their giving this Value was no ſmall Inducement to the making theſe Improvements; and if an Increaſe of Horſes hath occaſioned an Increaſe of that Produce on which they ſubſiſt, they are clearly beneficial even in this Reſpect: More eſpecially if what Mr. Liſle ſays be true, that a Horſe in the Country, by his Dung (independent of Labour) pays not only for the Graſs and Hay, but for the Corn alſo that he conſumes.

[g] In the Northern Counties, where they breed the moſt and beſt Horſes, they alſo breed the largeſt Horn Cattle. In theſe Counties they do not plough with Oxen, becauſe, as they think, it ſtints them in their Growth. About Thirty Years ago Maitland ſpeaks of the Increaſe of Horſes, and yet complains of the Cheapneſs of Proviſions in London, which ſhews their Conſiſtence with each other poſſible. When the Markets were higheſt the Commiſſioners of the Victualling Office found no Difficulty in compleating their Contracts, and this too at reaſonable Prices. In ſome Places, particularly in Yorkſhire, the Country in ſome Parts is extremely fit for breeding Horſes, and in others equally proper for feeding Cattle. The Inhabitants avail themſelves of both, being left to judge of their own Intereſt; and this free Choice, with the Ability of purſuing it, is, as Experience ſhews, the ſureſt Source of univerſal Plenty.

[h] The Superiority of our Horſes ariſes from the Uſe of foreign Stallions, the Plenty and Excellence of our green and dry Provender, and the Judgment of our Breeders. That they have a Superiority appears by Strangers giving a high Price for a periſhable Commodity. But this is no more than both they and we do, in regard to Horſes of ſtill greater Value. All Nations on Earth, even the Arabs, who have the beſt Horſes, and are the fondeſt of their Horſes, will part with them notwithſtanding if you come up to their Price. Ours are bought for the Saddle, principally for Hunting, many of them Geldings, and are quickly worn out. As for Dragoon Horſes, the French uſe their own, and remount their Horſe from Germany, and are furniſhed with Baggage and Draught

which, as they farther alledge, only contributes to fill the Pockets of a Race of Men, who have in every Age been reproached with attending ſolely to their own Intereſt, and who are negligent of any Conſequences of their Tranſactions in this Trade, provided they find a Way to accumulate Wealth to themſelves [i]. It will however require ſome Conſideration, whether theſe Suggeſtions, though ſtrongly urged, ſhould not be very ſtrictly examined, before any Step whatever be taken to diminiſh, or even to diſcredit the keeping or breeding of Horſes, which makes ſo valuable a Part of our national Property, more eſpecially if there is any Appearance that this Reduction may probably be brought about gradually, and in the natural Courſe of Things [k], without the Introduction of a new Tax, which certainly ought not to be impoſed without a clear and inconteſtible Neceſſity.

THE Importance of this Article, which hath often employed the Wiſdom and Attention of the Legiſlature, made it requiſite to inſiſt upon it more fully, and to enter into a larger Detail, than in ſpeaking of ſome other Animals. Yet many Things remain unſaid which might have been mentioned upon ſo copious a Subject, and of ſuch extenſive Conſequence [l]. But before

Draught Horſes from Swiſſerland. In a Word, all Nations breed, and all Nations ſell, as well as we. In the Countries of Holſtein, Eaſt Friezland, Oldenburgh, Hanover, Wurtemburgh, Anſpach, Bamberg, and Wurtzburgh, they breed for Sale, and draw vaſt Profits from this Trade without any Fear of ill Conſequences. The Dutch purſue the ſame Practice, and our declining this Commerce would only raiſe their Prices.

[i] We may however have leave to ſay in Favour of theſe, that they are not the only Dealers who conſult their own Intereſt without regarding Conſequences. But whatever they may be, they are moſt certainly Britiſh Subjects, a numerous Race of Men, who maintain themſelves and their Families by what hath been hitherto looked on as a very uſeful Employment. But it is not theſe only who will be affected, but the Inhabitants alſo of all the Counties in which Horſes are bred, and thoſe who breed them. It will fall upon the Fairs and Marts, which for a Century paſt have been ſubſiſted by the regular Reſort of Perſons to buy or ſell theſe Creatures. It will be felt by all the Towns on the Roads, great or ſmall, and Influence all Kind of Land-Carriage, ſo eſſential to, or rather which is the ſole Inſtrument of, the internal Commerce and Correſpondence through the Iſland.

[k] The great Increaſe of Horſes of late Years hath been owing to the Increaſe of Demands. Such as furniſhing our Cavalry abroad during the War, the Growth and Extenſion of our domeſtic Trade, the amazing Enlargement of this Capital, and other Cauſes. But as ſome of theſe were temporary, they have ceaſed to act, and others may do the ſame. The very Outcry againſt theſe Animals, and Propoſitions for reſtraining them, will have this Effect. So muſt the Reviving the old Cuſtom of Ploughing and Drawing with Oxen, if by Example and Encouragement it can be brought about. But more ſpeedily and effectually, by the great Spirit ſhewn in making Communications by Water, which by reducing the Price of Carriage, and facilitating that of bulky Commodities, will, as in Holland and in China, very quickly gain the Preference of Carts and Waggons.

[l] In the Courſe of this Article the principal Point in View hath been to exhibit to the Reader Facts for his Information, and ſuch Notices as might ſtimulate his own Inquiries into a Matter always held to be a great national Concern. It ſeemed for this Reaſon neceſſary to ſtate, as clearly as might be, the Suggeſtions on both Sides, leaving him on Reflection to form his own Judgment.

It

before we conclude, it may not be improper to remark, that the Horſe after ſpending his Life in the Service of Man is not totally uſeleſs to him after Death, though not in the ſame Degree with ſome other Creatures. For not to mention phyſical Uſes, which are now little conſidered [m], we ſhall take Notice of his Hair, particularly that of the Mane and Tail, which is applied to a great Variety of Uſes, eſpecially of late Years, gives Employment, and of Courſe affords Subſiſtence to many, and is upon the Whole of no inconſiderable Value. The other Hair, when taken from the Skins, is mixed with that of Cows, and uſed for the ſame Purpoſes [n]. The Skins are alſo tanned and dreſſed, chiefly for the Service of the Sadlers; but when Leather is dear and ſcarce, is made to anſwer other Ends, and is therefore ſubjected to a Duty [o].

It may be however not amiſs to add, that the ableſt Perſons in this Nation, A. D. 1588, were under the moſt ſerious Apprehenſions, from our confeſſed Deficiency in Horſe; and that we have moſt effectually redreſſed that Evil, our Cavalry being at this Time confeſſedly the beſt in Europe. In caſe of any new Invaſion in future, our Reſources (under the Protection of the ALMIGHTY) are the Numbers of Horſe fit for Service, our Regulars and Militia, together with our Fleet.

[m] The Ancients were by no Means ſo nice or ſqueamiſh as we are in the Choice of their Medicines, and it may be alſo a little too credulous. Notwithſtanding this, the moſt nauſeous and diſguſting Remedy taken from this Animal is almoſt the only One that is ever uſed. This is the expreſſed Juice of freſh Stone Horſe Dung, in Pleuriſies and Inflammations, and in Obſtructions of the Breaſt. It hath alſo (if we may believe Quincy) relieved in Aſthmas and Difficulties in Breathing, when cleanlier and more coſtly Preſcriptions have failed. It is then exhibited in Decoction made with Hyſop and Penny-royal Waters ſtrained. Mares Milk was formerly eſteemed a ſovereign Remedy in a Conſumption, and though now no longer in high Repute, will be found to have loſt nothing of its Efficacy, by ſuch as have Occaſion, and at the ſame Time an Opportunity of uſing it.

[n] In France this Article is uſed by Traders of different Occupations, who do not interfere with each other. But ſtill larger Quantities are conſumed here, and in full as great a Variety of Manufactures. Thus it is made into Fiſhing-lines, Springes, and Snares, by thoſe who deal in that Kind of Tackle. Muſical Inſtrument-makers employ it in the Bows for their Fiddles. In the Toy-ſhops we meet with it in Comb-bruſhes and many other Things. In the Turners we find Hair-lines, &c. When prepared, it comes into the Hands of the Peruke-makers. But all this is trifling in Compariſon of what is uſed in the Bottoms of Sieves, wrought up into Buttons, and wove into Cloths, of which Upholſterers make Seats for Chairs, Settees, &c. and of which they have made Waiſtcoats, and are contriving daily to make it anſwer other Purpoſes. This Hair-cloth may be exported free, whereas Horſe-hair unmanufactured is rated at Six Pounds an Hundred-weight, and pays Six Shillings on Exportation. On the other Hand there is a Duty of ſomewhat more than Seven Pence a Pound-weight on this Article when imported. The French procure great Quantities from Ireland.

[o] It is not here only that the Skins of Horſes are made into Leather. For by the Two Acts of Queen Anne, which have been ſo frequently cited, theſe Hides, if imported tanned, pay Three Pence Half-penny a Pound-weight, and Two Shillings and Five-pence for every Hide; if tawed, Two Shillings an Hide, and beſides a Duty of Four Shillings and Nine Pence in every Twenty Shillings Value. The ſame Acts regulate the Exciſe on Horſes Hides tanned or tawed at Home. In other Countries and perhaps in this, ſome trifling Things, ſuch as Spectacle Rings are made out of the Hoofs. In France the Enamellers uſe an Oil made from the Fat of Horſes which affords a clear ſtrong Light with very little Smoke.

The Ass, like all other Animals, came originally from the East, where it is still very highly esteemed, more especially in Arabia, Persia, and Egypt, where these Animals are larger, better shaped, and more active than with us [p]. It is believed they came from Egypt into Greece, where they were very common, but the Breed of Arcadia was the most esteemed. The Romans also made great Use of them, insomuch that an Ass was sometimes sold at a very high Price; and, which must appear very strange to us, they accounted the Flesh of a young Ass Colt a very great Delicacy [q]. At present Spain is celebrated for having the finest Breed of these Animals in Europe, and from thence they are carried to other Countries, though procured with Difficulty, and purchased at a very dear Rate [r]. They are said to bear Cold worse than any other Beast; to which is ascribed their becoming smaller in Northern Countries. But this deserves to be strictly examined before it is received as a Thing certain.

The Ass was undoubtedly common, and much employed in very early Times in this Country, though it seems to have been disused, if not lost, in the Days of Elizabeth. At present this Creature is too well known to need a particular Description. It is less in Size than a Horse, but stronger in Proportion to that Size; slow in its Pace, but very sure footed; patient, hardy, indefatigable; equally fit for Carriage and for Draught, as far as his Strength will allow, living on Thistles, Leaves, and any Sort of coarse Grass, requiring little or no Care in Dressing, and alike free from Diseases and Vermin [s].

Asses

[p] Varro de Re Rustica, lib. ii. cap. 6. 8. Virg. Georg. lib. i. v. 273. Columel. de Re Rustica, lib. vii. cap. i. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 30. 43. xi. 33. Raj. quad. 63. Googe's Whole Art of Husbandry, fol. 117. b. 118. Harison's Description of Britaine, B. iii. chap. 8. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 95. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. vi. chap. 3. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. ii. p. 258. Essays in Husbandry, i. p. 98. Hasselquist's Travels, p. 52, 53. 425. Hill's History of Animals, p. 570. Crescenzi dell 'Agricoltura, lib. ix. cap. 59. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. col. 189. Le Spectacle de la Nature, tom. i. p. 353. La Nouvelle Maison Rustique, i. Part. liv. iii. chap. 4. L'Agronome, tom. i. p. 31. Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 126—130.

[q] Pliny tells us, that Q. Axius, a Senator, gave Four hundred Thousand Sesterces for an Ass. In the East, and in Persia particularly, a wild Ass Colt was esteemed a Royal Dainty. It was no less admired in Italy, till Mecænas preferred the Flesh of the tame Ass Colt, which however maintained a Superiority at great Tables no longer than he lived. Those who have tasted it say it is very insipid, and some of the best ancient Physicians censured it as unwholsome.

[r] In Spain the Roads are very indifferent, and it is this makes Asses and Mules so much esteemed in a Country where they have or might have the finest Horses in Europe. As they are thus esteemed, they are better fed and better treated than in other Places; in consequence of which they are more gentle, active, and docile than with us. A large stout He-Ass, though a heavy, dull, ill-looking Creature, will sell for Sixty Guineas on the Spot; and if to be carried out of the Country will be parted with for nothing less than One hundred.

[s] All these good Qualities are universally allowed them, and this being the Case, it ought to procure them more Attention and better Usage. This seems all that is requisite to our having as beautiful and as spirited Asses as in Spain, or even in the East. In Auvergne, where the Cold is

Aſſes are very long-lived, and breed as long as they live, though very ſeldom having more than One Foal at a Time. It is ſurpriſing, that this Animal already ſo uſeful, and which might be made in ſo many other Ways uſeful, is notwithſtanding ſo very little conſidered [t]. This ſeems ſtill the more extraordinary, when we reflect that their Milk retains its Credit. The Ancients were well acquainted with its ſalubrious Qualities, and availed themſelves of them much more than we do, by taking great Care to maintain their Milch Aſſes with proper Food, and directing their Milk to be taken in large Quantities, rather as a Diet than by Doſes, its Operations becoming thereby more ſpeedy and more effectual [u]. They aſcribed medicinal Virtues to ſeveral Parts of this Creature, which are now with Propriety diſregarded. The Skin is ſometimes ſo tanned, as to counterfeit Shagreen, the true being made from the Skin of the Wild Aſs [w].

The Mule is a ſpurious Animal produced between the Horſe and the Aſs. But though Mules are of different Sexes, they are incapable of Procreation. Of theſe Creatures there are Two Sorts, one from the He-Aſs and the Mare, the other from the Horſe and the She-Aſs. We call them indifferently Mules, but the Romans diſtinguiſhed them by proper Appel-

felt as much as in any Province of France, they have large and high-priced Aſſes. In all Parts of this Iſland they thrive as well, work as hard, and live as long as in any other Country whatever, and would in all Reſpects do as well with proper Management.

[t] The Cauſes of this ſeem to be the Goodneſs of our Roads, and the Plenty we have of all Sorts of Horſes, ſo that we want the Spur of Neceſſity. But perhaps a little Attention might diſcover Purpoſes for which they are peculiarly proper; ſuch as their travelling over high and ſtony Mountains, in paſſing through narrow winding Paths in Mines, in the Working of Machines, for which their natural Steadineſs ſeems a favourable Quality. In light ſandy Soils, as in Malta, they are commonly uſed to draw the Plough.

[u] In Support of this, it is ſufficient to ſay, that Hippocrates directed a Congius, that is, Seven Pints of our Meaſure, of Aſſes Milk to be taken in a Day. On which Dr. Arbuthnot remarks (Tables of ancient Coins, &c. p. 292.) "I have often thought that our preſcribing Aſſes Milk in ſuch "ſmall Quantities is injudicious; for undoubtedly with ſuch as it agrees with, it would perform "much greater and quicker Effects in greater Quantities. I take it for granted, that the Patients "who drank ſuch great Quantities took no other Food." The judicious Mr. Robert Boyle (ſee his Works, vol. iv. p. 327) was preciſely of the ſame Opinion. Indeed nothing can be more agreeable to common Senſe and to Experience, than the giving plentifully, and without Mixture, Medicines that are equally gentle, pleaſant, and efficacious.

[w] The curious Kind of Leather which we call Shagreen, and the French Chagrin or Chagraine, from the oriental Term Sagri, is made from the hinder Part of the Skin of the Wild Aſs, that is what covers the Rump and Buttocks. The Skin is prepared as ſoon as flayed, ſprinkled with Muſtard Seed, then put for ſome Time into a Preſs, and after the Points are raiſed, taken out and expoſed to Sale. The beſt is made in Syria, and comes to us from Conſtantinople. The Skin of the Aſs is alſo uſed in Sieves; made into Parchment, it ſerves for the Heads of Drums; and properly prepared, is employed in the Manner of Vellom for Pocket-Books. When ſimply tanned, it makes a Leather, coarſe indeed, but beyond all other Leather ſtout and durable. It is by no Means impoſſible, that ſome farther Improvements may be made in the Management of theſe Skins in Parchment or Leather.

lations [x]. The firſt Kind are the beſt and moſt eſteemed, as being larger, ſtronger, and having leaſt of the Aſs in their Temper. The largeſt and ſtouteſt Aſſes, and the faireſt and fineſt Mares, are choſen in thoſe Countries where theſe Creatures are moſt in Uſe, as in Spain, Italy, and Flanders. In the laſt, eſpecially, they ſucceeded in having very ſtately Mules, from the Size of their Mares, ſome of them Sixteen and ſome Seventeen Hands high, which were very ſerviceable as Sumpter Mules in the Army. But ſince the Low Countries are no longer under the Dominion of Spain, the Flemings breed fewer Mules [y]. Theſe Creatures are very much commended for their being ſtronger, ſurer footed, going eaſier, being more cheaply maintained, and laſting much longer than Horſes. They are commonly of a black Brown or quite Black, with that ſhining Liſt along the Back and croſs the Shoulders which diſtinguiſhes Aſſes.

It is certain they were much more common in this Country in former Times than they are at preſent, being often brought over hither in the Days of Popery by the Italian Prelates. They continued longeſt in the Service of Millers, and are yet in Uſe among them in ſome Places, on account of the great Loads they are able to carry. As they are capable of being trained for Riding, bearing Burthens, and for Draught, there is no Doubt that they might be uſefully employed in many different Services [z].

[x] The Name in Latin of the Animal produced by an Horſe with an Aſs is Hinnus; when a Foal, Hinnulus; when very ſmall in its Kind, Hinniculus. The other Sort was called Mulus or Mula. Our Anceſtors in like manner called the former a Neyard, and the latter a Moile. One of theſe Terms is utterly obſolete, and the other ſoftened into Mule. In the Three laſt Chapters of his Sixth Book, Columella treats this Subject at large, and moſt of the modern Writers have only copied him. Mago the Carthaginian had written before him, and Mules were common in Africa. It is not improbable the Romans had them originally from Egypt; as it is likely was the Caſe long before with the Hebrews, who, though forbidden to breed, Levit. xix. 19. notwithſtanding uſed them; for David directed that Solomon when proclaimed ſhould be ſet on his own Mule.

[y] The Spaniards have long had a Predilection for Mules, which they employ equally for the Saddle, Carriage, and Draught. This hath raiſed the Price of He-Aſſes to ſo high a Degree, and produced an abſolute Prohibition of Exportation. It hath alſo leſſened their Regard and Attention to Horſes. The Studs in Andeluſia, formerly eſtemed the fineſt in Europe, have loſt their Credit, and future Ages will ſcarce believe what hath been truly ſaid of Spaniſh Horſes. The Government, aware of this, have more than once thought of reſtraining the Uſe of Mules to Eccleſiaſtics and Women. In France, Lewis XIV. who was intent on raiſing a good Breed of Horſes, found it neceſſary for that Purpoſe to forbid, by an expreſs Ordinance, the breedingMules from Mares above a certain Size.

[z] We have more than once aſcribed the little Uſe made of Aſſes and Mules to our having ſuch Numbers, and ſo many different Sorts of Horſes. This indeed ſeems to be the genuine Cauſe; for notwithſtanding what is ſaid as to their high Price, there are enough every where to be had of an inferior Kind at a low Rate. When they drive Foreſts and Commons (purſuant to the Statute) many are ſold from Five Shillings to Five Pounds. Again, in regard to Powers, our Pack-Horſes in our very worſt Roads carry more than Four Hundred-weight. Our Millers Horſes (performing ſhorter Journies) will carry more than double that Weight. For removing Furniture, and conveying Baggage and Proviſions here at Home, we have convenient Carriages. For foreign Service, his late Royal Highneſs the D. of Cumberland, had as noble a Train of Sumpter Mules, in point of Strength and Stature as any in Europe.

But they are commonly found to be vicious, ſtubborn, and obſtinate to a Proverb; which whether it occaſions, or is produced by, the ill Uſage they meet with, is a Point not eaſily ſettled. Whatever may be the Caſe of Aſſes, it is allowed that Mules are larger, fairer, and more ſerviceable in mild than in warm Climates. In our American Colonies, both on the Continent and in the Iſlands, but eſpecially in the latter, they are much uſed and eſteemed; ſo that they are frequently ſent to them from hence, ſufferleſs in the Paſſage, and die much ſeldomer than Horſes, and commonly yield when they arrive no inconſiderable Profit.

We have already ſpoken in general of the Excellence of our Dogs [a], we mean here to be a little, and but a little, more particular, that it may appear the Superiority we enjoy in this Reſpect, is not a fanciful but a real national Advantage. Dogs are a Kind of Animals connected with Man (if we may ſo ſpeak) by a reciprocal Communication of Benefits. We feed and keep them, they in return contribute to our Safety, our Support, and our Amuſement. They guard our Houſes, our Gardens, our Flocks, and our Herds in the Fields with Spirit and Vigilance. We avail ourſelves of their Strength and Courage, in the hunting and ſubduing wild Beaſts; we ſerve ourſelves of their Scent and Speed, in purſuing and taking all the different Species of Veniſon and Game for our Subſiſtence; and we likewiſe employ their Help to defend and to free us from all noxious Vermin [b]. We diſtinguiſh, and we improve their natural Qualities of Sagacity, Docility, and Swiftneſs for our own Emolument, and theſe grateful Creatures repay that Attention with the firmeſt Fidelity, and the tendereſt Affection. If theſe their many and known Services ſhould not be ſufficient to eſtabliſh a Senſe of their Utility, let us conſider the Conſequences that would attend the ſtriking them out of the Chain of Beings, and what an irreparable Loſs this would be found to Mankind [c].

But

[a] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 58, 59. where the Reader will alſo find the proper Authorities cited in Support of this Aſſertion. Add to theſe, that ſome very learned Critics have maintained, that the Procurator of the Cynegium Ventenſe was an Officer who had the Care of the imperial Kennel at Wincheſter, and furniſhed Dogs, more eſpecially Maſtiffs, for the Amphitheatre; whence, as their Poets ſhew, they were ſo well known, and ſo univerſally admired at Rome.

[b] In reference to Scent, the Blood-Hound is a moſt ſurprizing Inſtance, concerning which ſee Boyle's Works, vol. iii. p. 332. The Swiftneſs of the Gre-Hound or Grey-Hound, is amazing, as is the Steadineſs and Perſeverance of other Hounds and Beagles, the Boldneſs of Terriers in unearthing Foxes, &c. the Sagacity of Pointers and Setting Dogs, taught a Language of Signs, as intelligible to Sportſmen as Speech, and the invincible Spirit of a Bull-dog to be quelled only by Death.

[c] The Sovereignty of Man over other Animals, is in a great Degree acquired and maintained by the Aſſiſtance his ſuperior Skill enables him to derive from Animals themſelves, eſpecially the Horſe and the Dog. By the Help of the latter, he takes not only Beaſts but Birds, and purſues his Game not barely over Land, but alſo through the Waters. In ſome Northern Countries theſe

Animals

But if they have every where ſuch various Merits to recommend them, we may truly affirm, that no Country in the World can boaſt either of having more different Sorts, or finer in every Sort than this, for which Britain hath been famous, ever ſince Britain was known to other Countries, and this Fame ſhe ſtill retains [d]. Indeed it may be truly ſtiled a natural Prerogative of this Iſland, ſince we know that almoſt every Kind of our Dogs degenerate in a ſhort Space, when removed from hence; which however is not obſerved, in reſpect to foreign Animals of the ſame Species brought hither, if the Breed be preſerved unmixed [e]. The Female hath Ten Paps, Four of which are on the Breaſt. She carries her Young Sixty-three Days, and brings from Four to Eight at a Litter. The Male Puppies uſually reſembling their Sire, and the Females their Dam. Dogs are ſubject to many Diſeaſes, but more eſpecially to Madneſs, from whence the moſt dreadful and dangerous Conſequences follow; and this, together with the Humour of keeping too great Numbers of theſe Animals of the moſt uſeleſs Kind, hath occaſioned very general and juſt Complaints, and for which it would be well if an adequate Remedy was provided [f].

The

Animals ſerve to draw Sleds, and are alſo employed to carry Burthens. It is from a contemplative View of their reſpective Services, from the Shepherd's Dog down to the Turnſpit, that we are to collect a juſt Notion of the Utility of the canine Species, and not from the Multitude of yelping uſeleſs Curs that diſgrace the Streets of Cities and great Towns, through the Folly and Careleſsneſs of thoſe who brought them thither.

[d] All the Nations in Europe do Juſtice to our Dogs, adopt our Terms and Names into their Languages, receive them thankfully as Preſents, and when they have an Opportunity purchaſe them at a dear Rate: More eſpecially our Hounds, and in particular that ſtately and noble Animal, now grown very ſcarce even with us, the Iriſh Wolf Dog, or, as it is called from its Shape by the learned Ray, the Iriſh Grey-Hound, and by him declared to be the higheſt Dog he ever ſaw.

[e] As appears from Danes, Spaniels, and many others that might be mentioned. The different Natures of our Dogs, the Dexterity of thoſe who make or train them, and the great Variety of our Game, find abundant Entertainment for our numerous Sportſmen, that is, Gentlemen who ſpend much of their Time in the Country for the Sake of the Diverſions it affords, and ſuch as, though they ſpend moſt of their Time in arduous Purſuits, occaſionally viſit them, and ſhare in their Amuſements. Speculative Perſons, partial to their Occupations, often treat ſuch People with Contempt. But Politicians ſee Things in another Light, and knowing they live at Home, encourage Hoſpitality, conſume Manufactures, promote inland Trade, and ſpend their Eſtates amongſt their Neighbours, conſider them as good Citizens.

[f] The foregoing Note, it is hoped, may ſerve as a full Apology for the Pains taken in this Article, as it clearly ſhews that it properly falls within our Province. The Phyſicians of the laſt Age, and eſpecially the Germans, recommended many Remedies taken from Dogs, beſides the Album Græcum. In ſeveral Parts of Africa, in China, and by our Negroes in the Weſt Indies, they are eaten and eſteemed excellent Food. So they were by the Romans, and long before them by the Greeks, as we learn from ſeveral Treatiſes of Hippocrates. In the preſent Times their Skins, dreſſed with the Hair on, are uſed in Muffs, made into a Kind of Buſkin for Perſons in the Gout, and for other Purpoſes. Prepared in another Way they are uſed for Ladies Gloves, and the Linings of Maſks, being held to render their Skins peculiarly white and ſmooth. The French import many of theſe Skins from Scotland under a ſmall Duty. Here, when tanned, they ſerve for Upper-leathers for neat Pumps. Dog Skins dreſſed, which ſhews they are an Object in Commerce, are exported

The Hare is too well known to need any Deſcription. It is expoſed to many Enemies without any Weapon of Offence or Defence, ſo that it owes its Safety to its natural Timidity. Its Ears are very long, of which the Animal has the moſt perfect Command, and by their Means enjoys an exquiſite Senſe of Hearing. It is alſo furniſhed with hinder Legs of great Length and Strength, which enables it to fly from Danger with wonderful Swiftneſs. It remains quiet in the Day-time, ſquatted on its Form on the bare Earth, making its Excurſions to the Prejudice of the Farmers in the Night, and is particularly deſtructive to young Trees g. The Female carries her Young Thirty Days, brings ſeldom more than Two, which arrive at their full Growth in One Year, and are ſaid to live till Seven, though they ſeldom ſurvive ſo long. Their Fleſh hath been always in great Eſteem, for which Reaſon they have been preſerved in Parks, and ſometimes in Warrens, being uſeful beſides in ſome other Reſpects to Man h.

The Rabbit is another timid Animal, leſs fleet, and therefore having more Reſources than the Hare. It burrows naturally on the Sides of Hills, and is thereby out of the Reach of Beaſts and Birds of Prey. It hath a very quick Sight, and upon the moſt diſtant Approach of an Enemy flies to its Retreat. Theſe Creatures are of different Colours, black, white, ſpotted, and of a Silver Grey. They are likewiſe preſerved in Warrens, which were formerly very frequent on a Principle of Improvement, leſs ſo at preſent, and many have been deſtroyed, and the Soil found to have more Advantages from its having been once employed to this Uſe i. Rabbits from their

under a light, and imported under a high, Duty. The French import from Denmark large Quantities of Dogs Hair white and black, the laſt eſteemed the beſt, which is worked up in the Liſt of a particular Kind of Woollen Cloth, and not uſed, as many have ſuppoſed, in the Making of Hats, for which this Kind of Material hath been found utterly unfit. The inquiſitive Reader, who deſires to be more fully informed on this Subject, may conſult Hariſon's Deſcription of Britain, B. iii. chap. 13. Markham's Country Contentments, B. i. ch. 1. C. F. Paullini Cynographia curioſa, ſeu Canis Deſcriptio. Norimb. 1685, 4to.

g The Hare was forbidden to the Hebrews. Our Britiſh Anceſtors (as Cæſar tells us) abſtained from it alſo. It was held a prime Delicacy by the Romans, and therefore they took much Care to preſerve them. We likewiſe ſhew them a ſingular Attention, as appears by our Game Laws. In this Country their Hair is of a brown Red, in the Northern Parts of Europe they are in the Winter white. Some of this Colour have been killed in Northamptonſhire.

h The Skins of theſe Animals, dreſſed with the Hair on, are recommended for giving Eaſe in the Rheumatiſm, and this is juſtified by Experience. The Fur, or rather the Down under the Fur, is uſed in making Hats. While the French were poſſeſſed of Canada they prohibited the Uſe of this Material under ſevere Penalties, to prevent its interfering with and lowering the Price of Beaver. Formerly the whole Animal, and almoſt every Part of it, was ſuppoſed to have great Medicinal Virtues, a Notion which is now exploded.

i Theſe at the Time they were made were moſt certainly Improvements, being commonly in heathy, ſandy, and chalky Lands, then eſteemed incurably barren, and of courſe utterly uſeleſs. But ſince many different Methods have been found to amend and render ſuch Lands fruitful, it hath been thought, and very juſtly too, as good Huſbandry to deſtroy them. When turned to other Purpoſes,

their Voracity and their Fecundity have been found very deſtructive. In reſpect to the former, they eat Herbs, Greens, Roots, Grain, Fruit, and the Barks of Buſhes and young Trees. In regard to the latter, they are more prolific than moſt Animals. They carry their Young Thirty Days, breed Six or Seven Times in a Year, and have frequently Seven, Eight, or Nine at a Time. They are alſo longer lived than Hares, as they have been known to reach to Nine Years [k]. Their Fleſh at a proper Age, and in proper Seaſons, is thought equally wholeſome and delicate. But this, though in ſome Degree an Object of Profit, did not ſo much recommend or render them ſo valuable, as their Skins, which are now much reduced in their Price from a Variety of Cauſes, and though thus reduced they are ſtill of no deſpicable Value [l].

THERE are likewiſe ſome other wild Animals, which, though in general conſidered as noxious, and even as Vermin, are, however, when killed or taken, uſeful in ſome Reſpects to Mankind, though not in ſuch a Degree as to entitle them even to his Pity, much leſs to his Protection. The BADGER is a miſchievous Animal, but leſs ſo then is commonly thought. He is however hunted and deſtroyed wherever found; and being by Nature an inactive and indolent Creature is commonly fat, and therefore they make his hind Quarters into Hams in North Britain and Wales, where, though not in any great Numbers, they are more frequent than in South Britain. Their Skins and Hair are alſo of ſome Value [m]. We have in ſome Parts of this

Purpoſes, old Warrens, through the ſtirring and breaking the Earth, and the Dung and Urine of the Creatures, have been found incomparably better than other Lands of a like Nature left in their original State. Vaſt Numbers of Rabbits are alſo bred up tame in Sand Pits and in Hutches.

[k] This Fecundity was a Circumſtance of no ſmall Conſequence, when the Skins of large well choſen Rabbits would produce Half a Crown, or even Three Shillings a Skin, being then uſed in lining Robes, in Muffs, in Tippets, &c. The Down was employed in making Hats, and in both ours was highly eſteemed in France, eſpecially the jet Black, and ſuch as had only a Sprinkling of White amongſt the Black, and was very much preferred to their own.

[l] It muſt appear to every conſiderate Reader a very difficult Undertaking to compute the Value of theſe Animals, which nevertheleſs ought to form an Item in our national Stock. Mr. King ſets them down thus, Hares and Leverets, annual Breed Twelve Thouſand, Stock Twenty-four Thouſand; which at Eighteen Pence a Piece, excluſive of their Skins, amounts to One thouſand Eight hundred Pounds. Conies, the Breed Two, the Stock One Million; which at Five Pence a Piece without the Skins, he ſets down at Twenty thouſand Eight hundred Thirty-three Pounds. On the other Hand it hath been computed, that Skins included, the annual Produce of Rabbits within the Bills of Mortality comes to about Forty thouſand Pounds. In the Iſland of Tabago they have a Breed of theſe Creatures, the Skins of which have an agreeable Odour of Muſk, and are eſteemed a fine Fur.

[m] In ſome Places it is called a Brock, and in others from its Colour a Grey. It is not larger than a ſmall Dog, but is ſtrong, hath ſharp Claws, and long Teeth. It earths itſelf under Ground, and hath ſeveral Apartments in its ſubterraneous Dwelling, where it remains all Day, and ſeeks its Subſiſtence in the Night, which is uſually Graſs, Roots, Fruit, and Inſects. The Skin dreſſed with the Hair is uſed for Horſe Furniture or Dogs Collars, and the Hair for making Bruſhes and Pencils for Painters.

Iſland,

Iſland, particularly in Northamptonſhire, that little Animal called the ERMINE, which yields a delicate and valuable white Fur. This Creature is of the Weaſel Kind, and when of a brown red Colour is called the Stoat [n]. The Fox is much more common than any of theſe, and much more noxious; for this Reaſon he is not only purſued by Dogs for Sport, but deſtroyed every where and by every Method that can be deviſed. He hath a very rank fetid Smell; and yet for this very Reaſon ſome of them are ſpared and kept tame. The Skin is a very good Fur, and when brought from other Countries ſells very dear [o]. The MARTIN is the moſt elegant, ſprightly, and cleanly of all our wild Animals, having a pleaſant muſky Smell. It is however very deſtructive; and though harmleſs and inoffenſive when taken young, can but very ſeldom be rendered thoroughly tame. It meets therefore with little or no Favour, and its Fur being of ſome Value, makes it more an Object of Diſcovery and Chace. The Yellow or Wood Martin is common in North Britain, and ſometimes found in Wales; is of a ſmaller Size, and has a richer Fur [p].

THE OTTER, though in ſome Reſpects it reſembles, is notwithſtanding of a different Species from, the Beaver, of which, if our Books give us true Information, there were ſome formerly in Wales. The moſt remarkable Difference between theſe Two Creatures is, that the Otter hath Web Feet both before and behind, and yet is not amphibious like the Beaver. The former is ſo cruel and ſo voracious, as to deſtroy many more Fiſh than it can devour, which excites an extraordinary Diligence in ſearching for and deſtroying it, wherever this can be done; notwithſtanding which the Species

[n] It is called by the Italians Armellino, by the French Hermine; it is, though a ſmall Animal, bigger than a Weaſel, and therefore improperly called Muſtela Candida, being a different Species. It lurks in Hedges, in Meadows, and by River Sides, where it feeds on Rats, Mice, and Moles. It is common in Ruſſia, Norway, and other Northern Countries, and in Armenia, whence it derives its Name. It is all over a ſnowy White except, (which is the Characteriſtick of the Animal) the Tip of the Tail, and that is a deep ſhining Black.

[o] They diſtinguiſh Three Kinds of Foxes. The Grey-hound Fox the talleſt, the Maſtiff Fox the ſtrongeſt, and the Cur Fox the commoneſt. They lodge themſelves under Ground like the Badger. They feed on Lambs, Hares, Rabbits, Poultry, Birds, and, in caſe they cannot get theſe, Rats, Mice, or Roots. Their ſtrong Scent is thought to be a Preſervative againſt contagious Diſtempers. The Black Fox Skin, which is rare in the Northern Countries, and of which there are a few in Canada, is eſteemed One of the richeſt Furs.

[p] In different Parts of Britain this Creature hath different Names. It is of the Size of a Cat, longer in the Body, but with ſhorter Legs. It lives chiefly in Woods, makes its Bed or Neſt in hollow Trees. They feed on Birds chiefly, but will alſo eat Rats, Mice, or Moles. The larger Martin it is ſaid hath been tamed, and kept in the Houſe like any other domeſtick Animal. In North Britain, they ſay the White frequents the Beech, and the Yellow the Fir Woods. In the Weſtern Iſles of Scotland it is called the Mertrick, and its Fur is very fine. Theſe Skins under the Name of Marts are imported from Ruſſia, and many more from Canada, and by the Hudſons-Bay Company. Theſe Furs are not conſumed here, but ſent into other Countries, principally into the Levant, where they fetch a large Price.

is far enough from being exterminated. In Popiſh Countries the Fleſh of them is permitted to be eaten on Fiſh Days; but whatever might be the Caſe in the Days of our Anceſtors, certain it is, that Nobody will now taſte them here. Indeed, where they are eaten they are ſaid to be unſavoury and unwholeſome Meat. The Skin, but eſpecially the Fur of the Otter, is of ſome, and might be of more Uſe, if, as ſome affirm, the latter is very near as fit as that of the Beaver for making Hats; which however ſeems to be very problematical [q]. Several other Inſtances might poſſibly be added to theſe, if on this Head we had not already ſaid enough; in the Opinion of ſome of our Readers it may be too much. Let it however be obſerved, that little Articles claim a Place in every Inventory, as well as great ones. It is indeed very true, that what ariſes from all theſe Inſtances will amount to very ſmall Profit, yet when conſidered in another Point of View this will appear a great one. For how comes it to be very ſmall? From the Decay and Deſtruction of theſe noxious Animals; which ſhews how much better this Country is cultivated than many others, eſpecially thoſe from which, in the Shape of Furs and Peltry, the Spoils of theſe Creatures are received; or even than this Country formerly was, when Authority interpoſed, to excite a Spirit of leſſening their Numbers [r]. But ſmall as the Profit may be, it operates, in Conjunction with the Pleaſures of the Chace, to the proſecuting their Deſtruction. Beſides it fully illuſtrates and proves the Truth of what has been before ſaid of Dogs, for by their Aſſiſtance Beaſts of Prey have been brought thus low, and they are ſtill in ſome Degree neceſſary to keep them in their preſent depreſſed State.

We are next to treat, though but very ſuccinctly, of the feathered Race that naturally belong, or have been gradually introduced and rendered Inhabitants of this Country. In regard to tame or domeſtick Fowl, which

[q] Beſides the Difference in the Feet mentioned in the Text, the Otter is diſtinguiſhed from the Beaver by its Tail, which is longer and covered all over with Hair; whereas that of the Beaver is ſhaped like a Racket, and covered with a Kind of Scales. Otters diſcover great Subtilty in taking their Prey, and in the framing their Holes, but fall much ſhort of the Beaver in both, and indeed in their whole Oeconomy, that is, in their natural State. But the Otter may be tamed, and rendered as ſubſervient to his Maſter in taking Fiſh as a Dog in catching Game. This, though long practiſed in Sweden, was in other Countries regarded as fabulous, till Mr. John Lots, a Member of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, publiſhed A. D. 1755, the Method of training them, which is equally circumſtantial and curious.

[r] It is commonly underſtood, that our famous Saxon Monarch Edgar, by his Law for receiving their Heads at a Price in Payment of Fines and Taxes, ridded the Nation of Wolves. But this is not preciſely true. He certainly pointed out the proper Method of doing it. In the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century they made ſuch Deſtruction in the Weſtern Counties, that Edward III. iſſued his Writ, directing a general Hunting, and exhorting the Uſe of all poſſible Methods for their Extirpation. According to theſe Examples, a Law paſſed in Scotland in the Reign of James I. directing all Gentlemen and their Tenants to chaſe the Wolf Four Times every Year. This was enforced by a new Law ſo late as the Reign of James VI. In Ireland the Depredations by Wolves were not omitted in Preſentations by Grand Juries till A. D. 1710, or thereabouts.

we commonly diſtinguiſh by the Appellation of Poultry, we have them in as much Plenty, in as great Variety, and in as full Perfection as any other in Europe. As the Management of theſe makes no ſmall Part of the Farmer's Care, ſo they likewiſe turn to a Part, and no inconſiderable Part likewiſe, of his Profit. It is very viſible, that of late Years, that is, within the Space of Memory, as in every other, ſo in this Branch of rural Oeconomy, many and ſingular Improvements have been made, not only in the increaſing of our Stock, but, which is of more Importance, rendering every Species of theſe Fowl better in their Kind, and of courſe more valuable. It may however merit ſome Conſideration, whether by ſome ſmall Alteration in the Management it may not be ſo ordered as to become of more general Utility, which of courſe would occaſion a more extenſive Conſumption, and thereby on the Whole a larger national Advantage in this Article. A Circumſtance of ſo much the more Conſequence, as, if it could be effected, it would contribute likewiſe to the Support of many Families, or at leaſt to their better Support, by an Increaſe of INDUSTRY[s].

WE do not wait for the Death of theſe Creatures to find our Account in keeping them; for, on the contrary, they yield continually ſome Compenſation for the Pains and Expence beſtowed upon them. In the firſt Place, their BREED deſerve Notice, for their Young become very quickly ſaleable, or contribute as ſpeedily, if that is found more eligible, to augment, and thereby increaſe the Advantages ariſing from, the Stock. In the next Place, by their EGGS, of which there is a neceſſary, conſtant, and very large Conſumption; which however trifling it may appear in Detail, accumulates to an immenſe Value, and which is therefore an Object by no Means unworthy of our Regard[t]. In Lincolnſhire, and poſſibly in other Counties, they

[s] It is a general Complaint, that ſince the Enlargement of Farms, Poultry, except for the Uſe of their own Families, is very little the Farmers Concern, and that from thence Fowls are become ſcarce and dear at almoſt every Market. It may be, a Cottager with Four or Five Acres of Land might be able to maintain his little Houſhold by breeding Fowls, keeping Bees, and raiſing a few uſeful Roots and Vegetables in his Garden. It might at leaſt prove an additional Support to an Huſbandman's Family, find them Employment, and by rendering their Condition comfortable, encourage Matrimony, and thereby promote, what is the greateſt Bleſſing any Country can enjoy, the propagating a Race of healthy, hardy, and honeſt People. In itſelf the Thing is certainly practicable; and amongſt other ſalutary Effects that would attend it, we may be ſure of this, that it would diminiſh (where they are moſt felt) our Poor Rates, and that by the moſt deſirable Method, leſſening the Number of our Poor.

[t] Eggs are not only deſtined to a Multitude of Uſes in the Kitchen, which occaſions a vaſt Conſumption daily, but are alſo employed in Medicine, in various Manufactures, in the Fining of Liquors, in many Trades, and in moſt of theſe great Numbers are uſed at once. It is this occaſions ſo great an Importation, which of courſe creates a very large Expence. In the Book of Rates framed ſoon after the Reſtoration, Eggs are valued at Twenty Pence an Hundred (containing Six Score) and the Duty is about a Groat. It is difficult to come at a probable, impoſſible to procure an exact Account of the Number of Eggs and their Value annually conſumed in this Nation. Yet I have ſeen a Calculation, which appeared to be within Bounds, that at Six for a Penny made it amount to Four hundred Thouſand Pounds.

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pluck their Geese once, and sometimes twice in a Season for the Sake of their Down, and are also considerable Gainers by their QUILLS, which from their cheap Manner of feeding prodigious Numbers of these Fowls on their very extensive Commons, produce considerable Sums, so that this also is an Article of much more Consequence than it is generally esteemed [u]. The FEATHERS have likewise their Value, and that, considered in the Light of a Commodity, by no means despicable. For these, as well as for the Two former Articles, there is such a constant, continual, and increasing Demand, that we are obliged to supply it by a large Importation, and that under no very light Duty, which might with due Attention be prevented, or at least greatly reduced [w]. Besides what are commonly called Feathers, there is a softer, finer, more delicate, and of course more costly Substance plucked from the Necks and Breasts of these Fowls, particularly of Geese and Swans, which is stiled DOWN, and of which also, without any real Necessity, we import very considerable Quantities; though even the EIDER DOWN, which of all others, and deservedly, is most esteemed, might be had, as we have before shewn, from most of the small Isles from Barra to the Island of LEWIS, and other Places, without any other Trouble than the collecting it, and this to what Amount we please [x]. Add to all these, what is indeed the primary Object in feeding and breeding domestic Fowl, their Utility as Food,

[u] There are many Sorts of Quills in Use for making Pens, such as Swan, Goose, Turkey, Raven, and Crow Quills, but the principal Consumption is of Goose Quills, and this, as may be very easily conceived, is very large. Holland was and still is the principal Market, not because they have the most Quills of their own, but that in this as in many other Things they employ much Pains, and are exceedingly dextrous in the Management of them. It is true, their Method hath been introduced both here and in France; but the Terms used in both, viz. *Dutched* Quills and *Hollandées*, shew sufficiently who were our Masters. We import great Quantities from Hudson's Bay and from the Northern Parts of Europe, under a Duty of about Four Pence Halfpenny a Thousand. Swan Quills are used for Faucets in tasting Wines, for Fishing-floats, and other Purposes; and those of the Ravens for the stopping Spinnets, which raises their Price.

[w] It is chiefly from our common Poultry that the Feathers used for Beds, Bolsters, and Pillows are taken; and as their Value arises from their being carefully picked, sorted, and dried, which last is a very nice Operation, and is best performed without Fire, so many common People in the Country, either not liking the Trouble or not understanding the Manner of doing it, or, which is more frequently the Case, not knowing where to vend them, throw them on the Dunghill. But if they knew that Feathers in good Order would fetch so much a Pound as here in London, from Ten Pence to Half a Crown, this would be quickly corrected. As to Feathers imported, the Duty is One Pound Three Shillings and a Penny on an Hundred-weight (112 lb.) and a Feather Bed, whether old or new, Seven Shillings and Eight Pence.

[x] Pliny (Hist. Nat. lib x. cap. 22.) complains loudly of the Luxury then lately introduced of Down Beds. We learn from him they plucked it from their Geese, that the best came from Germany, and was worth Five Denarii or Three Shillings and Three Pence a Pound. That taken from Ducks is least esteemed. The pulling it is no Hurt to the Fowl, for they are careful not to pull it till ripe and ready to fall of itself, because if forced from the Skin with the Blood at the Roots, it speedily corrupts and spoils. Even that which is pulled after the Fowl is dead is in Comparison of the other of little Value. The Eider Duck or Colk, as they call it in North Britain, hath in Proportion to its Size more than any other Fowl, and finer, as it is pulled by the Bird for its Nest. Down imported pays a Duty of somewhat more than Four Pence a Pound.

making at all Times and in all Seaſons a Part of our PROVISIONS, for which we never want a Market. There is yet wanting to compleat the Account of our Profits, what from its Utility deſerves to be exempted from Silence, their DUNG [y], which hath the ſame Title to Value with other Things, ſince when ſold it fetches a Price, and that not ariſing from Fancy, but flowing from Experience.

As of tame or domeſtick, ſo likewiſe of wild and water Fowl, we have almoſt infinite Variety, as well as very great Abundance. The Plenty of tame Fowl may be conſidered as the Effects of Induſtry, but the Numbers of our wild and water Fowl are the abſolute Gifts of Providence. Theſe are, generally ſpeaking, the Inhabitants of Places, which in other Reſpects are of little Benefit to Mankind, ſuch as Heaths, Mountains, Thickets, Moors, Marſhes, and Fens, each having its peculiar feathered Tribe, either as conſtant Inmates, or as annual Viſitants in their regular and proper Seaſons [z]. In rude, remote, and leſs cultivated Places, the taking of them is the Employment and Support of Numbers, and in many of our Iſlands is not only a laborious but a dangerous Occupation. In other Parts, where Nature and Culture have introduced Opulence, theſe Fowls, or at leaſt many Kinds of them, are eſteemed Delicacies, and are in this Light, as far as may be, preſerved and protected [a] for Sport and Amuſement, the Modes of which, like all other Modes, have varied very much in different Ages, and thereby given Occaſion to many ſingular and ingenious Inventions. In ſome of theſe, the Aſſiſtance of Animals of different Kinds have been uſed in ſeveral Ways

[y] This Experience ſhews to be a great Inſtrument of Fertility in all Countries, and as ſuch of great Value. The ſmall Iſle of Foulney on the Coaſt of Lancaſhire is a Proof of this. Pigeons Dung hath the Preference, and is commonly ſold by the Buſhel. Hens Dung is cooler, but laſts longer. Gooſe Dung is allowed to be a good Medicine in the Jaundice, but hath been held to burn the Graſs. Mr. Mortimer vindicates it fully from this Imputation by a Number of Inſtances. From the due Conſideration of theſe Articles taken collectively, the intelligent Reader will form a competent Idea of the real and ſubſtantial Advantages we derive from our Poultry, and be from thence diſpoſed to think Mr. King did not exaggerate in valuing our tame Fowl at Four hundred and Sixty thouſand Pounds.

[z] Wild and Water Fowl have not in general Men for their Protectors, but rather the contrary; they are inſtructed therefore by the All-Wiſe Author of Nature to provide for themſelves. Food and Safety, eſpecially when Breeding, are their Objects; where both theſe are to be found they conſtantly remain; when either is wanting, they retire. If this happens to them in other Countries they come hither, and if it befalls them here, as, in reſpect to the latter particularly, is often the Caſe, they remove elſewhere.

[a] The Game Laws, ſo far as they tend to preſerve the Stock of Wild Fowl, by preventing the killing them but in proper Seaſon, and protecting their Eggs from being wantonly deſtroyed, ſeem calculated for public Benefit, inaſmuch as theſe are to be conſidered as belonging to the Publick, which hath an Intereſt in providing that they ſhall not be exterminated. By a late Law, Partridges are not to be killed between the Firſt of February and the Firſt of September, or Pheaſants from the Firſt of February to the Firſt of October.

that

that do Honour to the Skill and Induſtry of Man [b]. In one of theſe eſpecially we ſee this converted into a Species of Oeconomy, and ſo employed as to turn to no inconſiderable Account [c].

YET after all it muſt be allowed, that the Profits ariſing from theſe are by no Means to be compared with thoſe that, as we have already ſhewn, are derived from the former Claſs. A few, and but a few of their Eggs are eſteemed delicious Meat, but moſt of them are only eaten from abſolute Neceſſity. The Feathers of the far greateſt Part of Water Fowl are, from their unctuous Quality, the Proviſion made by Nature for their Eaſe and Safety in that Element in which they live, unfit for thoſe Uſes to which the Feathers of other Fowl are applied. The very ſame Thing may be ſaid in general of their Quills, of which we make little or no Advantage. Upon the Whole therefore, excluſive of their Utility in the univerſal Oeconomy of Nature, by their feeding on and deſtroying Inſects, the principal Benefit they produce to Man is from their Fleſh, which furniſhes in many Inſtances

[b] It was obſerved, that there were Birds as well as Beaſts of Prey. Upon this Principle Hawks of ſeveral Kinds were taken into the Service of Men, and Falconry, or the Method of Training theſe Fowl, and Herons, which were alſo uſed in the ſame Way, became an Art, and the Practice of it, in its full Extent, an Occupation. After Shooting came into Uſe, an old Horſe was ſo diſciplined as to aſſiſt the Sportſman, by concealing him from, and amuſing the Game till he could take Aim conveniently. This Creature is called a Stalking Horſe, and Cows and Deer have been trained to the ſame Service. Dogs of different Sorts are broke, as it is phraſed, to aſſiſt the Sportſman when he uſes either Gun or Net, and a Dog completely taught is very valuable. But the Performances of the Setting Dog or Land Spaniel, though truly admirable, are yet in the Judgment of Connoiſſeurs inferior to thoſe of the Water Spaniel. In this Animal is required a wider Meaſure of Comprehenſion, with as perfect an Obedience to the Looks and Geſtures, as well as the ſhort Words of Command from his Maſter. But it may be every Thing of this Kind is outdone by the London Bird-catchers, though their Object is no more than taking the poor little Songſters that fill our Cages. Theſe Artiſts have a large Apparatus of what are called Clap-nets, which in Autumn are ſpread in the Dawn of the Morning, and the Birds are allured into them by Goldfinches, Linnets, Wood-larks, &c. ſtiled Call-birds, moſt artfully and wonderfully inſtructed in this traiterous Buſineſs.

[c] This Improvement conſiſts in what are called DECOYS, of which there are ſeveral in Lincolnſhire, as alſo in Somerſetſhire, and may be in any marſhy Country; a Decoy is a pretty large Pond, made in ſome remote Place, ſhaded with Trees; from the Pond there run Five or more Channels, growing cloſer by Degrees, their Banks planted with Trees, over which is thrown a Net which forms an Arch, and at the Extremity there is a Purſe-net. The Keeper of the Decoy hath a convenient Stock of Ducks, trained from the Egg, well fed, and rendered familiar. Theſe Decoy Ducks flying abroad, bring with them Multitudes of Wild Fowl at their Return to their Quarters. When the Maſter of the Decoy, at the Cloſe of the Evening, ſees the open Pond well covered with Fowl, he poſts himſelf behind a Reed Hedge at the Angle of a Channel ſo as not to be ſeen, where he gives a Whiſtle, and throws Grain or Hempſeed over the Hedge into the Water; on this Signal, the Decoys lead the Strangers into the Channel; and being advanced therein, a little Dog, trained alſo, makes its Appearance through Holes in the Hedges made for that Purpoſe, running ſilently about without taking Notice of the Fowl; but if as the Channel grows narrower they attempt to return, he barks and drives them on till taken in the Purſe-Net. The Decoys by diving commonly recover the Pond, but if taken, are preſerved, careſſed, and are plentifully fed for their good Service.

a plea-

a pleaſant and wholeſome Food [d], and the various Diverſions that the Taking them for this Purpoſe continually affords [e].

Bees have been through a Series of Ages carefully cheriſhed and much eſteemed by the Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands, whenever their Circumſtances allowed them to cultivate the Arts of Peace. In this they followed the Example of the wiſeſt and politeſt Nations of Antiquity, who though they had very dark and erroneous Notions in Reference to their natural Hiſtory, were very ſkilful and aſſiduous in the Management of them [f]. They beſtowed on them alſo very liberal Commendations, in which they have been followed by our beſt Writers on rural Oeconomy. From Facts, as well as from their Authority, it may be aſſerted, that theſe induſtrious Inſects, though they coſt little, and are very eaſily provided for, are notwithſtanding very profitable; and, which ought to make them ſtill more our Care, are not a local Improvement, but may be univerſally introduced where-ever Induſtry and Attention are to be found [g]. It was a very old, though a very harſh and injurious

[d] Amongſt the vaſt Variety of our wild Fowl, the moſt eſteemed are theſe: The black Game or moor Fowl, which by a late Law are not to be killed from the Firſt of January to the Twentieth of Auguſt. The red Game or Growſe, protected by the ſame Law, between the Firſt of December and the Twenty-fifth of July. The white Game or Ptarmigant in the Highlands of Scotland. The Buſtard in Dorſetſhire, Wiltſhire, &c. The Dottrel in Cambridge, Derby, and Lincoln Shires on the Moors. The Godwit common in the Fens. The Knot in Lincolnſhire, ſaid by Fuller to be brought hither from Denmark by King Canutus or Knut. Partridges, Puffins, in the Iſle of Man, &c. Quails in ſeveral Parts of the Iſland, but in no great Plenty. Rail or Land Rail in Angleſea and in Somerſetſhire, common in North Britain and Ireland, by the Name of the Corn Crek. Ruffs and Reeves, the latter being the Hen, in Lincolnſhire and the Fens. The Wheat-ear, by ſome ſtiled the Engliſh Ortolan, in vaſt Numbers in Suſſex. The Woodcock, which like the former is a Bird of Paſſage, coming in the Autumn, and leaving us very early in the Spring.

[e] It will be evident from this very ſuccinct Detail, that no accurate Eſtimate can poſſibly be made upon this Head. Mr. King however hath adventured to gueſs, that the whole Stock of wild Fowl in his Time, which is Seventy Years ago, might be about Twelve thouſand Pounds. In proportion as a Country becomes more cultivated, the Quantity of ſuch Fowl will decline; and yet one may be induced to believe from Circumſtances, that our preſent Stock is ſtill of greater Value, ſince a few Years paſt it was computed, that the wild Ducks ſold that Seaſon amounted to Ten thouſand Pounds. The Curious and Judicious Reader who would be more fully informed on this Subject, may ſatisfy himſelf by conſulting an excellent and entertaining Work juſt publiſhed, entituled, BRITISH ZOOLOGY.

[f] There is no Subject reſpecting Oeconomy on which the Ancients have more fully ſpoken than this of Bees. Ariſtotle, Varro, Virgil, Columella, and Pliny have all treated of them at large. They had very juſt Notions of their Utility and of the Value of their Labours, and therefore ſhewed all the Attention poſſible to their Support; ſo that in truth there is but little (with regard to Management) in the Writings of the Moderns, which is not to be found in ſome or other of them. The Egyptians eſpecially were perfect Maſters of this Matter, and removed their Hives on Boats upon the Nile for the Conveniency of Feeding. This is ſtill practiſed by the Help of proper Carriages in Germany and in France on the ſame Principle, that the Bees may have the greater Plenty and Variety of Paſture.

[g] Mr. Fitzherbert obſerves, that he who hath Sheep, Swine, and Bees will thrive while he ſleeps. Googe gives ſome curious Practices of his own upon this Subject. The ingenious and judicious Mr.

injurious Cuſtom to deſtroy theſe laborious Animals, at the ſame Time that we deſpoiled them of the Treaſures they had acquired. A Thing no way requiſite, and which in ſome Countries where they proſpered beſt was never practiſed [h]. In Proceſs of Time, and after repeated Efforts, a Method hath been found out and perfected of obtaining the beſt Part of the Fruit of their Labours without deſtroying theſe uſeful Creatures; for the Encouragement of which a Premium hath been given, which hath been alſo attended with ſome Effect, ſo that in Time we may hope to ſee this barbarous Uſage utterly aboliſhed. The Quantities of Honey, and the much greater Quantities of Wax, imported hither from different Parts of the World, clearly ſhew that there is abundant Room for extending this eaſy, cheap, and at the ſame Time lucrative Species of Improvement [i]. It is more than probable, that to the opulent Farmer this may be no ſtriking Object, but to many others it may be uſeful, and to the poor Cottager eſpe-

Mr. Wolridge hath taken much Pains on this Head, and deſerves the more Praiſe, as he hath given us a very fair Detection of ſeveral fanciful, and at the ſame Time fallacious Improvements propoſed by other Authors, deſerving the more Credit, as he ingenuouſly relates ſeveral fruitleſs Attempts and unſucceſsful Experiments of his own. At the ſame Time he acknowledges, that managed in the common Manner, they prove, with due Care, exceedingly advantageous. Inſtead of mentioning our other Writers on this curious and intereſting Subject, who are very numerous, it may be ſufficient to refer the inquiſitive Reader to a very ſuccinct, perſpicuous, and methodical Treatiſe, very lately publiſhed, intituled, "An Eſſay on the Management of Bees, by John Mills, F. R. S."

[h] We have already mentioned how well the Ancients underſtood the Conduct of Bees. Whoever peruſes the Ninth Book of Columella, will be convinced of it. It is commonly believed that Virgil drew his Lights from Ariſtotle. But beſides Virgil, Columella made uſe of Hyginus and Celſus, who had wrote large Works on this Subject in Proſe. In general, the Ancients uſed Smoke as well as we in driving out the Bees; but they were ſenſible of the Inconveniencies attending this Method, and therefore valued highly unſmoaked Honey. This they had from Mount Hymettus, Three Miles from Athens, ſuppoſed to be the Birth Place of Bees, and where there is ſtill the fineſt Honey in the World. The Combs are taken there, at what Time and in what Quantities they pleaſe, without Prejudice to the Inhabitants of the Hive. Of this we are informed by our Countryman Sir George Wheeler, who in his Travels, p. 412, hath given a Plate, by which the Method, the moſt eaſy and ſimple, is ſo clearly explained as to be conceived at Sight. Of this our Neighbours the French have prudently availed themſelves, ſee Mills's Eſſay, p. 77—86. But they have not followed him exactly, which is very practicable, and might be introduced here without Trouble or Expence.

[i] The Profit derived from Bees ariſes from Honey and Wax. It is probable the former might be more valuable before the Introduction of Sugar. However the Conſumption in Food, in Metheglin, and in Medicine, is ſtill ſo great, as to exceed our Produce. Honey from Candia, Narbonne, and Minorca is in high Eſteem. The Duty on this Commodity is Seven Shillings and Eight Pence a Barrel, containing Forty-two Gallons. A. D. 1767, we imported Thirty-two Barrels. Wax is an Article of more Importance; for beſides the Quantities uſed by the Wax-Chandlers and Apothecaries, which is very conſiderable, it is employed in a Variety of Trades and Manufactures. The Duty upon it is Nine Shillings per Hundred; and in the ſame Year we imported One thouſand Four hundred and Thirty-ſeven Hundred-weight. If therefore, in conſequence of attending to Bees, we could not only ſupply ourſelves, but, as the other Northern Nations do, and is certainly in our Power, could come to export this Commodity, we need be in no Fear of a Market, as France imports at leaſt Seven Times as much as we do.

cially, it may prove a very practicable and no inconſiderable Relief[k]. But there may be ſtill more in this Matter to be done. In very many, and particularly in our ſmaller remote Iſlands, Bees were never ſeen; and yet perhaps there are very few of them in which they would not thrive with very little Attention better than in any other Situation[l]. For theſe little Creatures naturally delight in a Salt Air and in Salt Water, and for this very Reaſon are obſerved to ſucceed beſt in the Neighbourhood of the Sea. It is poſſible, that to many this will appear a Thing of little Conſequence; but to ſuch as ſhall conſider that nothing hath been ſaid that ariſes from Fancy or Speculation, but, on the contrary, reſts entirely upon Facts, it muſt ſurely wear another Face; and one may venture to promiſe, that where-ever it is attended to, it will ſpeak by its Effects for itſelf, and thereby juſtify the publick Spirit of thoſe who ſhall make the firſt Attempt.

In regard to Fish, no Countries can be more, and indeed there are very few that are ſo commodiouſly ſituated as the Iſlands of Great Britain and Ireland; and if any could enter into Competition with them on this Head, it muſt be ſome of the larger Islands that are dependant upon them. This will inconteſtably appear, if we reflect upon what has been before ſaid, as to the Sinuoſities of our reſpective Shores, the Number of our Lakes and Pools, the much greater Number of our Rivers and Rivulets, the Plenty of the finny Tribes they contain, the Conveniency of our Bays, and the Seas ſurrounding us abounding with all the different Sorts that either Epicuriſm or Avarice could demand. But it is and hath been long a Complaint, that theſe natural and obvious Benefits are and have been for a Series of Years ſhamefully neglected; that the Fiſhing Towns on our Coaſts are very many of them decayed; that we are at no Pains to reſtore them; and that Foreigners extract annually immenſe Treaſures from our Seas with Impunity.

[k] It hath been already ſuggeſted, that a Cottager, with four Acres of indifferent Land, might be very uſeful to himſelf, his Family, and the Publick in raiſing Poultry; and this would be not only augmented but facilitated by his keeping Bees. A ſmall Orchard or Garden properly diſpoſed and managed to this Purpoſe would help to ſupport them; and an Acre ſown with Buck-wheat, which will grow on any Soil, would ſupply all Defects; and the Grain fattens Poultry more than any other. Such poor People, if induſtrious, would be very attentive to whatever would better their Condition; and having but few Things to mind, and being confined to narrow Bounds, and theſe few Things being continually under their Eyes, they would exert all their Faculties to improve them; which Obſervation and Experience would ſpeedily put in their Power.

[l] Theſe Iſlands, though thinly inhabited, have large Tracts of Land; and the moſt uncultivated of theſe would furniſh Bees with very acceptable Nouriſhment. For, wild as they are, they abound with Heath, Broom, and Multitudes of flowering Herbs; and every Cottage having a Kitchen Garden, though a poor one, they could never be at all diſtreſſed for Subſiſtance. If any Objections ariſe from the Conſideration of Climate, theſe will admit of Two Anſwers. The firſt is, that none, even of our remoteſt Northern Iſles, are ſo cold as from their Situation might be expected: And next, that in Countries more to the North, and confeſſedly much colder, there are prodigious Quantities of Honey and Wax made; which, the laſt eſpecially, brings in vaſt Sums from Southern Regions, where that Commodity is conſumed.

Complaints which it muſt be owned are not totally without Foundation. But it may be, if we look cloſely into the principal Cauſe of this, we ſhall find that it ariſes from our eating much leſs Fiſh than formerly; and without a large, indeed a very large and very conſtant domeſtic Conſumption, great Numbers of fiſhing Towns cannot be ſupported, at leaſt in a flouriſhing Condition [m]. In another Point of View poſſibly the Conſequences of this may ſeem leſs alarming. For the ſmaller Quantity of Fiſh that is eaten the more Fleſh muſt come to Market, and to ſupply this more Stock muſt be reared, of courſe more Land muſt be cultivated, and more People employed, and employed to better Account. This is not an artificial Apology for our Indolence or Negligence, but an actual Detail of Facts. Our Diſregard to Fiſh, the Progreſs of Agriculture, and the Increaſe of Induſtry and Manufactures, were all of them the happy Effects of the Reformation; ſince which we have been in all theſe Reſpects a growing and proſperous Nation.

YET it ought to be conſidered and confeſſed, that on the other Hand, though we eat leſs we ſtill eat Fiſh, of which there is every where a conſiderable Home Conſumption, and many Towns ſubſiſt thereby at this Day; neither are our Fiſheries ſo few or of ſo ſmall Conſequence as we ſometimes find them repreſented. We have a Pilchard Fiſhery on the Coaſts of Cornwall, Devonſhire, and Dorſetſhire, and of theſe Fiſh we ſend yearly great Quantities to Spain, Italy, and the Levant. The taking Mackrel annually on our own Coaſts employs a great Number of Hands, and at the ſame Time ſupplies many Mouths, though little is ſent Abroad [n]. The Oyſter

[m] This Change in our Food had very important Conſequences. In the Popiſh Times (including Lent) the People lived One third of the Year upon Fiſh, or, which is the ſame Thing, Fiſh and not Fleſh made One third of their Proviſion. On this Account they eat Porpoiſes, Seals, and other Kinds of Food, which no Body will now touch, and this at the beſt Tables. In conſequence of this, all Kinds of Meat were cheap. Lent had ſtill a farther Effect, for few Cattle being then killed, the riſing Stock was preſerved. It was the Conſideration of this that produced long after the Reformation Proclamations for keeping Lent, but Habit prevailed over Policy, and Fiſh was no longer eaten but from Neceſſity or Choice. It happened very fortunately for the Dutch; they increaſed, as we relaxed in Attention to Herring, concerning which we had made many Laws: They acted very wiſely, for they not only conformed their Manner of Living to this Fiſhery, but even moulded it into their Religion and Conſtitution, making publick Prayers for its Proſperity, and affording it continually all poſſible Encouragement and Protection. That true Patriot and conſummate Stateſman John de Witt, ſays, the Manufacturers live chiefly on Herrings, Manufactures employ the Merchants, Merchants promote Commerce, and the Commerce and Fiſheries are Sources of Navigation and naval Power, the principal Supports of a maritime State. He ſays this to ſhew how the ſeveral Intereſts of the Subjects of that Republick are interwoven, and how by this Means the Succeſs of the ſeveral Parts contribute to the Welfare and Security of the Whole.

[n] The Mackrel come ſometimes on our Coaſts in ſuch prodigious Quantities, that it is ſaid in the Weſt they have dunged their Grounds with them. It is to be, and indeed hath been long regretted, that a Method hath not hitherto been found for preſerving and exporting them. The French have Two Ways of doing this, they cram the Belly of the Fiſh with Salt, and then lay them in the Barrel,

Oyſter Fiſhery is in that Reſpect much more conſiderable, is carried on in different Parts of the Britiſh Territories, and due Attention hath been paid thereto [o]. We have alſo a Fiſhery of flat Fiſh, particularly on the Coaſt of Suffolk, and Endeavours have been uſed to ſecure to us the Turbot Fiſhery, which probably will in Time be attended with Effect, as this is a Thing viſibly in our Power. Lobſters are caught all along our Coaſts, ſo that every Part of our Iſlands may be ſupplied with them in Plenty, and that without going ſo far to ſeek them as the Coaſts of Norway.

Besides our important Fiſhery at Newfoundland and on the adjacent Banks, we catch much Cod and Ling in our own Seas by Veſſels from all the Three Kingdoms, and might catch many more, the promoting of which would eſſentially benefit the Public. The Salmon Fiſhery is an Object of great Conſequence, particularly to Great Britain and Ireland, from whence there is a conſtant and no inconſiderable Exportation. The Herring likewiſe pay no ſmall annual Tribute to all the Members of the Britiſh Empire. It is a fortunate Circumſtance in reſpect to theſe our ſeveral Fiſheries, that moſt of them in Point of Time follow each other regularly and in Succeſſion, ſo that many paſs from one to another, and find thereby conſtant Employment, which breeds a great Number of active and robuſt Hands for the

ſtrowing Salt over them, then another Layer of Fiſh with Salt upon them, and ſo on till the Barrel is full, or they pickle them in a ſtrong Brine, in which they remain Twelve Days, then take them out, pack them as before, except the Salt between, preſs them down very tight, with a Layer of Salt on the Top. A Barrel contains about Three hundred Fiſh, or if the Fiſh be very large it may be fewer. The Sale however is not very conſiderable, and moſtly in the inland Provinces of the Kingdom. It might be expedient to inquire into the Method of curing Tunny, to which in its Fleſh the Mackrel hath great Reſemblance, for certainly if we could ſucceed in preſerving them, it would render this Fiſhery of much more Importance.

[o] It is allowed, that though moſt maritime Countries have Oyſters, yet none have been in all Ages more famous for them than Britain. Their Plenty is no leſs remarkable than their Excellence, for we have them on both Sides, indeed in all Parts of the Iſland. Colcheſter is diſtinguiſhed for the green finned (Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 307) Oyſters; they imitate theſe at Dieppe and in the Marſhes of Xaintonge, but the French themſelves admit that ours are better. At Feverſham, in Kent, the Dutch ſend annually many Veſſels to load with Oyſters. Portſmouth, Pool, the Iſle of Wight, and many other Places, are celebrated for them. This Fiſhery is under the Direction of Courts of Admiralty intruſted with great Powers for regulating whatever concerns it. In May the Oyſters caſt their Spawn, or Spat as it is called, which ſticks to Stones, Pieces of rotten Timber, &c. called Cultch; the Perſons who in that Month drag theſe out of the Sea are called Dredgers; the Cultch is thrown back, the Spat depoſited in proper Beds, where, though the young Fry acquire Shells in Twenty-four Hours, they do not become ſaleable in leſs than Two or Three Years. After Spatting, the Oyſters are ſick in June and July, but recover in Auguſt: When of a good Sort well pickled, they are very delicate; but it would be more advantageous if we could retrieve the Art of the Roman Epicure Apicius, who is ſaid to have ſent the Emperor Trajan Oyſters from Italy into Perſia, which when eaten there were as freſh as the Day that they were taken. It may not perhaps be amiſs to remark, before we diſmiſs this Subject, that their Shells calcined to Whiteneſs in the Sun, and powdered, is found by Experience a better Medicine than Pearls, Corals, or other coſtly Drugs

Service

Service of our Navy. The Encouragement and Protection afforded to our Whale Fiſhing hath been likewiſe attended with Succeſs. Upon the Whole therefore, comparing the preſent with paſt Times, it will appear that we have gradually wrought ourſelves, in reſpect to this important Concern, into a better Situation; and though we make but ſmall Account of them when we look upon them ſingly, yet we cannot but acknowledge, that when taken together, theſe Fiſheries are of no light Value, and would ſeem to us very conſiderable, if in the Hands of any other Nation p.

This Subject however deſerves, and to ſpeak the Truth demands, ſome further Diſcuſſion. For whatever the Profits of our Fiſheries may or might be, the Nation hath always entertained an Idea, that they could be rendered much more extenſive, and of courſe much more advantageous. An Idea not either lately or lightly taken up, but warmly and uniformly maintained, eſpecially ſince the Union of the Two Crowns, by the ableſt and moſt public-ſpirited Writers q. This they demonſtrated from Facts ſo plainly, and ſhewed the public Intereſt therein ſo inconteſtibly, that in different Periods different Attempts were made to vindicate the Right of the Nation to the Fiſheries in her own Seas, and to put her in Poſſeſſion of all the Profits that could be drawn from them. It is indeed too true, that not one of theſe Attempts was attended with Succeſs, but as all of them failed for Want of Perſeverance, they were ſo far from injuring this Notion, that in

p It would be a very difficult, and after all a very precarious Undertaking, to calculate the Value of theſe Fiſheries, which depend upon Seaſons and other Accidents. But with reſpect to what is ſaid in the Text, ſome great Authorities may be produced to ſupport it. Mr. John Collins, who wrote a Diſcourſe on Salt, and was thoroughly Maſter of the Subject, the famous Dr. Davenant, and the ingenious Mr. Houghton, all agree that we take full as much Fiſh as the Dutch. Indeed, if we conſider the Extent of our Coaſts, the Number of our Inhabitants, and of the Veſſels and Men employed in this Service, it will leave us no Room to doubt. But then, if we contemplate the Territory of the Seven Provinces, the People who live in them, and the Proportion of thoſe dependant on Fiſhing bears to the Whole, it will enable us to ſee this Matter in its true Light. We ſhall then diſcern, that though the Totals ſhould be equal, yet with them the Fiſheries employ and maintain One Fifth of their People, with us perhaps not near a Twentieth; which, in a political View, makes the Fiſheries of infinite Importance to them, and at once explains and juſtifies what De Witt and other Authors have ſaid on this Subject.

q The ingenious Mr. Houghton, taking Occaſion from what ſome have aſſerted, that Fiſh to the Value of Eleven Millions in One Year had been caught by Foreigners in our Seas, though he pretends not to vouch the Certainty of the Fact, undertakes however to ſhew the Poſſibility of it, and this by Calculation. He aſſumes from Dr. Heylin, that the Extent of the Coaſt of Britain is 1836 Miles. Suppoſing then the Fiſhing only Ten Miles over, though it is vaſtly more, this makes 18,360 ſquare Miles. In a ſquare Mile there are 640 ſquare Acres, and if in the Courſe of Twelve Months Twenty Shillings worth of Fiſh may be taken out of a ſquare Acre of Sea, which, its Depth conſidered, is no unreaſonable Poſition, this will amount to 11,750,400 *l.* In this Computation Ireland and all our other Iſlands are excluded; theſe however are more indented by the Sea, and conſequently have in Proportion to their Size a more extenſive Line of Sea Coaſt than Britain. If therefore we apply this Mode of Reaſoning to them, it will afford us a new and

in the Sentiments of the beſt Judges they confirmed it[r]. Reaſon and Experience ſeem now to prove, that the moſt ſecure and the leaſt expenſive Method of effecting this deſirable End, would be by putting the Fiſheries into the Hands of the Inhabitants of our Weſtern and Northern Iſlands. For by this, we ſhall gain at once, all and even more than all the natural Advantages that the Dutch poſſeſs, and in virtue of which they at firſt acquired and ſo long preſerved the Fiſhery.

The celebrated John de Witt makes it a great Prerogative of Holland, that it is ſo ſituated, as that its Inhabitants may draw a great Part of their Subſiſtence out of the Sea. But our Iſlands are ſeated in the Sea. He mentions as a Circumſtance of great Weight the Numbers who live on Fiſh. Our Iſlanders eat little elſe. The Dutch Frugality is taught our People by their Neceſſity. He ſays that they make all the Implements and Utenſils proper for this Buſineſs, ſuch as Lines, Nets, Cordage, Sail Cloth, and Caſks. So may our Iſlanders, for they have it full as much in their Power. He adds, that they build their own Veſſels likewiſe. It muſt be allowed that our Iſlanders want Timber for this Purpoſe, but ſo do the Dutch, and the former can have it as eaſily and as cheap as the latter. Beſides all this, the Dutch make their own Salt, and ſo may our People with equal Facility. With all their natural Advantages, and with all their Encouragements and wiſe Regulations, the Dutch muſt come to theſe very Iſlands for their Fiſh, which may be caught by our People at their own Doors. They take our Herring once a Year, ſo do we; and all the Year long we can take white Fiſh, flat Fiſh, Sharks, Seals, Porpoiſes, and Whales of different Sizes in our own Seas[s]. If the Queſtion ſhould be put, Where are we to find Markets.

an intelligible Method of Meaſuring their Conſequence, and thereby provoke us to attain at leaſt a Part of thoſe Treaſures which Induſtry may extract from them.

[r] The firſt of theſe Attempts was by James I. before his Acceſſion to the Throne of England, and as we have ſhewn, was overſet by the Ferocity of the Natives, or rather of their Cheiftans. The next was by Charles I. upon ſound Principles; and in conſequence of proper Inquiries, Storehouſes for Salt, and all other Requiſites for Fiſhing, were to be erected in ſeveral Places, and the Natives employed by a Company of Engliſh Merchants. The Civil War put an End to this; but the Ruins ſtill remaining, ſhew their Stations were judiciouſly choſen, and the Magazines very ſubſtantial and ſtately Works. The third was in the Reign of Charles II. by the Company of the Royal Fiſhery of England they were very ſucceſsful in taking and curing their Fiſh, ſo as to ſell at a ſuperior Price in foreign Markets: But as Houghton tells us, Collections vol. iii. 321. the French in Time of War, miſtaking their Doggers with many Seamen of that Nation on board for Dutch, deſtroyed their Fleet. Martin, Hiſtory of the Weſtern Iſles, p. 341. ſays, the King withdrew his Money, which diſobliging the Merchants, brought on the Downfal of that Company, and the Deſign for which it was incorporated.

[s] In what Manner and by what Means this may be effected; the Fiſhery for ever ſecured as well as retrieved, many Thouſands, who are now ſcarce connected, rendered uſeful and beneficial Subjects to Britain, hath been, at leaſt to the beſt of my Power, in its proper Place very fully explained. It might indeed have been referred to without going at all into the Subject here, but then the Account

kets for all this Fiſh? The Anſwer will not be difficult or hard to comprehend; the Herring we may ſell where the Foreigners now ſell theirs, which they ſtill annually catch in theſe Seas, and alſo in our Colonies. The white Fiſh in the Mediterranean, and the Oil here at Home. This therefore will be an additional Commerce no way interfering with the Fiſheries that we now have, the Profits of which will ariſe from other Nations, and be expended for Neceſſaries and Conveniencies, as they ought to be, in our own.

THE bringing uſeful Animals into an Iſland, and taking all poſſible Care of them when brought, is a Precaution that, as we have already obſerved, muſt neceſſarily occur to thoſe who ſettled it for their own Subſiſtence and Convenience. The great Attention of the primitive Inhabitants of our Iſlands, as it ſtands recorded in the earlieſt Accounts we have of them, deſerves our Gratitude as well as our ſerious Conſideration [t]. It is highly probable that large Improvements were made, and various Novelties introduced by the Romans in this as well as other Reſpects. The Prudence of their Succeſſors is alſo to be commended in rooting out ſuch noxious Creatures (however they came here) as were prejudicial to domeſtic Oeconomy. A Taſk not

count of our Fiſh might have ſeemed lame and imperfect. As it is, I have avoided all Repetition as much as it is poſſible; and I the rather hope the Reader's Indulgence, becauſe, though this Matter hath been for more than a Century paſt conſidered as of very high Importance, it is become much more ſo now, as the great Acceſſion of Territory we have acquired in America, makes it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to uſe every Method poſſible towards augmenting the Force, increaſing the Commerce, and promoting the naval Power of this Iſland, which is the Centre of our Empire.

[t] It is no eaſy Matter to penetrate ſo far through the Gloom of Antiquity, as to diſcern any Thing diſtinctly on this Head. Cæſar when he came hither (De Bel. Gal. v. 10.) found Black Cattle, Sheep, and Horſes in Abundance, as alſo Hares, domeſtic Fowls, and Geeſe, which they carefully nouriſhed, though they abſtained from eating them. As the Phœnicians and Carthaginians had a regular Intercourſe here long before his Time, might we not have ſome of theſe from them? In particular, might they not bring us Sheep from Spain, where the Carthaginians were ſettled? As to their breeding Creatures they did not eat, might it not be a political Maxim not to ſlaughter any Animals till the Country was fully ſtocked with them? Howel Dda, Prince of all Wales, near a Thouſand Years after Cæſar, publiſhed a Law for the Protection and Preſervation of that uſeful Animal the Cat (Leges Wallicæ, p. 247.) which from the Tenor of it plainly ſhews this Creature was then but lately introduced into his Dominions.

[u] We had unqueſtionably ſeveral Sorts of wild Beaſts in this Iſland, which as well as Wolves were exterminated by our Anceſtors. There were Bears in Caledonia and in Wales. Biſons in the Woods of Scotland, white, with flowing Manes, in other Reſpects reſembling Bulls, exceedingly furious. If any of this Kind ſtill remain in any Part of Europe, it is in Lithuania. The wild Boar was in Wales before, and in England after, the Conqueſt, as the Laws in both Countries ſhew, and was accounted Game. Boethius ſpeaks of Blue Sheep in the Iſland of Rona, but they and the very Memory of them have been long ago loſt, if in Truth they were ever there. He alſo tells us of a ſtill ſtranger Kind of Sheep in Hirta, which is the Iſland now called St. Kilda. Theſe he ſays were taller than Goats, and had Horns as big as thoſe of Oxen. We muſt remember, that our Author lived in a Country where the Horns of their Black Cattle are but ſmall. Such a Kind of Sheep is ſtill found in Tartary and in Siberia. But which is more to the Purpoſe, the Sheep now

not eaſily done in, and not to be effectually accompliſhed but in an Iſland [u]. The continuing to enrich this Country, by bringing over what might contribute thereto from others, and even from the moſt diſtant Regions, hath been wiſely and ſucceſsfully practiſed in later Times, though but ſuperficially, and often not very correctly mentioned in our Hiſtories, where however many Things are to be found that do us far leſs Credit. Whether in regard to Animals, any Thing may yet be left in our Power, is a Point that Experience only can determine.

In ſome of our large Iſlands where there is much marſhy Land, a Trial might poſſibly be made of Buffaloes, which are known to thrive much better than Black Cattle in ſuch Places. It is more probable that a Breed of Cattle from Jutland might be advantageouſly, as well as eaſily introduced into North Britain. An Experiment might with Facility be attempted of bringing the Dutch Sheep, ſo famous for their Fertility, into ſome of our Iſles; and though with more Difficulty, the like might be alſo found practicable in reference to the Angora and Chamois Goats [w]. Moſt of theſe Inſtances have been already mentioned, and are therefore barely recapitulated here, as the Subject ſeems to require it. In reſpect to Fowls, ſince the Secret hath been found of keeping their Eggs, and conſequently of bringing them from any Diſtance, nothing can be eaſier wherever it ſhall be thought expedient. As to Lake Fiſh, we have ſhewn that there is no Difficulty in having any Sort that can be deſired for Profit or Pleaſure. We have alſo hinted the Poſſibility of having Salt as well as freſh Water Ponds, which might prove of

now in St. Kilda have very large Horns, and many of them Four Horns, which ſhews we had theſe Animals anciently of different Kinds from different Countries. Let me add ſtill further, the St. Kilda Sheep are very prolifick. A late very accurate Obſerver informs us, that in Thirteen Months One Sheep added to the Flock Nine, yeaning herſelf twice Three, and her firſt Three, bringing each of them a Lamb in that Space. But theſe Sheep are ſmall, and their Wool coarſe. The Dutch Texel Sheep (originally as is ſaid from the Eaſt Indies) are very large, and their Wool ſo fine as to be ſold for Engliſh, bringing alſo commonly Two Lambs at once. Might not theſe be tried in One of the ſmall Iſlands dependant on St. Kilda, with a reaſonable Expectation they would preſerve both their Fertility and their Fleece?

[w] Where-ever any Thing of this Kind hath been propoſed, the Reaſons have been given which induced ſuch Propoſals, and the Advantages that might be expected from them. But it may be proper to mention here the Motives for recommending theſe Experiments to be made in ſome or other of our numerous Iſlands; and they were principally theſe: Firſt, that in their preſent Condition they ſeem to ſtand moſt in need of ſuch Improvements, if they ſhould prove ſucceſsful. Next, that of all Places they are ſuch as would bring the Experiment to the Teſt; becauſe, in any of them any Kind of Animals might be kept ſeparate till their Value and Increaſe were certainly known. Laſtly, in caſe upon Trial any Inconvenience appeared, it might be both eaſily and effectually removed without Poſſibility of its ſpreading or reviving. To this I may add, that if one fortunate Attempt was made, it would bid fair for improving all the Reſt, by kindling the Fire of public Spirit from this Spark of private Succeſs.

ſingular

ſingular Utility. But the public Attention being now thoroughly awakened to this Point, there is no Reaſon to doubt that Poſterity will ſee many, and theſe too more important Improvements, than our ſlender Abilities will enable us to ſuggeſt.

We have now concluded a ſhort and very imperfect Inventory of the Foſſil, Vegetable, and Animal Riches of theſe Iſlands, with ſome Obſervations intended to illuſtrate their Nature and Importance. A Taſk ſo difficult and yet ſo neceſſary, that an Attempt to execute it, if it does not amount to a Degree of Merit, affords at leaſt a Claim to Indulgence.

Such as it is, it moſt certainly proves, that our Commodities and Manufactures are very numerous, ſubſtantial, and of great Value, equally neceſſary to other Countries, and permanent as well as apparent Sources of Induſtry in our own. So that we may with great Juſtice aſſume, even in our preſent State, a Claim to national Independency, as having all Things requiſite, not only to Eaſe and Convenience, but alſo to Strength, to Wealth, and to Power, either immediately within our Reach, or which furniſh us amply with the Means of obtaining them. A very great Part of this, though always through the Bounty of Providence, in our own Hands, hath been, as is likewiſe fully ſhewn, by a gradual Exerciſe of Skill and Labour, brought into our actual Poſſeſſion, and very much ſtill left to be as certainly acquired by the ſame Methods. For after all our numberleſs Diſcoveries and Improvements, we have no juſt Grounds to affirm, that any One of our many national Advantages hath been abſolutely exhauſted or carried to the utmoſt Point of Perfection of which it is capable. On the contrary, it very viſibly appears, that our Poſterity, by their Induſtry and Application, aſſiſted by the Lights received from us, and which from the future Progreſs of Science they may ſtrike out for themſelves, may be very well able to leave us as far behind as we have done our Anceſtors[x]. It is admitted, that if we look back on paſt Times, the Progreſs made ſeems to be prodigious, but if we carry our Views forward, the Proſpect becomes bound-

[x] In order to frame an Idea of the gradual Improvements made in this Country in general, we may compare and conſider Carew's Survey of Cornwall, Camden's Account of that County, Morden's Deſcription of it, the Biſhop of Wincheſter's Additions to Camden, and Borlaſe's excellent Works ſo frequently cited. If we had the like ſucceſſive Relations of other Shires, they would ſhew in a greater or leſs Degree the ſame Thing. At the Acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, the Cuſtoms yielded but Thirty-ſix thouſand Pounds per Annum. Sir Walter Raleigh aſſerts, that in the Twelfth Year of her Reign, the Navy conſiſted of Thirteen Sail, and our Ships employed in Trade were One hundred and Thirty-ſix. How ſtrange does this appear to us? How much more wonderful, not to ſay incredible (ſuppoſing it could have been predicted) would our preſent Situation have appeared to them? What then is there abſurd in believing, that with ſo wide and firm a Foundation, ſuch a Multiplication of Powers, and ſuch Acceſſion of Wealth, Poſterity ſhould proſperouſly proceed in the ſame Track, and then, according to the common Courſe of Things, all that we expect may be accompliſhed.

leſs, and we ſee plainly an Infinity of Materials that may in Time be converted to Uſe and Profit.

We have drawn the far greater Part of our Inſtances from South Britain, not only becauſe therein they are moſt conſpicuous, but as there and there alone they have been properly recorded. But North Britain and Ireland are likewiſe improved, very conſiderably improved [y] to what they formerly were, and are poſſibly at this Day not in a worſe State than England was in a Century paſt, and both Countries may very probably be raiſed to a Situation not inferior to that in which ſhe now ſtands, and even when that ſhall happen, find themſelves as far behind her as they are at preſent. The numerous natural Advantages which from the Bounty of Nature ſhe poſſeſſes, as well as her being the Seat of Government, will ever preſerve the Superiority to South Britain, not barely without Prejudice, but with eminent Benefit to them. In ſome Reſpects there may be a ſignal Facility of improving viſible in one or other of them, and then it ought to be cheriſhed and ſupported for the common Good. This was clearly the Caſe in reference to England's encouraging the Linnen Manufacture in Ireland, that Induſtry might flouriſh there. North Britain very prudently deſiſted from the Woollen Manufacture, in which ſhe had made ſome Progreſs on the Union of the Two Kingdoms, from a Conviction that it might be better, cheaper, and more for the general Advantage carried on here. The Parliament of Great Britain have aſſiſted the Linnen Manufactory and the Fiſheries in that Country, and will no doubt continue to aid, to regulate, and to protect them [z].

[y] In reference to North Britain, as ſhe hath obtained many Advantages by the Union, ſo ſhe hath undoubtedly availed herſelf of them in a very great Degree, though poſſibly not to the Extent ſhe might have done. The Face of the Country, the Condition of the People, ſhew this. Their Lands are better cultivated, many Improvements have been introduced, Induſtry and Manufactures are increaſed; in conſequence of all which, Things are grown dearer, Rents are raiſed, and Lands ſell now at twice the Price they then did. Theſe are no equivocal Marks of a Country's Thriving. All this, but in a higher Degree, may be affirmed of Ireland, of which the Reader may be convinced by reading the Treatiſes written by Sir William Petty, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Dobbs, Men of great Abilities, and perfectly acquainted with the Subject. Indeed no Country hath been more happy than this in breeding true Patriots, Men who ſtudied the real Intereſts, and pointed out the moſt effectual Means of cultivating and improving their Lands, their Manufactures, and their Commerce, in which their laudable Views have been effectually ſeconded by the Legiſlature and the Dublin Society.

[z] The Superiority of South Britain ariſes from the wide Extent and great fertility of the Country, the Number of its navigable Rivers, the Excellency of its Situation, the Value and Variety of its native Commodities, and the Number, Skill, and Induſtry of the Inhabitants. Theſe Sources of her Opulence enable her to ſuſtain the numerous Impoſitions of different Kinds which compoſe the publick Revenue, this ſupports the Civil, Military, and naval Eſtabliſhments requiſite to maintain the Dignity and Power of Government, the Influence of which invigorates our whole Dominions Every Province therefore of the Britiſh Empire, however diſtant or remote, hath Reaſon to rejoice in her Proſperity, as their own ariſes from and depends upon her Protection,

AGRICULTURE in its utmoſt Extent is the common Intereſt of both Iſlands, and muſt contribute to their common Felicity, by ſecuring Plenty, and augmenting the Number of their Inhabitants. Manufactures and Commerce reſt ſafely, and can only reſt ſafely upon this Baſis, and muſt be always extenſive and advantageous when Proviſions of all Kinds and in all Places are cheap. The Efforts of Induſtry muſt be regulated for the common Profit by the public Policy. The natural Diſpoſition of our Commodities being the ſureſt Rule; the rewarding Knowledge and Labour, the ſtigmatizing Ignorance and Idleneſs, the moſt effectual Means; and ſo directing theſe as to make the Welfare of the Empire the continual Object of our combined Endeavours.

BY this Method the noble Spirit of Improvement proceeding from its proper Center, and diffuſing itſelf on every Side, Induſtry finding through all the wide Extent of the Britiſh Territories perpetual Materials for its Operations, muſt by Degrees act upon the Whole, and being directed by this excellent Principle, all the Efforts of Individuals, will by the wiſe Conduct of Government, terminate in the general Happineſs of its Subjects. For Mr. Houghton's Maxim will for ever hold true, that a triple League amongſt our Three Kingdoms, is the only One of which we ſtand in need, the Security, Stability, and Proſperity of this great State, requiring, under the Protection of Divine Providence, no other Support than a firm Junction of its Parts; and when thoroughly underſtood, it will be found that their ſeparate Intereſts afford the ſtrongeſt Motives to this Union.

CHAP. V.

The artificial Advantages in reſpect to different Kinds of Improvements, that are at preſent in our Power, enumerated, and their Conſequences explained.

ARTIFICIAL Expedients, for facilitating the Progreſs of national Improvements, of infinite Utility. The Invention of theſe, though difficult, yet is generally found to be much leſs ſo than the bringing them into common Uſe. The legal Diſſolution of the old Tenures, the great Baſis of modern Improvements. Eſtabliſhing private Property in full Security, another Point of the greateſt Conſequence. The regulating the Intereſt of Money, ſhewn to be of the utmoſt Importance, in reſpect to the public Welfare. This fully evinced from the Conſideration of the Conſequences that have followed it. The Hiſtory of the Difficulties that occurred in the Introduction of foreign Exchange, ſet in its true Light. The Deliverance of the State from foreign Loans, and the

Birth of public Credit, due to Sir Richard and Sir Thomas Greſham. A Detail of the numerous Train of public Advantages, that have been gradually derived from thence. The Wiſdom of the Legiſlature in rendering this the Source of amazing Abundance. The Bank of England, of infinite Utility in many Reſpects to the Public. The great Conveniency ariſing from the giving a legal Support to private Credit. Circulation promotes Induſtry, the Fruits of which are real and permanent Riches. This, notwithſtanding its apparent good Conſequences, hath been thought liable to many Objections. The firſt Objection, that it facilitates the Exportation of our Coin, conſidered. The Second, that it contributes to render Things dearer, examined and refuted. The Third, that it is the Cauſe of a Variety of Frauds and Forgeries, ſhewn to be much exaggerated, and of little Conſequence in compariſon of the Benefits derived from it. The Nature of Bounties, and the Advantages ariſing from them to Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce. This Point farther illuſtrated, and the Expediency of them fully vindicated. Drawbacks ſhewn to be of much Utility, and of abſolute Neceſſity in many Caſes. The Effects of theſe well-contrived Expedients, not only proves their Utility, but lead themſelves to farther Advantages. Great Improvements have been made in all the different Sorts of Communication, ſuch as Cauſeways, Roads, Bridges, &c. The Conveniency of public Poſts, hath been prodigiouſly extended in our Times. Numbers of Rivers have been made Navigable to the great Advantage of Trade, as well as of the landed Intereſt. Still higher Benefits are expected from the inland Navigations that are now executing. Numerous Methods and Machines have been invented for facilitating theſe, and which of courſe will prove uſeful in other public Undertakings. The Quantities of waſte Land have been very much leſſened within this laſt Century. The Fens, Moraſſes, and Moſſes, in different Parts of theſe Iſlands, have been much improved within the ſame Period. Immenſe Tracts of Common have been in the ſame Space incloſed and brought into Cultivation. The conſtant Readineſs of the Legiſlature to amend or repeal old Laws, and to enact new Ones for the Furthering and Support of every Species of Improvement, is a great national Advantage. Practical Remarks on the Concluſion of this Chapter and Book.

THE real Value and natural Excellence of any Country, depends, as we have frequently obſerved, on the Favour of Providence, on the Gifts beſtowed thereby, and which can be no otherwiſe acquired. But the Improvement of theſe, muſt flow from the Sagacity and from the Labour of its Inhabitants. The former is employed in procuring the Means, and the latter in applying them with Effect. Theſe when united can accompliſh almoſt every Thing, but their Force is much weakened if divided. The Truth is, that theſe artificial Means or Inſtruments of Improvement, are of infinite

infinite Conſequence; they muſt be diſcovered by Wiſdom, proſecuted with Caution, perfected by Perſeverance, and maintained and ſupported in that State, by an aſſiduous and unremitted Attention [a]. It was owing to the Want of theſe, that the ample Materials which our noble Iſlands furniſh, and would have always furniſhed, were in a great Meaſure ſuffered to remain, ſome of them wholly unemployed, others imperfectly, and all of them in a Degree much inferior to that Capacity of contributing to our Happineſs which they derived from Nature [b]. This Want of artificial Means, this Indigence in reſpect to the neceſſary Inſtruments for Melioration, was very early diſcerned, and the Uſe of them warmly recommended by thoſe publick ſpirited Authors, who ſhewed at once their own Penetration and laudable Zeal for national Proſperity, by pointing out ſuch of them as they thought requiſite, repreſenting their Nature and Tendency, and diſplaying the Effects that had been produced by them in other Places, as an Encouragement to the introducing them here [c].

But, though there is undoubtedly great Merit in diſcerning and demonſtrating to the Publick the Rectitude and Efficacy of ſuch Meaſures, yet this is much more eaſy than the bringing them, when thus diſcovered, into

[a] The different Degrees of Civilization amongſt Nations ariſes from their having many or few of theſe Means of Improvement. Next to the Materials, which are the natural Stock of a Country, theſe Inſtruments of Art are the moſt neceſſary to its Inhabitants. The Earth ſown and tilled produces Grain of ſeveral Sorts. This Grain produces Flour or Malt. Flour makes Bread and other Things; Malt is brewed into Drink, and this is ſometimes diſtilled into Spirits. Of theſe, when we have a Redundance, we export and ſell to People inhabiting other Countries. The Means uſed to improve our Soil ſo as to increaſe its Products, the Methods employed for their Preſervation, the Skill ſhewn in Manufacturing them, are Arts, ſome of them of late Invention, and all of them gradually improved. The ſame may be ſaid with equal Truth of many other Things, the favourable Alterations, as to which, were all of them brought about by a due Diſtribution of ſmall Canals from thoſe great Streams that are mentioned as flowing from the noble Source of publick Spirit in the Courſe of this Chapter.

[b] Silver might have been at all Times ſmelted from our Lead, and what an Advantage this would have been we have ſtated already. See the Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 340. Our Mines might have been more numerous, and incomparably more advantageous, if we had adopted right Notions earlier. Our Anceſtors need not have been expoſed to frequent famines, if our Huſbandry had been better, and our Laws wiſer than they were. Our Woollen Manufacture, and indeed all our Manufactures, might have been ſooner improved, if thoſe employed in them had been left more at their Liberty. Our Black Cattle might have been always of the ſame Size they now are. Our Horſes were ever capable of being, what in this Century we have ſeen them. But the Means, more eſpecially Security, Encouragement, and Attention, were wanting.

[c] There were Treatiſes of Huſbandry, or as they were then ſtiled, Books of Gainage, as old as the Reign of Edward II. or older, which are long ſince loſt, and except that they taught and recommended the Uſe of Marle, we know not what they contained. Fitzherbert ſhewed the Utility of incloſing, and points out many Things that were not attended to in Haſte. Tuſſer's old Rhimes, which however uncouth to us, were well ſuited to the Age in which he lived, contained much good Matter. Sir Thomas Chaloner, in his Poem de Republica Anglorum Inſtauranda, hath many judicious ſuggeſtions; ſo hath Blundevile, Googe, Sir Hugh Plat, Mr. Gabriel Plattes, and other ancient Writers, which ſhew they had very clear Ideas of ſome that are eſteemed modern Inventions.

Practice [d]. There is a natural Repugnance in Men to new Things, and this Repugnance is in Proportion to their Novelty; the firſt Steps therefore are the hardeſt; when theſe have been once taken, and the Fruits of them become viſible, Mankind grow ſomewhat more tractable, and the Progreſs is leſs difficult [e]. Hence it is, that by Degrees, and by a happy Management of critical Conjunctures, many Things have been brought about; inſomuch that looking back to thoſe generous and well intentioned Propoſals, which have been already mentioned, we ſhall find that ſooner or later moſt of them, or at leaſt the moſt reaſonable of them, have taken Place, and are at preſent actually in our Power [f]. It becomes therefore requiſite to enumerate, to explain, and to ſet theſe in a proper Point of View; not only that their Nature and Importance may clearly appear, which in itſelf however is a Point of ſingular Utility, but that their Efficacy in reſpect to our Improvements may be underſtood, and that we may have juſt Notions of their Operations in future, upon which the Progreſs and Stability of publick Happineſs muſt depend, and that they may be clearly apprehended by Poſterity, who certainly will extend theſe, and may probably introduce more, of which we can have no Conception [g]. In a diſtinct Stating therefore of ſuch of them as are moſt remarkable, this Chapter ſhall be employed, and with it we ſhall conclude this Second Book.

IN.

[d] The Talents requiſite for the Two Purpoſes are very different. Men of quick Parts, lively Imaginations, and great Penetration, are formed by Nature for Speculation. They combine their Notions with Facility, and arrange their Ideas methodically, in Proportion to the Lights they poſſeſs. Bu they ſometimes want Leiſure, ſometimes Steadineſs, and frequently Opportunities to carry their Plans, however well contrived, into Execution. Yet this by no Means deſtroys the Value of ſuch Inventions, or diminiſhes the Credit of their Inventors, becauſe the Deſire of contributing to the publick Welfare is highly laudable, and becauſe without ſuch Intimations, many of our moſt valuable Improvements would never have been attempted, even by thoſe who made them.

[e] New Things are pleaſing in Relations; but moſt People, and more eſpecially thoſe who cultivate Land, which is and will be ever the Baſis of all Improvements, are exceedingly wedded to their old Cuſtoms. In their Beginning all Undertakings are difficult, more eſpecially when carried on with Reluctance. Theſe Obſtacles are only to be overcome by the Hopes of Gain reſulting from Succeſs. This by Degrees eſtabliſhes a new Improvement, but does not always ſilence Oppoſition. When the Advantages ariſing from Sainfoin were inconteſtibly confirmed by Experience, a Clamour was raiſed, that this new Improvement diminiſhed the Value, and conſequently lowered the Rents of Meadow Grounds. Such Clamours have not been confined to Sainfoin.

[f] If we conſult Hartlib, or rather R. Child's Legacy of Huſbandry, Woolridge, Mortimer, Tull, Liſle, and other Works of that Kind, as alſo Mun, Fortrey, Smith, Vaughan, Houghton, Sir Joſiah Child, Locke, Davenant, Wood, and other Writers of this Sort, and compare them only with the Contents of this ſhort Chapter, the Truth of what is aſſerted in the Text will be ſufficiently manifeſt; and though it may be true, that we have not ſucceeded in all, yet it will be found in ſome we have gone much beyond our Models, from the Acceſſion of Strength, as well as Lights ariſing from our Succeſs. This will enable Poſterity to do more in leſs Time, and profiting by their own as well as our Experience, and ſtimulated by a Deſire of tranſcending whatever was done before them, they will puſh Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce far beyond their preſent Bounds.

[g] We ſhall evidently diſcern from the Particulars herein diſcuſſed, that under a mild, equal, and well-ſettled Government, Wants produce Means, and that whatever appears an Object requiſite to

In the first Place, the Alteration of our Tenures, ought to be considered. The ancient System, that is, from the Time of the Norman Conquest, was entirely Military, introduced by the Sword, and calculated solely for the Support either of offensive or defensive War, as if one or other of these was to be ever the great national Object [h]. As to the Culture of Land, it was looked upon in a low contemptible Light, and the holding it for this great and necessary End, to which the Creator destined it, was reputed a base Tenure, which drew Disgrace on those who occupied it for that Purpose. By Degrees indeed these Military Tenures were in some Measure qualified and reduced, but it was only by Degrees, by very slow Degrees, and with much Difficulty, through the Concurrence of Courts of Law, and the Influence of the Prerogative acting in this very material Point for the Subjects Ease and the general Good [i]. But these Alterations, gradual as they were, produced so many beneficial Consequences, as excited an universal Desire of removing effectually the many Restraints that were still remaining, and for which, from a Change of Manners, there was no longer any colourable Pretence. At Length, after the Restoration, these slavish Tenures were intirely taken away, and Agriculture and all other Improvements put on a proper and stable Foundation [k]. When Mens Estates were rendered

the publick Welfare, is within the Reach of the publick Ability, and that numberless Things have been accomplished in our own Times, and even accomplished with Facility, which in the Days of our immediate Ancestors would have been accounted absolute Impossibilities, and indeed had they been attempted might have been really found so. This arose from various Causes, but chiefly from the Want of distinguishing the necessary Means, and applying them steadily and in a proper Manner. In this, for about a Century past, we have done much, but much more is still to be done.

[h] The Word Villain, now only used as a Term of Reproach, was the ancient Appellation of such as tilled the Ground, for the Lord of the Fee. The Villains regardant, or pure Villains, were in the Language of the Civilians, *Glebæ adscripti*, adherent to the Soil passed therewith, like the Trees that grew upon it. From such, the Lord took a Fine for marrying his Daughter or for making him free; he might beat, but not maim him, at his Pleasure. Though his Labour made the Land valuable, yet he held it literally at the Will of his Lord; that is, according to his Caprice; for he might, without assigning any Cause, remove or turn him out whenever he was so inclined. A Condition thus circumstanced might be with great Propriety stiled a base or servile Tenure.

[i] How and in what Manner these Changes were progressively made, how Rents came in the Place of Services, how Leases came effectually to be established, how Villains became Copyholders, how their holding, as they still do, by the Will of their Lords is through Construction of Law understood to be according to the Custom of the Manor, how the other harsh Circumstances were removed, how their Estates in Land were rendered devisable by Will, chargeable with Debts, and alienable by Sale, and what Share the Crown and the Courts of Judicature had in bringing these salutary Alterations about, the Reader may find in our Law Books, or see it at once in the Second Book of Blackstone's admirable Commentaries.

[k] In consequence of the several Changes made by the Law, and the much greater Changes made in the Customs and Manners of the Nation, those Tenures were considered as very grievous to the Subject, as well as detrimental to the Publick, as appears by the pathetick Complaint of Sir Thomas Smith, who was Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth. King James I. sensible of these Inconveniencies, recommended to Parliament the removing them intirely in the Eighteenth Year of his

rendered certain, and every Species of Poſſeſſion was clearly and intelligibly defined, it gave Spirit and Courage to improve, which could not reaſonably be expected, and which indeed had never appeared before. In conſequence of this, Lands very quickly increaſed in their Value, not from any partial Conceit, but becauſe being now capable of various Methods of Cultivation, they were really become of more Worth. It was in effect an Acquiſition of Territory, or even ſomething better, as no new Supply of People was required, and of courſe thoſe who poſſeſſed them, lived more at their Eaſe and became rich[l]. Beſides, Improvements multiplied as well as increaſed, for it was rationally concluded, though every Kind of Land would not produce all Things, yet moſt Lands, when the Nature of them was thoroughly underſtood, might through the Effects of Skill and Labour be made to produce ſomething for Uſe and Profit, which with the Certainty of a quiet Poſſeſſion, made an Object ſufficient to excite Endeavours, the Succeſs of which propagated a Spirit of Induſtry. This Abolition therefore of Feudal Tenures, and all their Conſequences, may be regarded as the corner Stone of our Improvements[m], as to which, if any Doubts could ariſe, the Hiſtory already given of the Progreſs of thoſe Improvements of every Kind muſt be fully ſufficient to remove them, and place this Point in its proper Light.

The Cultivation of our Lands producing Materials, theſe in Proceſs of Time brought in a Variety of Manufactures, for the Support of which it grew abſolutely requiſite to give by Law the moſt ample Security to every

Reign; and Sir Edward Coke hath preſerved (iv Inſt. ch. xxxv.) the Heads of the Plan then in Contemplation, to which he was an ardent Well-wiſher. But though it miſcarried at that Time, yet the Sentiments of the wiſeſt Men continued ſtill the ſame, till, by Stat. 12 Car. II. cap. xxiv. the whole Syſtem was completely aboliſhed.

[l] At the Time this Law was enacted, a general Spirit of Improvement prevailed. Men ſaw from Experience, that War ſerved only to impoveriſh and to deſtroy, while the Country remained in many Parts waſte, ill peopled and worſe cultivated. Agriculture began to be conſidered as a Science. Foreign Graſſes were introduced, and many other Improvements were attempted, though not till long afterwards brought to any tolerable Degree of Perfection. Theſe however ſhewed the Temper and Diſpoſition of that Age, and with how much Alacrity they embraced this Deliverance. In conſequence of this, and of the Hopes excited, many excellent Treatiſes were publiſhed, to ſhew what natural Sources of Wealth this Country afforded, ſuch as Webſter's Hiſtory of Metals, Evelyn's Sylva, Worlidge's Syſtema Agriculturæ, and many others.

[m] The former Qualifications of theſe feudal Tenures, had been only partial and imperfect Remedies, and yet to theſe, ſuch as they were, many beneficial Conſequences were owing. But now all the remaining, and thoſe too much the heavieſt Evils, ſuch as Wards, Liveries, premier Seiſins, &c. were taken away effectually, and for ever. As the Crown relinquiſhed theſe Rights that bore hard upon thoſe who held Lands immediately therefrom, ſo the ſame Powers which they exerciſed over their Tenants were in like Manner extinguiſhed. By this Means all the Owners of Lands and their Families were ſet at full Liberty, and left to act as they judged moſt expedient for their own Intereſts, without any Apprehenſion of having any of their own Conveyances queſtioned, or Fear of their Settlements or Deviſes being ſet aſide.

Species

Species of private Property, which, from the apparent Expediency of the Thing, was gradually and effectually done. This was another great Inſtrument in promoting Induſtry and encouraging Application. In earlier Times there were numerous Obſtacles to the introducing new Employments, the Exercise of Mechanic Trades was very much embarraſſed, the Recovery of Debts had many Difficulties, and ſeveral other Points there were in a State of Incertainty, which are Things rarely conſidered by the Legiſlature, except in a commercial State, ſuch as every Iſland ought to be [n]. Theſe have in this Country, been ſo well, ſo wiſely, and ſo preciſely regulated, that in ordinary Caſes every Man knows his Right, knows how to ſecure it, and knows alſo how to vindicate or to recover it in caſe he is diſpoſſeſſed of it. By theſe Laws reſpecting Property, Mankind were placed ſo much upon a Level as to be equally free from Fraud and Oppreſſion, at leaſt with Impunity; all theſe Laws having, as they ought to have, a free Courſe in their Operations, without reſpect of Perſons, which is far from being the Caſe in many other Nations [o]. The Security of the Subject reſting on ſo firm and permanent a Baſis, hath very naturally introduced a Degree of Confidence, exceedingly beneficial in all Kinds of Tranſactions, more eſpecially in what regards Trade and Manufactures, which are therefore carried on with the utmoſt Spirit and Alacrity, which nothing but this could inſpire [p].

[n] This Neceſſity of encouraging new Eſtabliſhments, providing Remedies for all Infringements of Juſtice, and removing thoſe Obſtacles that ſtood in the Way, proved the Source of that Multiplicity of Laws, of which, without conſidering this Neceſſity, there might ſeem juſt Reaſon to complain. But in whatever Way Men acquire Property, it is the Intereſt of the State it ſhould be ſecured, and this our Conſtitution could only do by Laws. Theſe therefore became requiſite, to facilitate the Opening and Working of Mines, the raiſing, ſupporting, and regulating Manufactures and Manufacturers; the providing due Wages for Labourers and Servants; the taking Meaſures for promoting Induſtry; the aſſigning a proper and conſtant Relief for the Poor; and a Multitude of other Objects, which increaſing People, and their increaſing Occupations, were continually demanding.

[o] It hath been the great Object of this Work to ſhew, that the principal Prerogative of this potent Monarchy conſiſts in being compoſed of Two ſpacious Iſlands, which are inhabited by One People, who have but One Intereſt, viz. the preſerving a ſtrict Union, and thereby maintaining our free and happy Conſtitution. This as it now ſtands we apparently owe to a Spirit of Induſtry and Commerce. Theſe produced ſo many excellent Laws, and thoſe ſo calculated as though each hath its particular Object, yet all of them concur in the compleating that rational and univerſal Liberty, without which Induſtry and Commerce, in that Extent we enjoy them, could not exiſt. This Liberty being thus plainly the Reſult and Effect of Laws, muſt be ſuſtained by Laws, and can never be deſtroyed but by our falling into Anarchy or ſinking under Deſpotiſm.

[p] As the Effects of Induſtry of every Kind are equally beneficial and obvious, it is ſurprizing that this uſeful and ſalutary Quality ſhould not be every where alike eſteemed. But we ſee it is not, and with a very little Attention we may diſcern the Conſequences. In ſome Countries Trade is thought diſhonourable; and in theſe, thoſe who exerciſe it are in a low, dependent, and contemptible Condition. In others, a watchful Eye is kept over them, that their Taxes may be raiſed in Proportion as they thrive. This in Effect is an Impoſition on Trade, and keeps it always depreſſed. With us, Heaven be praiſed, it is otherwiſe; and it is to the Reſpect which waits on Induſtry in every Profeſſion, to the Farmer as well as the Tradeſman, the Mechanic as well as the Merchant, that we owe that noble Ardour which diſtinguiſhes every Rank amongſt us in Compariſon with thoſe in other Countries.

Hence ariſes the conſtant Diligence, the laudable Aſſiduity, the indefatigable Perſeverance in thoſe engaged in Occupations that reſpect the collecting and vending the Commodities and Manufactures of this Country, in which they are amongſt the moſt uſeful Citizens, as they enrich the Publick by that very Attention which is exerted in acquiring Fortunes for themſelves and their Families. To this what ſtronger, what more certain Inducement, than that they are firmly perſuaded they ſhall freely enjoy the Fruits of their Induſtry while living, and diſpoſe as freely of them to their Poſterity, or having none, according to their Inclinations at their Demiſe[q]? Circumſtances that excite, and at the ſame Time ſupport, a Diſpoſition to Improvements of all Sorts, which inſenſibly diffuſe the like Spirit on every Side, and wherever they come carry Invention, Penetration, and Emulation with them.

The innumerable Advantages flowing from the Improvement of Land, and the Increaſe of Induſtry even in their earlieſt State, and when they were but proceeding to that Degree of Perfection which they have ſince gained, produced an Increaſe of Specie, and this made Way for regulating Intereſt, a Thing of the laſt Importance to the publick Welfare. It was a long Time before this Matter was even tolerably underſtood[r]. The Jews firſt, and the Lombards after them, lent Money at a moſt exorbitant Rate, and their Practice was but too much followed[s], though vehemently cenſured by

[q] Theſe ſolid and inconteſtible Benefits, which are exactly ſuited to the ſound Senſe and ſteady Temper of the Engliſh Nation, produces that Application and Perſeverance by which great and difficult Undertakings are brought to Perfection. They know that Independence is a Kind of natural Nobility, to which Induſtry is the ſureſt Road. To this therefore they generally aſpire, rather than follow thoſe Phantoms that delude People of warmer Imaginations. Hence it happens, that ample Fortunes raiſed by Commerce, lift their Poſſeſſors in a few Succeſſions to Titles, and hence the younger Branches of noble Families often embark in Commerce. Theſe Inſtances ſerve to preſerve and ſupport that Eſteem for thoſe Occupations, which contribute to eſtabliſh private Men in eaſy Circumſtances, and to increaſe national Opulence at the ſame Time, and by the ſame Means.

[r] In the Law of Moſes, Exod. xxii. 25. and indeed in other Places, Uſury was expreſly forbidden to the Iſraelites, that is, they were not to exact it from each other, and from hence many zealous Divines inſiſted it was directly prohibited by the Law of GOD. This no Doubt it was to this Nation in their own Country, for which the political Code of Moſes was calculated. Uſury was repugnant to its Principles, every Man had ſuch an indefeaſible Right to his Lands, as prevented Mortgages, and they were precluded from Commerce, as tending to an Intercourſe with Idolaters. But from Strangers, having the Sanction of another expreſs Statute, they might and did take Uſury, underſtanding their own Law in this Senſe. The Romans, and other wiſe Governments put it under the Reſtriction of Laws, to which their Chriſtian Subjects, as well as others, ſubmitted, without any Scruple, even in the earlieſt and pureſt Times.

[s] According to the whole Stream of our ancient Laws, from the Time of Edward the Confeſſor, Uſury was not only branded with the fouleſt Epithets, but puniſhed with the moſt grievous Penalties, as may be ſeen in Coke's iii Inſt. chap. lxx. which Laws he highly commends. But the Jews were ſuffered to practiſe it from the Reign of William I. to the Beginning of Edward I. for conniving at which our Monarchs exacted from them large Sums; in the laſt Seven Years Four hundred

Divines as a Thing directly repugnant to the Principles of Religion, and this more eſpecially after the Reformation. Inſomuch, that in the Reign of Edward the Sixth, a Statute, which had been paſſed in the Time of his Father, allowing Ten per Cent. to be taken, was repealed, and all Uſury forbidden under the ſevereſt Penalties. But this did much more Harm than Good; for as no Law could be made that would take away Neceſſity, ſuch as were conſtrained to borrow paid afterwards Twenty and Thirty per Cent. with an Addition of other Inconveniencies[t]. At length it was found requiſite to relax in this Point, and to follow the Example of the wiſe Emperor Juſtinian, who could find no Remedy ſo effectual for ſuppreſſing Uſury, as allowing thoſe who had Money to lend it to thoſe who could employ it, at moderate Intereſt. The Conſequences ſhewed the Propriety of this Meaſure; which however, like all other Steps tending to publick Utility, had been very warmly controverted.

But when thoſe Altercations ſubſided, and the Practice was firmly eſtabliſhed, its Effects demonſtrated the Rectitude of the Principle; for in conſequence of this Method of obtaining Money on moderate Terms, the Value of Lands was raiſed, Agriculture was encouraged, Manufactures were promoted, Commerce extended, and every Species of Induſtry was enlivened and ſupported. If any Doubt could have remained in reaſonable Minds, it muſt have been removed by the like Conſequences in a ſtill higher Degree, following on repeated Reductions, which ſhewed there could be no

hundred and Twenty thouſand Pounds. At length they were totally baniſhed on a great Tumult raiſed from their taking more than their accuſtomed Rate of Two Pence for the Loan of Twenty Shillings for a Week. But the Expulſion of the Jews did not put an End to Uſury, the Italians here made Profit of their Money; but they acted with more Addreſs, and the Convenience of Borrowing brought others, though it was ſtill loudly and univerſally decried, into the ſame Practice.

[t] In the Roman Empire, as able Critics allow, Twelve per Cent. was the common Intereſt, which was ſomewhat leſſened by Juſtinian. This made a real Diſtinction, for what was beyond this, was, in Conſtruction of Law and Reaſon, oppreſſive and uſurious. Our Neighbours ſaw ſooner than we the Rectitude of this Diſtinction, and that the Rate of Money was, in Truth, rather a political than a theological Queſtion. At length, by Stat. 37 Henry VIII. cap. ix. Intereſt was fixed at Ten per Cent. Uſury declared unlawful, and puniſhed with very ſevere Penalties. Our Reformers in their great Zeal (contrary to the Sentiments of Calvin) procured this Law to be repealed by Stat. 5 Ed. VI. cap. xx. which abſolutely forbids the taking any Profit for the Loan of Money. Dr. Wilſon, Maſter of Requeſts, and afterwards Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, publiſhed, A.D. 1572, a very elaborate Treatiſe in ſupport of this Notion, though he owns that inſtead of Ten, People paid Twenty and Thirty per Cent. However, by Stat. 13 Elizabeth, cap. viii. the Statute of Edward VI. is repealed, and that of Henry VIII. revived, which did not put an End to the Diſpute. The warm Clergy continued to maintain, and quoted this very Act of Parliament to prove it, that all Uſury was directly contrary to the Law of GOD, and therefore ſinful and deteſtable. It was neceſſary to treat this Point ſo largely, that it might appear with how much Difficulty pernicious Notions (eſpecially ſupported by the Pretence of Religion) are overcome, though the removing them is ever ſo manifeſtly for the publick Good.

Error in reſpect to the Firſt Cauſe [u]. It muſt however be acknowledged that we only copied the good Example ſet us by our Neighbours the Dutch, who had long enjoyed the beneficial Fruits of ſo judicious and ſo beneficial a Policy, to which they had Recourſe in the very Dawn of the Republick, and to which they have ever ſteadily adhered [w]. Thoſe who underſtand this Matter beſt, who have conſidered it moſt maturely, and who have reflected, that the Party who from Self-intereſt oppoſed it, were ſtrongly ſeconded by deep-rooted and vulgar Prejudices [x], I ſay, thoſe who have duly weighed all this, cannot but contemplate our Acquiſition of this powerful Inſtrument of national Proſperity, with equal Wonder and Pleaſure.

As Money became more plenty, fell into more Hands, and paſſed frequently from one to another, this furniſhed more Employment to thoſe who made the procuring this neceſſary Medium in all Tranſactions their particular Buſineſs. At firſt theſe were the Italians, who exerciſing the ſame Occupation in different Parts of Europe, facilitated thereby foreign Exchanges, till by ſlow Degrees our own Countrymen gained both Wealth and Skill enough to manage this Traffick, and to extend it [y]. Hence aroſe Goldſmiths

[u] The ſhorteſt Method of explaining and confirming what is ſaid in the Text, is to ſet down the different Rates ſettled by Law, and the Times at which they commenced. The Firſt legal Intereſt was fixed at Ten per Cent. by Henry VIII. January 31, 1545. Repealed by Edward VI. 1549. Revived by Queen Elizabeth 25 June 1571. Reduced to Eight per Cent. by James I. 24 June 1625. Reduced to Six per Cent. by Charles II. 29 September 1660. (It had been actually reduced Nine Years before to that Rate, by an Ordinance of Parliament, September 29 1651). Reduced to Five per Cent. by Queen Anne, 29 September 1714, at which it ſtill remains. There is beſides the legal, a natural Intereſt which at preſent is lower; for, upon undoubted Security for the Principal, and punctual Payment of Intereſt, Money may be borrowed at Four.

[w] The Dutch, though Proteſtants as well as ourſelves, never embraced thoſe rigid Principles in regard to Uſury. Their Divines conſidering Deut. xxiii. 20. as a Proof, that the prohibitory Law of Moſes on this Head was judicial and not moral. In Grotius's Time, their legal Intereſt was Eight per Cent. But their extenſive Commerce, Scarcity, and Dearneſs of Land, Frugality in Living, and great Plenty of ready Money, kept the Rate of Intereſt continually falling, without the Intervention of Law. This gave them prodigious Advantages in the Building of Ships, in the Purchaſe of Commodities, in carrying on extenſive and expenſive Manufactures, keeping Goods in Warehouſes, waiting the Riſe of Markets, and lending, as they did here in the Reign of Charles II. immenſe Sums at Six per Cent. which they could borrow at home for Three.

[x] It hath been ſaid with great Truth in the Text, that an eſtabliſhed Rate of Intereſt was the ſureſt Method of preventing Uſury. It was common and exceſſive, when the ſevereſt Laws ſubſiſted againſt it. Men would be paid for the Hazards they ran, and the Shifts they uſed, as well as the Loan of their Money, and therefore Uſurers never throve better than during the Suſpenſion of the Law of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas Colepeper obſerving the good Effects of that Law, wrote, A. D. 1620, a Treatiſe to ſhew the Expediency of a farther Reduction, which took Place. His Son of the ſame Name wrote warmly againſt Mr. Manly and others, who diſliked the Reduction to Six per Cent. It is obſervable the laſt Reduction was at the Cloſe of an expenſive War, and that Intereſt was reduced from Ten to Five per Cent. in leſs than the Space of a Century.

[y] Abundance of Accidents concurred to throw and to keep the Buſineſs in the Hands of the Italians. The Pope drew anciently a large Revenue from hence, and for this he had his Collectors, who

Goldſmiths and Bankers, who by their Negotiations became exceedingly uſeful in whatever regarded the making Payments requiſite in a commercial Intercourſe with the moſt diſtant Places. This, however ſalutary, was a Work that proceeded very gradually, as being incumbered with many Difficulties. In old Times, an expreſs Licence from the Crown was required for remitting Money by Exchange, to diſcharge a private Debt contracted in foreign Parts [z]. When the Publick had Occaſion for Loans, theſe were ſupplied on very hard Terms by Foreigners, grown opulent by this very Species of Commerce, before it was introduced here, in conſequence of their falling earlier into a Knowledge of thoſe Methods of circulating Money, which, by Dint of Obſervation, Experience, and paying frequently and dearly for their Aſſiſtance, we were enabled to adopt at laſt.

In reſpect to this Alteration, which hath produced ſuch ſignal Advantages to this Country, we ſtand chiefly indebted to the diſtinguiſhed Abilities and laudable publick Spirit of Two private Gentlemen of the ſame Family, the Firſt of theſe was Sir Richard Greſham, who was the King's Merchant and Agent at Antwerp in the Reign of Henry the Eighth, who merited ſo much from him by his Services, and with whom he had ſo great Credit, as to convince him that it was equally detrimental to the Publick, to ſuffer the important Buſineſs of Exchange to be ingroſſed by the Italians, which was the former Method; or to be, as was the next Expedient, monopolized by the King's Merchant, which Place he then held; or to be granted to particular Perſons by Patent, as was the Mode at that Time; and which, for the Eaſe and Benefit of Commerce, ought to be entirely free [a]. Upon his Motion it was accordingly declared ſo by Proclamation. He

who were moſt rapacious Uſurers. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, B. iii. p. 59—61. The Longobards had their Dwelling in the City, in what from them is called Lombard Street, and there the Merchants met till Sir Thomas Greſham built the Royal Exchange. The Guelphs or Pope's Party, being many of them driven out of Italy, ſettled at Avignon and other Places, which facilitated their holding a general Correſpondence, more eſpecially after the Italian Republicks became commercial States; and, as with the other Northern Nations in Europe, grew to have a conſiderable Traffick here, which was managed chiefly by themſelves on both Sides the Water.

[z] It is certainly ſtrange in Appearance, and yet it is inconteſtibly a Fact, that for ſeveral Ages moſt of our ſtaple Commodities were exported by the Merchants of the Steel Yard, and our Money Affairs tranſacted by the Italians, and afterwards by the Flemings, as we have more than once had Occaſion to remark. But in the Reign of King Henry VII. when the Commons began to acquire Property, they began alſo to look into Manufactures, and to aſpire to the carrying on their own Commerce. But this was not eaſily or haſtily to be effected. They proceeded to make long Voyages, the Merchant Adventurers encreaſed their Numbers, and extended their Trade. Add to all this, that the King's Agents in foreign Parts looked aſſiduouſly into the Management of Mercantile and Money Affairs, in order that by the Lights they acquired Abroad they might on their Return be ſerviceable at Home.

[a] This Affair of Exchange, which Sir Richard Greſham in his Memorial to Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Keeper, affirmed was as neceſſary to Merchants as Water for the Navigation of Ships,

He likewiſe projected the Royal Exchange for the daily Meeting of Merchants, that therein they might regulate their own Remittances, ſo that no new Monopoly might ever take Place.

The other was his Son, the juſtly celebrated Sir Thomas Greſham, who was the Crown Agent at Antwerp for Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, where he managed the troubleſome Affairs of liquidating old Debts, negotiating new Loans, and diſcharging Intereſt as it became due upon both, with Fidelity, Dexterity, and Succeſs [b]. At his Return home, beſides many other important Services, he undertook and executed, though not without the utmoſt Difficulty, the arduous Taſk of Borrowing, for the Uſe of Queen Elizabeth, a Sum of Money from our own Merchants [c]; and, by repeated Inſtances of the ſame Kind, at length convinced them how much more honourable, as well as how much more profitable, theſe domeſtic Loans were, both for the Prince and People [d]. This gave a new Face

was not then or indeed for a Century after generally underſtood. But this no Way impeaches the Rectitude of this Gentleman's Propoſition, from which, on ſpecious Pretences, though there were ſome temporary Departures, yet by Experience they were conſtantly driven back to it again. It does him therefore great Credit to have emancipated this Branch of Commerce, ſo intimately connected with all the Reſt, by pointing out the only effectual Means of redreſſing thoſe Miſchiefs, which really happened from Miſmanagement in this Buſineſs, and which had been only aggravated by pretended Remedies.

[b] At the Time he became King Edward's Agent, the Intereſt paid by that Monarch amounted to Forty thouſand Pounds a Year. This Intereſt, when loweſt, was Ten per Cent. and if through Want of Money the King was deſirous of continuing, beſides the Intereſt, he was conſtrained to buy Jewels at a high Price. Beſides, through the Preſſure of this Debt and Intereſt, the Exchange ſunk to Sixteen Shillings Flemiſh for a Pound Sterling. In the Space of Two Years, Sir Thomas reſided at Antwerp, he gradually diſcharged the whole Debt, and brought up the Exchange to Twenty-two Shillings. Whereas, if Things had gone on in the old Way, as he told Queen Mary in a Memorial from which theſe Facts were taken, ſhe might have found herſelf in the Beginning of her Reign involved in a foreign Debt of One Million and an Half.

[c] Queen Elizabeth, like her Predeceſſors, was obliged to borrow large Sums abroad at high Intereſt and with unpleaſing Circumſtances. In A. D. 1569. Sir Thomas prevailed on Secretary Cecil to let him try the rich Company of Merchant Adventurers, and accordingly propoſed a ſmall Loan to the principal Perſons amongſt them, who for their own Security moved the Matter in Common Hall, where it met with a flat Negative. The Privy Council wrote them a moſt ſenſible and judicious Letter upon it (Stowe's Survey, Book i. p. 287.) which had ſo good an Effect, that Fourteen of them agreed to lend Sixteen thouſand Pounds for Six Months at Six per Cent. for which they had ſeparate Bonds, and a general One to indemnify them from the Statute of Uſury (repealed Two Years after) which Bonds when due were continued for Six Months more at the ſame Rate.

[d] The Greſhams, Father and Son, had this very long in their Minds, as knowing the Circumſtances of the Merchants, the Condition of our Trade, and the Miſchiefs attending theſe foreign Loans, much better than Miniſters could do. But they could not prevail to alter the eſtabliſhed Method; however, what Reaſon could ſcarce have perſuaded, Accident quickly effected. The Duke of Alva prohibited all Intercourſe between England and the Low Countries. No more Money conſequently could be then borrowed at Antwerp or Bruſſels. Sir Thomas, ſeconded by Neceſſity, was heard, and by his Mode of raiſing Money the Honour of the Crown and Nation

Face to Affairs, raiſed the Credit of the Crown and Nation with all Europe, and demonſtrated that we had acquired an abſolute Independency in a Point of ſuch high Conſequence to the public Welfare. He alſo executed his Father's great Deſign, by building at his own Expence the ROYAL EXCHANGE, which he left a noble Monument to his own Glory, and that of his Country [e].

ON this broad and firm Foundation, publick and private Credit advanced, and gradually expanded in a Manner totally unknown before; and in the long Period of Peace which followed the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, rendered the Country flouriſhing, and wonderfully extended Commerce, in compariſon of the State of both in former Ages. The Progreſs was indeed not a little impeded by the Civil War; but the Seed of our Improvements had previouſly taken ſuch deep Root, that as ſoon as this Check was removed, they recovered and quickly produced freſh Signs of Vigour. After the Reſtoration, the Goldſmiths aſſiſted the Government with very large Sums, till an End was put to all Confidence therein by the infamous Tranſaction of ſhutting up the Exchequer on the breaking out of the Second Dutch War [f].

THIS however did not hinder our able Stateſmen from perceiving, that the greateſt Benefit might reſult to the Publick, by attracting the Confidence

Nation was reſcued from the humiliating Method of Pawning the Credit of the City of London, as well as of the Sovereign, to a foreign Banker, an enormous Expence in Premiums, Intereſt, Continuations, &c. wholly ſaved, the Loſs by Exchange prevented, the Merchants (which was a great Thing at that Time) provided with a ſafe Means of making Intereſt, Circulation conſiderably encreaſed, and our political and commercial Concerns ſo interwoven, as that Miniſters were compelled to be alike attentive to both. Prodigious Benefits ariſing from one Man's Prudence and Sagacity!

[e] It is by looking back to paſt Times, and comparing them with the preſent, that we come to form true Notions of both. It muſt appear ſtrange to us, that a great Nation ſhould ever have been embarraſſed for ſuch ſmall Sums. It ought however to appear ſtill ſtranger, that a Nation thus embarraſſed ſhould perform ſuch great Things. But in good Roads, and under the Conduct of able Guides, publick and private Affairs advance apace. In leſs than Twenty Years, the City of London was ſo ſenſible of the Benefits derived from this Attention of Government, that, in A. D. 1588, they not only liſtened to that Queen's Requeſt, but even granted her double the Aſſiſtance ſhe demanded. A Fact that does equal Honour to their Loyalty and her Adminiſtration.

[f] According to the Earl of Clarendon, this Method of raiſing Money was, from his own Experience in Holland, ſuggeſted to Charles II. by Sir George Downing, and was exceedingly diſliked by that wiſe Miniſter, who probably foreſaw its Conſequences. The Bankers (who before borrowed at Four) now to acquire large Sums gave Six per Cent. and lent to the Crown at Eight, Ten, and Twelve. In the Beginning of A. D. 1672, the King ſtopped the Payments on theſe Loans at the Exchequer, by which upwards of One million Three hundred thouſand Pounds of the Subjects Money was detained; and though afterwards Six per Cent. Intereſt was allowed, the Capital remained unpaid, and after the Revolution was conſidered and ſettled (though with ſome Modifications) as a Debt due from the Publick.

of the Subject, and thereby drawing from the Coffers of Individuals, ſuch Supplies, however large, as were requiſite for the Support of national Meaſures [g]. This great Undertaking was accompliſhed ſoon after the Revolution by the Interpoſition of the Legiſlature; and Parliament thereby acquired a Power of raiſing ſuch immenſe Sums as have defrayed ſeveral expenſive Wars, which have terminated equally to the Glory and Advantage of GREAT BRITAIN. Sums far beyond the Conception of our Anceſtors, and at which the lateſt Poſterity will be aſtoniſhed [h]. The Bleſſing of Divine Providence on our Councils, and the ſtrict and punctual Obſervance of publick Faith, have atchieved this political Miracle, in the Performance of which, ſome Inſtruments were neceſſarily employed; which, beſides facilitating that great End, have been in other Reſpects extremely advantageous to the Community.

AMONGST theſe there was one which contributed particularly to this Intention, and hath indeed promoted, what we very properly and emphatically call CIRCULATION, in a very wonderful Degree, and this to the inexpreſſible Eaſe and Benefit of the Publick. This is the Company of the BANK OF ENGLAND, which, in point of Stability, Regularity, and univerſal Credit, is inferior to none; in point of general Utility ſuperior to any. Yet was this great Eſtabliſhment fixed at the Beginning with Difficulty [i], and

[g] It is evident that Breach of Faith ruined this Scheme in the Firſt Inſtance, and while ſubject to ſuch Miſchances would have ruined it for ever: But even this heavy Misfortune ſhewed how much the Circumſtances of the Nation were changed, how much Wealth was in private Hands, and the Poſſibility there was of the Publick's availing itſelf of this Alteration. Upon theſe Grounds, the Condition of publick Affairs alſo requiring it, this Mode of raiſing Money by Loans was again adopted; but in a better Method, and on a much more ſolid Foundation. New Funds were aſſigned for the Security of thoſe who lent their Money, and inſtead of the Promiſe of the Prince, the publick Faith became plighted to ſuch as truſted their Property in the Hands of the Publick, together with other Circumſtances of Advantage.

[h] Sir Joſiah Child ſaw and diſapproved the Conduct of the Bankers in lending at ſuch high Intereſt to Charles II chiefly becauſe he thought it hindered a farther legal Reduction of the Rate of Intereſt, giving it as his Opinion, that whenever legal Intereſt fell to Four, Government might be able to borrow at Six. His Notion was confirmed by the high Rates at which Money was borrowed after the Revolution, and the high Premiums given to procure it even at theſe high Rates. But we have ſeen an exact Obſervance of Terms, and a punctual Payment of Intereſt, operate in ſuch a Manner as to raiſe the Credit of publick above that of private Securities. This hath been done by bringing immenſe Sums into Circulation, which otherwiſe being hoarded up, would produce an apparent Scarcity of Money, and of Courſe an high Rate of Intereſt.

[i] The Company of the Bank of England was inſtituted A. D. 1694, their Capital was 1,200,00 *l.* at Eight per Cent. and 4000 *l.* for Charges of Management, that is a clear Annuity of 100,000 *l.* in the Whole. This ſhews the State of publick Credit at that Time. The Bank, through the wiſe and ſteady Conduct of their Directors, weathered many Difficulties; and, as they gathered Strength, rendered from time to time freſh Services to, and in conſequence of theſe received freſh Marks of Favour and Support from the Legiſlature down to 1764, when upon Conditions advantageous to the Publick their Term was prolonged, ſo as not to determine but on One

and hath attained to its preſent flouriſhing Condition, purely by a ſteady and uniform Courſe of cautious and prudent Management, by which the Company hath equally conciliated the Favour of the State and of the Subject [k], and have in ſeveral critical Conjunctures rendered the higheſt Service to both.

In the ſame Proportion this Circulation extended, the good Effects of it were ſeen, felt, and confeſſed, which at length made Way for a Regulation in reſpect to private Credit, which had been long deſired, becauſe the beneficial Conſequences of it were foreſeen, and their being confirmed by Experience in another Country, left no Room to doubt that, whenever introduced, they would be attended with the like Succeſs here [l]. This was no more than giving a legal Right for the aſſigning Promiſſory Notes, and putting them on the ſame Foot with Inland Bills of Exchange, which though it could not beſtow, enabled them to acquire a Currency that is exceedingly commodious, and in a great Meaſure takes away the Inconvenience of long Credit, which is ever detrimental to Trade, by enhancing the Price of Commodities [m]. The Benefits ariſing from this univerſal Circulation are much

One Year's Notice after Firſt of Auguſt 1787. In the Courſe of the laſt expenſive War the Bank did every Thing that could be expected to maintain the Credit of this Nation, and by their Prudence and Firmneſs ſupported that of all Europe after the Peace.

[k] In many of the great Cities of Europe there are Banks, as at Venice, which is allowed Precedence as being the eldeſt, at Genoa the Bank of St. George, at Nurembergh, at Hamburgh, and elſewhere, but eſpecially at Amſterdam, which is ſuppoſed to be the richeſt of any. But whoever ſhall conſider the Conſtruction and Regulations of theſe Banks, and compares them with thoſe of our own, will be convinced that it is infinitely preferable. By this I mean, it is much better adapted to our Conſtitution and Circumſtances, and hath thereby operated regularly and ſucceſſfully for the Benefit of the Community, and is indeed the great Wheel which gives and preſerves that equal and ſteady Motion to our extenſive Circulation, which renders it the Source of Induſtry, the Support of Manufactures, the Life of domeſtick Trade, and the very Soul of foreign Commerce.

[l] In Countries where they have few ſtaple Commodities, and where Traders live chiefly by Freight, Fiſhing, Manufactures, &c. Neceſſity pointed out early to them Methods of aſſiſting by ſuch Tranſactions as theſe the Progreſs of Commerce, and the State well knowing the great Importance of Traffic, gave readily their Sanction to all ſuch Inventions as ſoon as deſired. By a Variety of ſuch artificial Expedients, they qualified natural Deficiencies, and came to be more conſpicuous, and indeed more able and dextrous in their Dealings, than their Neighbours, and acquired deſervedly an high Character for mercantile Abilities. Theſe Methods, when practiſed, were however obvious, and this, particularly with all its advantageous Conſequences, was clearly ſtated and ſtrenuouſly recommended Half a Century at leaſt before it was adopted here.

[m] There were Notes of Hand given long before the Law which made them of ſuch general Utility as they now are. But they were not negotiable, and no Action could be maintained on them as they were not Specialties. By the Statutes of the 3d and 4th of Queen Anne, this being recited, they, for the Benefit of Trade, are made as aſſignable and valid as Inland Bills of Exchange, ſubject in point of Time to the Statute of Limitation; and upon Experience of its good Effects, this Law was made perpetual by another Statute of the Seventh of the ſame Reign. This hath been of inexpreſſible Advantage in the Light mentioned in the Text, by giving a Currency to the

much more eaſily conceived than expreſſed; becauſe thoſe who are acquainted with them, have a Senſe of them ſuperior to any Conviction, that even the ſtrongeſt Arguments could produce; whereas, ſuch as from their Situation in Life (which are now however but very few in compariſon of what they were formerly) find it very difficult to apprehend, though ever ſo clearly explained, the Fruits of an Expedient they have never tried, and the Operations of which have never fallen within the Sphere of their Obſervation [n]. But to Men of Penetration and Attention, its great Utility will be even in a theoretic Light, by no Means a Thing inexplicable, and much leſs unintelligible.

We have frequently aſſerted, and we hope in the Courſe of this Work have very fully ſhewn, that the Fruits of Induſtry conſtitute the true and permanent Riches of a Nation; whatever therefore excites, promotes, and facilitates Induſtry, muſt neceſſarily contribute to render a Nation opulent. A quick and conſtant Circulation of Credit produces, and, which is more, ſupports Induſtry with better, and even greater Effect than Money; becauſe the Tenderneſs of Credit requires an unremitting Aſſiduity and Application, as on the Succeſs which theſe produce its future Exiſtence muſt depend [o]. But beſides this there are other, which, though not more concluſive, may prove as intelligible Arguments of the ſame Thing. We ſee, that where this Circulation is moſt extenſive there is moſt Induſtry, and

the Bills of private Men of known Probity and Punctuality, and thereby rendering extenſive Undertakings practicable by Perſons of ſmall Fortunes.

[n] We find this Obſervation fully juſtified, by the Repugnancy ſhewn for ſo long a Time to ſo eaſy and ſo expeditious a Means of converting a heavy, and in moſt Reſpects a dead Credit, into a transferable Security, nearly as ſerviceable (in the Courſe of Trade eſpecially) as ready Money. Yet all this was judiciouſly explained, and every popular Objection to it anſwered, by ſo great a Man as Sir Joſiah Child, ſoon after the Reſtoration. This Neglect of a Thing of ſuch Utility could only proceed from its not being attended to, and of Courſe not being clearly underſtood by ſuch as had the Power of carrying it into Execution. But the Loſs of the Nation by this Delay muſt have been very great, as it fell out in that Juncture when our riſing Manufactures ſtood in moſt Need of it.

[o] This is a Point that deſerves to be well conſidered. When Men once embark their Credit, not only their Fortune but their Characters are at Stake, and this in every Tranſaction in which they are concerned. This Situation makes them cautious, attentive, indefatigable. Hence more immenſe Eſtates have been acquired by Men who began with ſmall, than by thoſe who at ſetting out were poſſeſſed of midling or even of great Fortunes. Thoſe Qualities which Neceſſity produced, ſtrengthened by Experience into Habits, and theſe were confirmed by Succeſs. Such Men, in their Beginnings particularly, are exceedingly ſolicitous that their Goods ſhould be well made, that they may have a certain and a ſpeedy Sale, to ſecure which, in order to comply with their Engagements, they ſell at ſmall Profit. Theſe are very conſiderable Advantages to Trade if viewed in a national Light. Add to this, that through the Experience gained by ſuch as are bred under theſe Manufacturers and Dealers, they become enabled to purſue the ſame Plan, and by calling Aſſiduity, Frugality, and a ſtrict Regard to Reputation, to the Aſſiſtance of a ſmall Capital, procure not only a comfortable Subſiſtence for themſelves and Families, but afford Employment and Bread to many others.

that

that where it is unknown there is little or no Induſtry at all. Where it can be introduced, it enlivens the ſmalleſt Sparks of Induſtry, and this once done, they thrive and encreaſe together, which is apparently the Caſe in other Countries as well as our own. In paſt Times, when we had very little of it, our Induſtry was much confined; as it expanded, that was enlarged [p]. All this was foreſeen and foretold, and therefore the Exiſtence of the Fact demonſtrates the Certainty of the Principle. We may therefore juſtly conclude, that on this Point we have all the Evidence that in a Matter of this Nature can be reaſonably ſought or deſired.

But it may be ſaid, that in ſpite of all theſe Arguments this Benefit from Paper Credit hath been, and ſtill is very warmly diſputed by ſome. What is there ſo certain that ſome Men will not diſpute? Let us however hear and impartially conſider their moſt material Objections. It is ſaid, that in conſequence of this continual Circulation, our Gold and Silver Specie are imperceptibly exported, which occaſions a great Scarcity of what thoſe who make this Objection are pleaſed to call true Riches [q]. This Charge however admits, what is undoubtedly true, that Circulation anſwers in many Reſpects the Ends, and ſupplies the Defects of Specie. But it by no Means ſhews, that it hath any Thing to do with what is the proper Object of this Complaint, the Exportation of our Gold and Silver. The Truth of the Matter is, that in Time of War, Gold, for the Sake of its lying in a narrow Compaſs, is ſometimes ſent abroad to anſwer Military and other neceſſary Expences. But our Silver more commonly leaves us

[p] It may ſeem a fanciful, but upon Reflection it will be found a juſt Poſition, that a Senſe of Want is the Source of Plenty. As ſoon as Induſtry was produced by Choice, inſtead of being compelled by Power, and Men were inclined to labour from a Proſpect of its Fruits, it became practicable to work upon their Opinions, and this rendered it poſſible to engage them to exert their Induſtry, not only for actual Money, but for what in a reaſonable Space would entitle them to Money. When this Step was once accompliſhed, and different Commodities and Manufactures were produced, thoſe poſſeſſed of them found an Intereſt in parting with them for theſe Titles to Money, which raiſed their Eſtimation, and thus a Circulation of Credit grew and gathered Strength. But how did it operate as it grew and gathered Strength? By the ſtill increaſing Progreſs of Induſtry, produced through Emulation amongſt different Degrees of People, who perceiving that Labour properly purſued, would ſecure Plenty, which was all they could promiſe themſelves from Money, were content to receive another Medium, when convinced by Experience that it had the ſame Effect.

[q] It muſt be acknowledged, that in the common Apprehenſion, Gold and Silver only are eſteemed Wealth. And why? Becauſe with them moſt Things may, and little can be obtained without them. A ſmall Degree of Attention will ſhew, that what they purchaſe are Riches, and the Gold and Silver given for them no more (as we have often ſaid) than the Meaſures of Riches. The common they are, but not the neceſſary or univerſal Meaſures. In ſome Countries Shells called Cowries, in others Cocoa Nuts, and in others Cakes of Salt have the ſame Effect. But are they therefore Riches? He who hath all he wants, is rich without Money; but with Heaps of Gold and Silver in a Country without Neceſſaries, a Man may be poor indeed. A Miſer is that Man in every Country, not from the Want of Money, but from miſtaking the Uſe of it, which however could never render him miſerable if the common Apprehenſion was right.

from the thirſt of Lucre, becauſe its Value increaſes by its being converted into Bullion. All that Circulation does, is to make this Evil leſs felt, by preventing a Stagnation, till by the Courſe of our Commerce the Malady is removed [r].

Another Objection ariſes from hence, that this Circulation (though but of Paper) hath the Effect of what are ſtiled real Riches, in raiſing the Price of Houſes, Proviſions, and Labour, which is in many Reſpects detrimental to the Community [s]. This Aſſertion again admits, that Circulation anſwers the ſame End with Specie. Yet, after all, there is, notwithſtanding this ſeeming Similarity in their Effects, a very wide Difference between Circulation and Money. Circulation depends upon Credit, that Credit again reſts upon Induſtry, for the Fruits of Induſtry are Things worth Money; and, in this Senſe, Circulation may be ſaid to produce them. But if, inſtead of this Circulation, which, managed with Caution and Diſcretion, maintains and ever will maintain its Credit, we had a like Quantity of Gold and Silver Coin current, it would certainly produce not Induſtry but Idleneſs, and this would continue till ſuch Time as the Money was exported for the Payment, at firſt, of foreign Luxuries, after that Neceſſaries; for little would be done while it circulated, till at length it failed, and then perhaps our People might be again induced to labour [t].

It

[r] It may be farther urged, and urged with Truth in anſwer to this Objection, that ſo far is Circulation from contributing to the leſſening in any Manner our Stock of Gold and Silver, that in that Inſtance in which they have the beſt Right to be conſidered as real Riches, viz. as valuable Commodities, it hath actually increaſed and preſerved them. It is certain, theſe precious Metals wear leſs in Plate than in Coin, and it is no leſs certain that we have much more Plate now, than while we had no Medium in Trade but Specie. This likewiſe ſhews, that what is advanced in the Text is the true Cauſe of the diminiſhing our Coin, becauſe there is Gain in converting it into Bullion, whereas the Faſhion ſecures Plate, which it would not, indeed could not do if the general Balance of Trade was againſt us. But farther ſtill, it not only preſerves Plate but even Coin from Exportation. Since all who iſſue Notes payable on Demand, keep and are obliged to keep very large Sums in Caſh, which ſo long as it remains in their Hands (which is more than it would do if circulated) is ſafe from Melting and Exportation.

[s] This of all others is the Argument moſt relied on by thoſe Writers on this and on the other Side the Water, who queſtion the Utility of Paper Credit. This, ſay they, without affording the ſolid Support of Silver and Gold alike valued in all Countries, expoſes us to the only Evil too great a Plenty of Money can create, the advancing the Price of all the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life. But is this the Fact? May not Two Things exiſt at the ſame Time without one being either the Cauſe or Effect of the other? In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Houſes, Lands, &c. roſe conſiderably in Value, though Paper was not then introduced. May not the ſame which operated at that Time, and not Paper Credit, be the Cauſe now? If we look cloſely into Matters, perhaps we may find that ſo it really is, as in the next Note we ſhall endeavour at leaſt to prove.

[t] In the Reign of Elizabeth, from a Variety of Cauſes which have been already explained, Trade began to ſpread, Manufactures to increaſe, and many new Branches of foreign Commerce were

It hath been farther objected, that, by Means of this boaſted Circulation, many have ſuffered by their Credulity, and that this Paper Credit gives daily great Occaſion to Forgeries and Frauds. It may give Occaſion, but it certainly does not give Birth to them, for both were practiſed long before we had any ſuch Thing, and, if attended with ſuch Inconveniences, they ariſe to a very inconſiderable Amount, are by no means peculiar to this Kind of Credit, and, after all, affect Individuals only; ſo that though the Fact cannot be abſolutely denied, the Conſequences may be with Truth ſo much extenuated as to render them ſcarce diſcernible, in compariſon of the apparent and innumerable Advantages that flow from it, and that daily recommend it, where-ever Induſtry is recently introduced, and where, when firmly eſtabliſhed, it is found to be eſſentially requiſite to its Support [u].

All Undertakings, in reſpect either to mercantile Enterprizes, or in the Eſtabliſhment of Manufactures, are weak and feeble in their Beginnings, and, if unſucceſsful, either ſink intirely, or at leaſt are ſeldom revived in the ſame Age. Accidents of this Nature are not only deſtructive to private Perſons, but exceedingly detrimental to the publick Intereſt. On this Principle, more eſpecially ſince Trade, for which Providence deſigned us, hath been attended to, ſuch Attempts have been thought deſerving, and have been frequently favoured with Publick Support. This in former Times uſually flowed from the Crown, in the Form of Letters Patent, Charters, or other Grants of Privileges, which, however requiſite they might be,

were opened. In conſequence of this, Numbers of Families grew into Eaſe and Independence. This cauſed a greater Conſumption of Things neceſſary, and augmented the Deſire of Conveniences. A conſtant and growing Demand raiſed the Price. Trade being more flouriſhing, Manufactures more numerous, Commerce much farther extended, Things are become ſtill dearer from the ſame natural Cauſe. For if the Fruits of Induſtry increaſe, however that may be effected, the Conſumers will be more numerous, the Conſumption larger, and the Prices of many Things higher. But the People, by living better, will not grow the poorer. As the Fact, ſo the Knowledge of this Truth is as old as the Days of Elizabeth, when they did not conceive that Money was the only Property, but were wiſe enough to comprehend, that he who poſſeſſed ſuch Things as were worth Money, was really worth as much as thoſe Things would fetch A Truth obvious then, and which, remaining a Truth, will ever appear ſo upon a little Reflection, and yet the overlooking it is the ſole Cauſe of this heavy Charge on Paper Credit.

[u] It is ſo far from being peculiar to this Species of Money-Security, that they are liable to Impoſition, that on the contrary even Money is more ſo, for it may be light, debaſed, or counterfeited. Securities of a more ſolemn Kind, ſuch as Mortgages, Deeds, and Bonds, are equally ſubject to Forgery, and not to ſo ſpeedy Detection. In reference to the legal Sanctions for the preventing ſuch Dangers, Stat. 2. Geo. II. cap. 25, §. 1, makes forging, procuring, or aſſiſting in forging promiſſory Notes, or publiſhing them knowing them to be forged, Felony without Benefit of Clergy. As to Impoſitions from Credulity, the ſame Prudence and Circumſpection requiſite to guard a Perſon in the other Occurrences of Buſineſs, will defend him here, ſince Notes can have no Credit but from free Acceptance, and that generally hath and ſhould be always founded on knowledge.

were notwithſtanding very frequently Objects of Cenſure [w]. If ſuch as obtained them failed in their Endeavours, they were reputed Projectors. If, on the other Hand, they ſucceeded, they were conſidered as Monopolizers. In later Times, and in Concerns of Moment, a much better Method hath been adopted, as often as it hath been found practicable, by rejecting private or particular Intereſt, and propoſing the deſigned Advantages to ſuch as ſhould perform the Stipulations on which they are granted. Theſe BOUNTIES, as they are paid by the Public, ſo they are ſolely calculated for the Benefit of the Public. They are ſometimes given to encourage Induſtry and Application in raiſing a neceſſary Commodity, which was intended by the Bounty on exporting Corn [x]. Sometimes for promoting Manufactures, as in the Caſe of thoſe made of Silk [y]. Sometimes, to ſupport a new Manufacture, againſt Foreigners already in Poſſeſſion of it, as in making Linen and Sail-cloth [z]. Such Aſſiſtances, however, are never beſtowed.

[w] Corporations, which imply the uniting certain Individuals into a Body, that they may thereby become more uſeful to the Community, are created by the Crown. Many of theſe were formed for promoting Trade, and, according to the old Syſtem of our Government, were neceſſary and uſeful. On the ſame Principle Privileges were granted to private Perſons, on a Suggeſtion that what was immediately of Uſe to them, would terminate in public Utility. Theſe alſo did Good in bringing in many Arts and Manufactures, though in ſome Caſes, tending to private Intereſt more than publick Emolument, they were liable to legal Correction. At preſent, Letters Patent are uſually granted for ſhort Terms, in favour of new Inventions, or for ſecuring eſtabliſhed Property.

[x] We have ſtated in the Text the true Intention of this Bounty, which was, to encourage Agriculture, by procuring for the Farmer a certain and a conſtant Market. Let us ſee how this hath operated in regard to Wheat. We now grow more than twice as much as we did at the Eſtabliſhment of the Bounty; we even conſume twice as much in Bread, as we then grew; yet in A. D. 1697 we exported a fifteenth Part of what we grew, of late Years about a twenty-ninth Part only. The Bounty on this twenty-ninth Part amounted to ſomewhat more than Fifty thouſand, and the Produce to more than Four hundred thouſand Pounds. It is evident that all this is ſo much clear Gain to this Nation. But this is far from being all that we have annually gained. For if our Cultivation is doubled, as indeed it is, then the Rent of Lands, the Subſiſtence of Working Hands, the Profits of the Tradeſmen ſupplying them with Utenſils, Cloaths, the Value of Horſes employed, &c. muſt all be taken into the Account. Beſides this, we muſt add the Freight (amounting to Half the Bounty) to make the Idea of the Advantages complete.

[y] The Reader may find, in our Statute Books, many Laws in favour of the Silk Manufacture, made with great Wiſdom and Propriety for the Encouragement and Support of many Thouſands of induſtrious Perſons employed therein. By Stat. 8 Geo. I. cap. 15. §. 1. a Bounty was given on the due Exportation of Ribbons and Stuffs, of Silk only, of Three Shillings upon a Pound Weight; Silks, and Ribbons of Silk mixed with Gold and Silver, Four Shillings a Pound; on Silk Gloves, Silk Stockings, Silk Fringes, Silk Laces, and Sewing Silk, One Shilling and Three Pence a Pound; on Stuffs of Silk and Grogram Yarn, Eight Pence a Pound; on Silks mixed with Incle or Cotton, One Shilling; on Stuffs of Silk mixed with Worſted, Six Pence a Pound for Three Years; and, from Experience of their Utility, theſe were continued by ſubſequent Statutes.

[z] The promoting the Manufacture of Britiſh Sail-cloth was undoubtedly a very important national Object, as the Conſumption was very large, and of courſe the Purchaſe of it from Foreigners an heavy Expence on the Publick. Many Methods were therefore deviſed, and countenanced by Law, both here and in Ireland, for introducing and encouraging our own, in preference

beſtowed but upon mature Deliberation, in virtue of ſtrong Proofs, and with a moral Certainty of national Benefit. The great Intention of Bounties is, to place the Britiſh Trader on ſuch Ground, as to render his Commerce beneficial to his Country. In order to this, ſome Profit muſt accrue to himſelf, otherwiſe he would not embark therein; but this, whatever it be, muſt prove inconſiderable in compariſon of what reſults to the Publick. For if, by the Help of ſuch a Bounty, one or many Traders export to the Value of a Thouſand, Ten thouſand, or a Hundred thouſand Pounds worth of Commodities or Manufactures, whatever his or their Profit or Loſs (for the latter, through Avidity and overloading the Market, ſometimes happens) may be, the Nation gains the Thouſand, Ten thouſand, or Hundred thouſand Pounds, which was the Object of the Legiſlature in granting the Bounty [a].

It is indeed true, that on whatever Account, or to whatever Amount, this Reward is given, the Publick ſeem to pay, and private Perſons ſeem to receive. But theſe private Perſons receive it as the Hire from the Publick, for performing a Service which otherwiſe they would not perform, the Benefit of which accrues to the Publick; that can therefore very well afford to pay that Reward in reality, which, as we have ſtated it, ſhe only ſeems to do. For, looking a little cloſer, we cannot help diſcerning, that the Bounty is paid to Individuals, who, as ſuch, make a Part of the Publick. But the Commodities or Manufactures exported are ſold to Foreigners, and the whole Produce of them, be it what it will, comes into the Purſe of the Publick, in one Corner of which the original Bounty was left, and in another will lie the Merchants Profit [b]. It was neceſſary to ſtate this Point

ference to that of Strangers, more eſpecially in the Royal Navy. By Stat. 12 Annæ, Cap. 16. §. 2. a Bounty was given of One Penny per Ell on all that was exported for a Term, and continued by ſubſequent Statutes. By 4 Geo. II. Cap. 27. §. 4. an additional Bounty of another Penny an Ell is granted. Theſe Bounties were to be paid out of an additional Duty on imported Sail-cloth. By the ſame Statute, every Ship built in Great Britain or in the Plantations is under the Penalty of Fifty Pounds, to be furniſhed with a complete Suit of Sails of Britiſh Manufacture. The Amount of theſe Bounties mark the Progreſs of the Manufacture, which is alſo aſſiſted by the Fund on which the Payment is aſſigned.

[a] Upon this Conſideration, that the intire Produce of what is exported accrues to the Nation, the Legiſlature, when an Alteration of Circumſtances required it, have made no Scruple of augmenting a Bounty, as in the Caſe of refined Sugar exported, from Three to Nine Shillings per Hundred Weight. In like Manner, the original Bounty of One Pound per Ton, in Favour of Veſſels employed in the Whale Fiſhing, hath been doubled, and many new Regulations made, in order to render this Fiſhery more advantageous to the Publick. As a Bounty is given on Malt, when allowed to be exported, ſo an Equivalent of Thirty Shillings per Ton hath been granted on all Britiſh-made Malt Spirits when exported, which is a common Benefit to Land, Manufacture, and Commerce.

[b] On a due Attention to this ſelf-evident Doctrine, every reaſonable, every publick-ſpirited Man will be reconciled to Bounties, eſpecially if at the ſame time he reflects, how much ſooner many

Point at large, becauſe many Miſtakes have been made about it; to obviate which for the future, let theſe Three Circumſtances be continually borne in Mind, in reſpect to this Mode of aſſiſting Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce [c]. Firſt, that no Bounty can be deſired, but on the Plea of national Utility, which always deſerves Notice, and cannot eaſily be miſtaken. It muſt be likewiſe alledged and proved, that this is the only Means by which the national Benefit can be obtained. In the Second Place, the Sums iſſued on this Account not only ſhew the clear Expence of the Bounty, but alſo indicate the Profit gained by the Publick; for, as the one cannot exiſt without the other, that Amount muſt be the inconteſtable Index of both. Laſtly, let it be remembered (and of this too ſome Inſtances might be given) if Bounties ſhould be improperly beſtowed, they will of courſe prove ineffectual, and, after a few fruitleſs Trials, will remain unclaimed, conſequently produce no Expence [d]. To theſe Remarks we may add, that Bounties are uſually granted but for a limited Time, and then expire, are always liable to be ſuſpended, and of courſe can never be the Cauſe of any great national Loſs [e].

In

many of our capital Manufactures might have been acquired, if this Method had been in earlier Uſe, and how many valuable Acquiſitions may ſtill be made by their Aſſiſtance. Amongſt theſe, we may reckon Timber, Hemp, Flax, Madder, and upon good Grounds I will venture to add Silk, all which, by national Bounties, wiſely proportioned and ſteadily applied, might be gradually introduced, and without Queſtion in Great Britain, Ireland, and our other Iſles, there is Land ſufficient for them all. We may alſo add, that if theſe Lands were thus employed, there need not be an idle Hand in all our Dominions.

[c] We have occaſionally given various Inſtances of the open, generous, and liberal Spirit of the Britiſh Legiſlature, and this is in nothing more conſpicuous than in the Point of Bounties, by which not only the Fiſh and Linen of North Britain have been promoted, but alſo an expreſs Bounty of Twenty Shillings a Ton given for all Timber fit for Maſts, Yards, or Bowſprits imported from thence into South Britain. In like Manner Attention hath been ſhewn to more diſtant Provinces of the Britiſh Empire, by giving Bounties on the ſame Things, as alſo upon other naval Stores, ſuch as Hemp, Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine, likewiſe Silk, Indigo, &c. of the Growth of our American Plantations, to ſupport a Spirit of Induſtry amongſt the People there, and to ſtrengthen the Connection and Correſpondence between the Britiſh Colonies and their Parent Country.

[d] It is true, that beſides the Objection we have endeavoured to refute in the Text, there is another often urged againſt Bounties. This is grounded upon the Frauds to which they are ſuppoſed to be liable, and particularly the re-landing the Goods on which the Bounty hath been paid, and thereby deceiving and cheating the Publick. But whoever peruſes the Laws made on this Head, and attentively conſiders the numerous Precautions taken to fix every Circumſtance relative to the obtaining the Bounty, the Checks on the ſhipping the Goods, the Securities taken for their due Exportation, the Certificates required to aſcertain their being actually delivered and ſold in a foreign Market, to diſcharge thoſe Securities, and the heavy Penalties on the Detection of any Fraud; whoever, I ſay, that reflects on theſe, will be convinced that ſuch a Thing is at leaſt extremely difficult, if not altogether impracticable.

[e] There is no doubt that, excluſive of Frauds, the immoderate Thirſt of Gain may tempt intereſted Men to aim at converting what was calculated for publick Benefit to its Detriment, for their private Advantage. Thus, on a Proſpect of ſhort Crops in other Countries, Men may take

In like Manner, Drawbacks are uſeful in many Reſpects, eſpecially in preſerving our Commodities and Manufactures from lying on our Hands, in conſequence of the Duties the Legiſlature may have found it requiſite to impoſe upon them for the Support of publick Meaſures. In ſeveral Inſtances, it would be abſolutely impoſſible to export them thus incumbered, and therefore the Load is very prudently removed, or, as the Term implies, the Duty drawn back. But in ſome Caſes this Eaſe is given only in Part, where Neceſſity makes it practicable to vend them with a proportionable Weight of the Duties [f]. Indeed, Impoſitions of all Kinds, though frequently injurious, may under certain Circumſtances be rendered ſalutary and uſeful. As for Example, in repreſſing an unreaſonable Appetite for foreign Luxuries, by obliging ſuch as will gratify their Humour in this Reſpect to pay roundly for ſuch Indulgence, by which the Nation draws a Benefit that could not be obtained from an abſolute Prohibition [g]. Theſe Expedients

Meaſures within the Letter, but directly againſt the Spirit of the Law, to ſend ſo much of our Corn abroad, as to endanger Famine at home. For this the Wiſdom of Parliament provides, not barely by ſuſpending the Bounty, but by prohibiting Exportation, and opening the Ports for foreign Supplies, and from our own Colonies. We cannot with any Shadow of Juſtice aſcribe Scarcity to the Bounty or the Exportation. If this was the Caſe, Suſpenſions would be frequent, whereas there have been but Five in a Courſe of Seventy Years. If the Bounty had any Share, the larger the Exportation, the greater would be the Scarcity. In A. D. 1750 we exported more than One-fifth of our Growth of Wheat, which was notwithſtanding but at Four Shillings a Buſhel, whereas a Century before, A. D. 1650, when we had not either Bounty or Exportation, Wheat was at Nine Shillings and Six Pence a Buſhel. What then is the Cauſe of Scarcity? Unkindly Seaſons, which though human Policy cannot prevent, yet their ſad Effects have been evidently leſſened, by our increaſed Growth, ſince the taking place of Bounty and Exportation.

[f] All that is intended in the Text, is, to give a general Idea of theſe Mitigations of Duties, their Utility, and the beneficial Conſequences that attend them. We have already had Occaſion to mention many of them, and have not Room to run over the reſt here. It may not however be improper, having this Opportunity, to remark, that in Reference to theſe, Time and Accidents have great and ſingular Operations. As for Inſtance, the Demand for Leather and Manufactures made of Leather is at preſent ſo great and growing, that perhaps it is requiſite to change our Meaſures, however prudent when adopted, and not only to diſcontinue the Drawbacks on Exportation, but alſo to take off the Duties, or perhaps even to give a Bounty, on the Importation of raw Hides, at leaſt from Ireland. In order to judge the better in a Matter of ſuch Importance, I have inquired as to the Amount of both, and upon a Medium of Ten Years (as I am informed) the annual Amount of the Drawback on the Exportation of Leather hath been 10,560l. and the Duty on raw Hides imported 1482l.

[g] Abſolute Prohibitions are not agreeable to the Temper of a free, and by no means ſuitable to the Notions of a commercial People. For this Reaſon (how heavy ſoever the Penalties) they can hardly be carried into Execution. Beſides, as the Superfluities of one Country are in another conſidered as Luxuries, it is a Kind of Breach of the Law of Nations, produces counter Prohibitions, and gradually raiſes a Spirit of Rancour, equally repugnant to ſound Reaſon and true Religion. But high Duties, ſtrictly levied, prevent a dangerous Exceſs, and at the ſame time furniſh an unenvied Revenue. In no Country hath this Reſource been practiſed with more Addreſs than in our own, where it would not be difficult to mention, if it was not eaſier to

gueſs,

pedients for alleviating Difficulties, and procuring Advantages in reſpect to foreign Commerce, contribute ultimately to the augmenting the Value of our Lands, for out of them thoſe Commodities ariſe, and from what they yield the Manufactures are produced which we export. This though it was always the Fact, yet hath not been always ſo well underſtood as it is at preſent. From hence it comes, that of late Years ſo many Statutes have been made for promoting the joint Intereſts of both, and thereby eradicating that groundleſs Notion, that there was a real Difference between them [h]. We might add to theſe, many other Inſtances of a ſimilar Nature, ſuch as Companies of Aſſurance, which, by diminiſhing the Riſque, ſupport a Spirit of Induſtry, encourage Enterprize, by ſecuring to Men the Fruits of their Skill and Labour, againſt ſuch Accidents as Prudence could not foreſee, or Diligence avoid [i]. The general Tendency of theſe, and of all other Contrivances of the like Kind, though they ſeem primarily calculated for the Benefit of Individuals, and thereby to prevent their ſuffering from their honeſt Endeavours to improve their Property, yet terminate finally in the Welfare of Society, to which the Endeavours of Individuals, and the Profits ariſing from them, muſt ever redound [k]. On this Account they become the proper

gueſs, the Indulgence of a prevailing Taſte, hath ſupplied a productive Tax, which, without murmuring, could have been obtained no other Way.

[h] We know from Experience, that its being abſurd is not always a Bar to an Opinion's gaining Credit. If it had, the diſtinction between the *landed* and *trading* Intereſt had never been mentioned. Wiſe and diſcerning Men eaſily ſaw and clearly demonſtrated the Falſhood of this Notion upon the Principles of Reaſon. We have alſo ſhewn, in the Courſe of the Work, nearly the ſame Thing from the Evidence of Facts. As Land was better cultivated, Trade improved, and as the Profits of Trade increaſed, it ſupplied both the Lights and the Means by which Cultivation hath been exceedingly diverſified and extended. Before we conclude this Chapter (which indeed led to this Remark) we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew this in a ſtill ſtronger Point of View, from the amazing Improvements of Land for the Purpoſes of Commerce only.

[i] The Practice of Inſuring is of great Antiquity, and appears to have been in Uſe here in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; but does not ſeem to have been carried to any great Extent till towards the End of the laſt, and Beginning of the current Century, when ſeveral Societies were formed for inſuring Houſes, Goods, Merchandizes, &c. againſt the Danger of Fire, and theſe ſtill ſubſiſt in full Eſteem and Credit. The Royal Exchange and London Aſſurance Companies were each of them eſtabliſhed by Two Royal Charters, the firſt in June 1720, impowering them to inſure Ships, Goods, and Merchandize, againſt the Danger of the Seas, and to lend Money at Bottomry; the Second in April A. D. 1721, allowing them alſo to aſſure Lives; which Charters the Crown was impowered to grant by Act of Parliament. Beſides, private Perſons inſure likewiſe, by underwriting of Policies. This, leaving ſo much Liberty, keeps them all in a State of Emulation, prevents raiſing the Premium to an exorbitant Height, and affords at the ſame Time a large Field for Application and Induſtry. In conſequence of this, though Inſurances are well known in other Countries, ours are ſuperior in Credit to any in Europe.

[k] All Methods that can be deviſed for giving Eaſe and Security to Individuals, by diminiſhing Hazard, or removing Apprehenſions, operate for the publick Benefit by encouraging Induſtry. Where this is upon the Principle either of publick Spirit, as is the Caſe of Hoſpitals and Infirmaries ſupported by Subſcription, or from a Proſpect of very moderate Gains, with which many Societies, whoſe Managers ſerve gratis, are well enough content, there is no Need of obtruding Authority.

proper Object of the Legiſlature's Attention, and very juſtly merit its Sanction for their Stability and Support. In truth, no Laws can be more deſerving of Praiſe in their Intention, becauſe none in their Operations reſpecting the Publick can be more beneficial.

These accumulated Advantages, in a ſhort Period of Time, made great Alterations not only in the Appearance of the Country, and in the Circumſtances of the People, but alſo, as was very natural, in their Temper and Manners, which Alteration was productive of ſtill more ſalutary Changes. When Men ſaw, or rather felt, as hath been already obſerved, the genuine Effects of Induſtry, were convinced that Science and Application would certainly lead to Eaſe and Independence, and that whatever a Man acquired by theſe he might ſecurely enjoy, it quickened their Apprehenſions, and led them to look out for new Means of exerciſing their Talents for Improvements. Impelled by this generous Spirit, they applied themſelves freely to Works of viſible publick Utility, and in which private Emolument was only a ſecondary Conſideration. Theſe Undertakings were ſuch as could not have been attempted while our Lands yielded little, and our Manufactures were not far advanced; and which never would have been executed, if Experience had not pointed out their Neceſſity, in order to carry both to the higheſt Degree of Perfection[1]. The Senſe of this was ſufficient to awaken the Spirit of the Nation; and Succeſs manifeſtly attending their firſt Endeavours, excited a Reſolution of proſecuting them with Steadineſs and Vigour. We have ſaid enough to explain in general the Nature of theſe extenſive Enterprizes, and will now deſcend into ſome Particulars, from which it muſt appear, that we have truly deſcribed them, and that though they may be already, indeed are in themſelves, of very great Utility and Importance, yet they are ſtill likely to become much more conſiderable in their Conſequences.

Authority. But where-ever it does interfere, the Confidence repoſed in Authority ſhould never be deceived. In this Light, the Satisfaction given to the Sufferers by the Charitable Corporation, and the regulating the Concerns of the Mercers Company in reſpect to their Annuitants, were noble Inſtances of national Equity.

[1] There is a viſible Progreſſion in Improvements; Induſtry, like Fame, gathers Strength by Motion, and, having gained one Advantage, graſps immediately at another. The Cauſe of this is, that every Acquiſition brings with it a Senſe of freſh Wants, and this ſtimulates to farther Efforts. By degrees, after many Benefits gradually gained, an intelligent Nation extends its Views, and, perceiving that ſtill greater Things not only remain unattained, but lie alſo beyond their Reach, through the Defect of Means, they then ſuſpend their Endeavours, till either Accident, that is, ſome unforeſeen Change of Circumſtances, or, which is the catholick Inſtrument in all national Improvements, an Augmentation of Wealth, removes the Defect, and, reviving their former Intentions, puts alſo the ſucceſsful Proſecution of them in their Power.

The commodious Communication between the ſeveral Parts of a Country by means of publick Roads, Cauſeways where neceſſary, and Bridges over intervening Rivers, is of general Convenience to the Inhabitants, a conſtant Source of Opulence, and a ſignal Proof of ſound Policy. The Romans were diſtinguiſhed by their Attention to the Straitneſs, Solidity, and admirable Diſpoſition of their larger and their leſſer Roads, which, though uſed for other Purpoſes, were chiefly intended for military Ways; and this wiſe Oeconomy of theirs was carried through all the Provinces of their extenſive Empire [m]. It is however remarkable, that ſcarce in any of the Countries they poſſeſſed there are ſtill remaining more authentic Monuments of theſe uſeful and ſtupendous Works than in Great Britain, which with indefatigable Pains and moſt extenſive Learning have been ſtudiouſly traced, accurately deſcribed, and the Stations on them with as much Certainty as might be pointed out by our induſtrious and laborious Antiquaries [n].

[m] The Roman Roads, while yet in a great Meaſure intire, appeared of ſuch amazing Grandeur and Solidity, manifeſted ſuch a wonderful Sagacity in the Deſign, and ſuch prodigious Labour and Expence in the Execution, that it is no Wonder, in the barbarous Ages ſucceeding the Ruin of that Empire, we find theſe noble and ſtately Works confidently aſcribed to Giants and Art magic. The Intention of theſe military Ways was worthy of the Genius, and expreſſive of the Policy, of that wiſe and potent People. They were ſo many Links or Lines uniting the Provinces to the Seat of Empire. They extended therefore from Rome to the Limits (however remote) of her Dominions. To form ſome Idea of them, the ſhorteſt and ſureſt Method is to conſult the Peutingerian Tables. It is evident from hence, that they were very numerous, and the Certainty of this is confirmed by the Remains which are ſtill to be ſeen in many Countries. In our own, as Camden obſerves, they are moſt viſible, or, in other Words, beſt preſerved, and the Manner of their Conſtruction (by which they have laſted more than Twelve Centuries) moſt apparent in wild Heaths, over which they were carried, becauſe near Towns and Villages they were pulled to Pieces for the Materials. In the Itinerary aſcribed to Antoninus there are Fifteen Roads, with the Stations marked upon them, and the Diſtances between them in Miles, which, taken all together, make a Total of Two thouſand Five hundred and Seventy-nine Miles, the Conſtruction of which muſt have neceſſarily conſumed much Time, required much Toil, and demanded immenſe Treaſures.

[n] Jeffery of Monmouth who tranſlated, and thoſe who give any Credit to the old Britiſh Hiſtory, aſcribe theſe Roads to the Kings Molmutius and Belinus, who governed here ſome Ages (as they ſay) before the Coming of J. Cæſar. But our moſt ancient and authentick Authors, ſuch as Gildas and Beda, affirm, that they were made by the Romans, and they have been very juſtly followed by the Learned. Ranulph Higden gives us an Account of the Four great Roads, which are alſo mentioned in our old Chronicles in Verſe as well as Proſe. Richard of Cirenceſter, a Monk of Weſtminſter, who died about A. D. 1400, though his Work hath been but lately publiſhed, gave another and more copious Itinerary, in which he removes the Caſtra Alata from Edinburgh to Inverneſs, which gives a Colour to the old Notion, that a Roman Road once went from Cornwall to Caithneſs. Our ableſt Authors on our Antiquities, viz. Leland, Camden, Somner, &c. have incidentally treated this Subject. Others have written expreſs Commentaries on the Itinerary of Antoninus, as Robert Talbot, William Burton, Dr. Thomas Gale, Dean of York, and Salmon's New Survey of England is a Book of the ſame Nature. The Itinerary was firſt printed at Florence A. D. 1519, 8vo. So much as regards Britain was publiſhed by Harriſon at the Cloſe of his Deſcription of Britain, A. D. 1587. from MSS. and upon this Edition Burton wrote his Commentary A. D. 1658. F. Jerom Surita publiſhed his correct Edition of the whole Itinerary, with his learned Annotations thereon. Col. Agrip. A. D. 1600. 8vo.

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The Saxons, when they became Maſters of the Southern Parts of this Iſle, ſhewed very great Reſpect to theſe ancient Roads, as plainly appears by the Names they beſtowed upon them, and which are indeed the only Names that they are now known by to us, and very probably they were not themſelves wanting, in their flouriſhing State, in providing in this reſpect for the publick Convenience [o]. But the Inroads of the Danes, which occaſioned ſuch general Deſolation, had no doubt dreadful Effects on theſe. After that, the Norman Conqueſt ſeems to have been attended with no more favourable Conſequences in reſpect to the Trade, than with regard to the Agriculture of this Country. It may be, however, that even down to this Period ſome of the principal Roads were in tolerable Condition, which might make the People leſs anxious about repairing them, or providing new. But the long Continuance of our Civil Wars were attended with ſtill more fatal Effects; and when the Nation had Time to breathe, we find ſome Laws were made reſpecting a Point at all Times of ſuch apparent Utility, and which at that Period were become of indiſpenſible Neceſſity [p].

When the interior Peace of this Country was reſtored, and, in conſequence of that, ſome Attention ſhewn to the Encouragement of Induſtry, the Parent of our domeſtick Trade, as this began to extend, it from thence became requiſite to take more ſtable Methods for a conſtant and regular Communication, and this at length produced, in reſpect to Roads, a Kind of Syſtem, which hath been altered in many Particulars, as the Changes in the Times and in the Circumſtances of the People rendered it neceſſary [q]. Yet this Syſtem and theſe Changes by no means anſwering the Ends

[o] The Law De Pace Quatuor Cheminorum, and the Appellation ſtill in Uſe, of the King's Highways, ſhew how much they were anciently reſpected. The Four great Roads were, the Foſſe, Watling-ſtreet, Erming or Ermin, called alſo Beling-ſtreet, and Ikeneld, Ryknild, or Rykeneld-ſtreet. As to the Etymology, Extent, and Direction of all which, the Learned are in Sentiments much divided. In their Wars with the Britons, the Saxons commonly occupied Roman camps. When they had ſubdued the Country, in building their Towns they made Choice of Roman Stations. This of courſe preſerved the Roads. Theſe and the Camps alſo were in like Manner uſed by the Danes, both adding to or altering a little, as their Fields of Battle plainly ſhew, which, when particularly mentioned, appear to have been on or near ſome of the Roman Roads.

[p] By the Statute of Wincheſter, in the Reign of Edward I. ſome Proviſion is made for the Security of Highways, by ſuffering no Wood to grow within Two hundred Feet on one Side or other, that Paſſengers might not be ſurpriſed by Thieves. In the Time of Henry VIII. ſome Laws were enacted for preſerving and amending Cauſeways, and for facilitating the making new and more commodious Roads, by the giving to ſuch as made them legally through their own Lands the Property of the Soil and in the Materials of the old ones. As to the leſſer Roads between Town and Town, they were left to the Protection of the common Law (Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, ap. x. Script. col. 1356, 1357.) to which the preſcriptive Right of Regulation ſtill remains, where not expreſly altered by Statute.

[q] The Origin of this Syſtem may be found in Stat. 2. & 3. Phil. & Mar. cap. 8. The Preamble declares, that the Roads were tedious and noiſome to travel in, and dangerous to Paſſen-

Ends of a growing Commerce, a new Mode was introduced towards the Middle of the laſt Century, which hath been generally followed in this, by applying to the Legiſlature to eſtabliſh Tolls for amending old and making new Roads, ſo that by a gradual Extenſion of theſe, which are called TURNPIKE WAYS, the whole Kingdom is become much more pervious than it was in former Times; an Advantage flowing chiefly from theſe Taxes, impoſed indeed by Parliament, but impoſed on a juſt Foreſight of the Benefits they would produce at the Solicitation of thoſe by whom they were to be paid [r]. It was in conſequence of this judicious, tho' expenſive Arrangement, that our Roads became ſafe, ſpacious, and have generally ſpeaking been kept in good Order; and by the perſiſting in this Mode, thus recommended by its good Effects, the LAND-CARRIAGE of this Country correſponds at preſent in a great Degree with its Commerce, and as Plenty obeys the Call of Induſtry, we find both ſpread by this means into almoſt every Corner of the Iſland. The Benefits ariſing from theſe Improvements are equally numerous and obvious, though more admired perhaps, at leaſt more conſidered, by Foreigners than by ourſelves. For to ſay nothing of the Appearance of the Country, to which theſe beautiful and commodious Roads add no ſmall Elegance as well as Convenience, Land-Carriage, which ariſes ſolely from them, is a Matter of prodigious Importance, if we conſider the Amount of the Sums it coſts, and at the ſame time advert to the Circumſtances connected with it [s]. Let us, for Example,

gers and Carriages. For the Remedy of this, it is enacted, that in every Pariſh, Surveyors of the Highways ſhall be annually choſen, and the Inhabitants obliged, according to their reſpective Properties, to find Labourers and Carriages, for a certain Number of Days, to work thereon. This Law was in almoſt every ſubſequent Reign reviewed, altered, varied, added to, or amended, that, to form a juſt Notion of the Subject, required no ſmall Time, Patience, and Application, as the Reader will perceive, who conſults the Title of *Highways* in Burn's Juſtice. But all theſe Acts, for the Eaſe and Benefit of the Nation, are repealed, and the Subſtance of them all reduced into a ſingle Statute.

[r] As the great Object of the Romans, in their ſtupendous Roads and Cauſeways, was the ſafe and ſpeedy March of their Armies, and preſerving a certain and conſtant Communication between their Stations, ſo the principal End of ours is, the promoting Trade, and both I preſume to be equally well calculated for the obtaining their reſpective Ends. If the Syſtem, which hath been ſtated in the former Note, had anſwered, there had been no Need of Turnpikes, and it is only from the good Effects that they have produced we have ſeen them ſpread. The Attention ſhewn by the Legiſlature, in regulating the Commiſſioners and other Officers; the Size, Extent, and other Circumſtances of the Roads, the Number of Horſes, the Weight of Carriages, the Breadth of Wheels, as well as the Rate of Tolls, with a Multitude of other Particulars, proves an Intention of approaching at leaſt to Perfection in the Plan. If this is leſs viſible in the Execution, it is to be imputed to the common Frailties of Men. Be this as it will, the comparative Excellence of theſe Roads, and the continual Advantages flowing from them, inconteſtibly prove the Truth of what has been advanced in the Text.

[s] That the Produce of Land Carriage, conſtant and extenſive as it is, muſt amount in the Whole to a prodigious Sum, is as eaſy to comprehend as it would be difficult to calculate. But it is nevertheleſs certain, and which is of more Conſequence to the Community, is continually increaſing.

Example, contemplate the Size and Burthen of thoſe numerous BRITISH CARAVANS, if the Expreſſion may be permitted, I mean our STAGE WAGGONS, which are in conſtant, continual, and regular Motion from one great Town to another, and from all of them to the Metropolis. Theſe are Machines of conſiderable Price, and are attended with almoſt daily Expence in regard to Repairs. Let us likewiſe take into View the valuable CATTLE by which they are drawn, and which are alſo maintained with Care and Coſt, ſupplying from their Employment a very comfortable Subſiſtence to Multitudes of honeſt and induſtrious Families [t]. Let us to theſe join the numerous, commodious, I had almoſt ſaid magnificent INNS, on all theſe ſpacious well-frequented Roads, which we may truly ſay peculiarly diſtinguiſh this Country, and which at the ſame time maintain and ſupport Numbers in different Stations [u]. To theſe let us add thoſe great Towns that are become ſo either purely or principally from their Situation on, and the Benefits which they derive from, the Roads that paſs hard-by or directly through them [w]. Neither muſt we forget the Riſe of Arts, from the increaſed

increaſing. As Convenience directs, they in ſome Places employ Pack-horſes, ſome of which carry near a Quarter of a Ton; in others, Carts. Stage-Coaches, excluſive of Paſſengers, carry a great deal, ſo do many new-invented Machines for carrying Fiſh, &c. Our Stage Waggons are reſtrained by Law to Six Horſes, and to a Lading of Three Tons, which ſhews they could carry more. Of all theſe Conveyances near Sixteen hundred ſet out from, and of courſe return to London, ſome Six Times, ſome Three, many Twice, and almoſt all of them Once a Week. All this, or at leaſt the far greateſt Part of this regular and beneficial Intercourſe between the moſt diſtant Parts of this Iſland, has ariſen within the Compaſs of a Century.

[t] In Caſes of this Nature, Inſtances only can make Things plain. On this Head, Two honourable Perſons have obligingly put it in my Power to give the following authentick Particulars. A ſtrong complete Stage Waggon (Wood and Iron Work included) may coſt from Fifty to Seventy Pounds. The annual Repairs of ſuch a Waggon may amount from Fourteen to Twenty Pounds. The firſt Coſt of Eight Horſes, One hundred and Sixty Pounds; One and ſometimes Two die in a Year. Harneſs for theſe Horſes from Sixteen to Twenty Pounds. Annual Repairs at leaſt Three Pounds. A Waggon, that is, the Bed or Body of it, may laſt ſome Years; if in conſtant Work the Expence in Shoeing, Feeding, Inns, Turnpikes, and Drivers Wages, come to Twenty Pounds a Week. It will be evident, from the Conſideration of theſe Circumſtances, that all which hath been ſaid in the Text is well founded, and that Land Carriage encourages Induſtry, promotes Circulation, and gives Bread to many Thouſands.

[u] It is a juſt Obſervation, that nothing can afford a clearer Indication of the true State of a Country and its Inhabitants, than the publick INNS. In ſome of the chief Cities in Germany and the Low Countries they are highly commended; paſſable in France, celebrated at Lyons, plentiful and cheap in Switzerland, indifferent in Italy, worſe in Spain, and ſtill worſe in Poland. In this Country they were not formerly what they now are. Buſineſs and Pleaſure ſupport them, and conſtant Emulation hath made them, in moſt, commodious, in ſome Places ſplendid. In London ſome Inns are a Sort of Magazines and Warehouſes, where Commodities and Manufactures are depoſited till ſold. In both Town and Country they are large coſtly Buildings, pay high Rents, and, beſides their Owners and their Families, maintain a very large Number of Servants and Dependents.

[w] The Advantages ariſing from ſpacious and well-ordered Roads produced an Application for Turnpikes, the very Expence of which is an inconteſtable Proof of their real and permanent Utility.

creaſed Cultivation of Lands, rendered eaſy as well as requiſite by their Means, as the different Condition in which they now are, to that in which they actually were a Century paſt, ſufficiently and inconteſtably prove [x]. All theſe Circumſtances, duly weighed and maturely meditated upon, fully demonſtrate the Rectitude of that Principle on which theſe ſtupendous Improvements were undertaken, and which do ſo much Honour to the Activity, Vigour, and Steadineſs, with which in ſo ſhort a Space of Time they have been and are ſtill carried on, with ſuch evident Advantages to Individuals and ſuch general Credit to the Nation.

AMONGST the almoſt innumerable Benefits that have ariſen to us from the great and gradual Improvement of our publick Roads, there is one that deſerves more diſtinct and deliberate Notice, which is the prodigious Convenience it affords, for the conſtant and regular, as well as quick and certain Correſpondence by the POST [y]. This Manner of conveying Intelligence

lity. The conſtant Facility of Carriage hath produced Manufactures where there were none before, or probably ever would have been, but from this Circumſtance. By this and other Benefits ſeveral Villages have, even within our Memory, grown into ſubſtantial Towns. Moſt of the larger Towns are likewiſe increaſed, as is evident from new Houſes and additional Buildings. A regular Communication always effects this; we ſee it in the Territories of the United Provinces; and the Accounts we have of China will ſeem leſs wonderful, if we reflect that in England and Wales we have ſome Hundreds of Towns on our great Roads.

[x] The Facts aſſerted in the foregoing Note will ſcarce be diſputed, but the Inference in the Text poſſibly may. Many think the great Increaſe of Towns, and the reigning Inclination of People to reſide in them, hath a viſible Tendency to depopulate the Country, and thereby leſſen its Produce. But whence does this Deſire of living in Towns proceed? Becauſe Induſtry enables People in Towns to live better. Numbers living better, muſt create an increaſed Conſumption. But of what? Moſt clearly of the Produce of the Country. If therefore the Conſumption be inlarged, the Cultivation muſt be augmented in proportion, and thoſe employed therein be conſequently benefited thereby? The Voice of Reaſon ſeems loud, but the Language of Facts is ſtill louder. All the Lands in the Neighbourhood of theſe Towns, from which Lands, the Inhabitants, occaſional Viſitants, and Paſſengers, are ſupplied with Milk, Butter, Cheeſe, Lamb, Mutton, Veal, and Beef, are much raiſed in their Value, and not a little improved by Plenty of Manure, which Towns conſtantly ſupply. It may be ſaid, this regards only Paſturage. It would be ſaid with Truth, if theſe People ate no Bread. But by the Help of their Turnpike Roads they may receive Corn and Flour from even diſtant Markets.

[y] We find the Invention of Poſts attributed by Herodotus to Cyrus the Great; and his Succeſſors in the Empire of Perſia appointed One hundred and Eleven Royal Stations or Poſt-houſes, to convey their Edicts from, and Intelligence to their capital City of Suza. The Greeks and Romans adopted this Perſian Inſtitution. The noble Roads of the latter enabled them to give this uſeful Deſign the moſt regular Eſtabliſhment. They had Inns at proper Diſtances, and intermediate Stages for Horſes, and afterwards Carriages. Charlemagne ſettled Poſts as Emperor thro' all his Dominions. Lewis XI. revived them in France. All theſe were chiefly, if not wholly, for the Service of the Prince, and not calculated for publick Benefit. It was ſo when firſt introduced here, and the Uſe made of Poſt-houſes was only to furniſh Horſes, the Rate of which were in the Reign of Edward VI. fixed at One Penny a Mile. In Queen Elizabeth's Time, Mr. Randolph was chief Poſt-maſter. The foreign Merchants, however, choſe their own, till falling out amongſt themſelves, the City deſired that Queen to appoint one. For ſome time after the Ma-

gence was adopted many Ages ago in other Countries, and even in our own, but in a very rude and imperfect State, till the Long Parliament in the Reign of Charles the First reduced into some Order what had been before a Thing of little Consequence, and, by giving it a regular and uniform Establishment, may be said to have struck out the Rudiments of what it now is [z]. This was much improved and legally settled by Parliament soon after the Restoration; and the several Branches of it, foreign as well as domestick, very judiciously regulated, and the Rates of Postage adjusted on moderate Terms. This Method was attended with such beneficial Consequences, that in the Reign of Queen Anne this Plan, with a few Alterations, was very prudently extended to all the British Dominions in America as well as Europe, the Authority of the Post-master General in directing the Operations of so vast a Correspondence, according to the Directions of that Law, being judged essential to the Unity of the British Empire, and is considered, in that Light, as one of the most memorable Acts in our Statute Book [a].

In virtue of this well-considered and judicious Establishment, the Object of this important Instrument of publick Utility was so effectually promoted, that it received continual Augmentations, especially by the Introduction of Cross Posts; and by a Law in his present Majesty's Reign some new Regulations were made for rendering the Carriage of Letters cheaper

nagement of Correspondence was in the Hands of private Persons, who carried it on at their own Expence, and for their own Advantage.

[z] In the Reign of Charles I. this Point came to be considered in a proper Light, as a Thing that might be rendered beneficial to the Crown, and of infinite Utility to the Nation. A. D. 1635 he published a Proclamation (Fœdera, xix. p. 649.) regulating the Rates of Postage, forbidding private Posts, and pointing out what we stile the North and West Roads, so that probably if the Troubles had not broke out soon after, the Post-Office might have been gradually brought into good Order. A. D. 1644. the Parliament, having this Matter under their Consideration, bestowed the Foreign Office on the Earl of Warwick, and the Inland on Edmund Prideaux, Esquire, an eminent Lawyer, who made great Savings, and introduced a regular and excellent Establishment. About Nine Years afterwards it was farmed to Mr. John Manly, and when Cromwell was Protector he made his Secretary John Thurloe Post-master.

[a] By Statute 12th Car. II. Cap. 35. the Post-Office is completely and most distinctly regulated in reference to the Rates as well of Foreign as Inland Letters, the Revenue arising from it given to the King, and all private Posts (except the Letter-Carriers to the Universities) absolutely suppressed. By Stat. 15 Car. II. Cap. 14. the Wine-Licence and Post-Office are both settled on James Duke of York. By Stat. 9 Annæ, Cap. 10. the former Laws in reference to Posts are all of them repealed, and a new System established through the whole Extent of the British Empire. This is put under a Post-Master General, who is authorized to appoint Post-Masters at Edinburgh, Dublin, New York, &c. and through all the Provinces on the Continent, and in all the British Isles in America. Rates are settled for Letters Foreign and Inland; and in all Parts of Scotland, Ireland, and America, and by Authority of the Parliament of Great Britain, the same Powers requisite to the Execution of his Office in England are vested in him and his Deputies in all these Countries.

and

and more commodious, the Prudence of which has been viſible in its Conſequences, and in the amazing Increaſe of Correſpondence [b]. The Revenue ariſing from the Poſt, the Conſideration of which is not our preſent Concern, though in itſelf very conſiderable, is of all others the moſt chearfully paid, on account of the ſingular Benefits that attend it. The Amount of this Revenue ſerves as an Index to thoſe prodigious Advantages that from it are derived to the Community, and is an inconteſtable Demonſtration of the otherwiſe inconceivable Intercourſe carried on with the utmoſt Facility, Celerity, and Security, through the wide Expanſe of the Britiſh Dominions [c]. By this alſo, which is an additional Emolument to Society, a very large Number of Perſons in very different Situations of Life find full Employment, and, according to their different Stations, derive from thence a conſtant and ſuitable Subſiſtence. We may alſo from the State of the Poſt Office in ſeveral Periods, which we can eaſily and certainly know, collect a tolerable Notion of the comparative Progreſs of our Induſtry and Commerce [d]. A Thing of ſingular Utility in itſelf, and which perhaps, with

[b] By Stat. 3 Geo. I. Cap. 7. a Clauſe in the laſt-mentioned Act, directing Seven hundred Pounds a Week to be paid every Tueſday out of the Poſt-Office Revenue into the Exchequer, for Thirty-two Years, is made perpetual, and carried to the General Fund. The Privilege of franking, or exempting their Letters from the Charge of Poſtage, had been allowed to Members of both Houſes of Parliament, from the legal Eſtabliſhment of the Poſt-Office by Warrants from the Crown; but was allowed, and put under proper Regulations, by Stat. 4. Geo. III. Cap. 24. In the ſucceeding Year this important Eſtabliſhment was again reviewed, and improved by Stat. 5 Geo. III. Cap. 25. This Act, proceeding on the Baſis of Queen Anne's Law, extends the Bounds of the Poſt Office in America, reduces and regulates anew the Rates of Poſtage, provides for the Security of all Letters and Packets intruſted to this Conveyance, and makes many neceſſary and proper Amendments.

[c] The Romans, improving on the Perſian Model, not only looked upon their Capital as Miſtreſs of the World, to the very Limits of which (according to their Apprehenſions) their Roads had been ſtretched. They went yet farther; they held their whole Dominions to be an Extenſion only of their City, and theſe prodigious military Ways, no more than ſo many lengthened Streets of Rome. With at leaſt equal Propriety may this Idea be adapted to our own Country. By the Valour of our People, the Wiſdom of our Counſels, and the Bleſſing of PROVIDENCE on both, our Empire is as extenſive as we need wiſh, through which the Directions of Government and the Applications of Subjects circulate with regular Facility; the Correſpondence of all who are concerned in Commerce is carried on with uniform Freedom and Certainty; and, whenever diſpoſed to return from her moſt diſtant Dominions, the Mother Country communicates to her Children all the Rights of Citizens. Britain therefore is truly, in reſpect to her Provinces, the Seat of Empire, the Center of Commerce, and the Haven of Repoſe.

[d] The Convenience of a regular Correſpondence was abſolutely requiſite to Trade, and from thence the Condition of the one indicates in a great Degree the State of the other. Some Hints on this Head ſhall be given; but the Accounts of the Poſt-Office, which would ſet the Point in a clear Light, are not in a private Perſon's Power. When Mr. Edmund Prideaux was Inland Poſtmaſter, A. D. 1644. he was ſuppoſed to collect about Five thouſand Pounds per Annum. The Parliament farmed the Poſts, A. D. 1654. to Mr. Manley (Scobell. 358.) at 10,000 l. After the Reſtauration, A. D. 1664. Daniel O'Neale, Eſq; farmed them (Stat. 15 Car. II. Cap. 14.) at Twenty-one thouſand Five hundred Pounds. In A. D. 1674 they were let (Chamberlayne's Preſent

with the ſame Clearneſs of Evidence, can ſcarce be accompliſhed any other Way.

As ſafe and ſpacious Roads by Land are in many reſpects highly commodious, ſo thoſe Conveyances, which the Chineſe call emphatically WATER-WAYS, are of equal Utility and Convenience, and are even ſuperior in Point of Cheapneſs and Facility. The Three famous navigable Rivers in South Britain, Thames, Severn, and Trent, afforded in all Ages ſuch apparent Proofs of this, and the Benefits derived from them were ſo numerous and ſo obvious, that thro' a long Series of Years they were conſidered as abſolutely perfect in their natural State, ſo that no farther Attention was paid to them, than was requiſite to keep them free from Incumbrances, and for the Preſervation of their Fiſh. But when the Eyes of the Nation came to be gradually opened in reſpect to Commerce, it was diſcerned that, fine, pleaſant, and profitable as theſe Rivers were, they might be made ſtill more ſo by the removing ſome Defects [e]. This being done with Succeſs, occaſioned a ſerious Conſideration of the Condition which other Rivers were in, from Shallows in ſome Places, the Riſing of their Beds from injudicious Cuts, their being incumbered with Rocks, Stones, or Rubbiſh, and other natural or accidental Impediments, by which they were rendered unfit for Navigation.

THE Conſequence of this was, the forming many Projects for removing theſe Inconveniencies, as manifeſtly appears by various Conceſſions from

Preſent State) at Forty-three thouſand Pounds. At the Acceſſion of King James, A. D. 1685, the Poſts were eſtimated (Stat. 1 Jac. II. Cap. 12.) at Sixty-five thouſand Pounds. All theſe ſeem to be the net Produce. At the Revolution, A. D. 1688, the groſs Amount was Seventy-ſix thouſand Three hundred and Eighteen Pounds. In A. D. 1697 it was, according to Dr. Davenant, Ninety thouſand Five hundred and Five Pounds. In A. D. 1710 the Stat. 9 Annæ ſays they were One hundred and Eleven thouſand Four hundred and Sixty-one Pounds. In A. D. 1715 the groſs Amount of the Inland Office came to One hundred and Forty-five thouſand Two hundred and Twenty-ſeven Pounds. In A. D. 1744 the ſame amounted to One hundred and Ninety eight thouſand Two hundred and Twenty-ſix Pounds. But the total groſs Amount of both Inland and Foreign Offices (which can alone demonſtrate the Extenſion of our Correſpondence) was that Year Two hundred and Thirty-five thouſand Four hundred and Ninety-two Pounds; and Twenty Years after, viz. A. D. 1764, the groſs Amount was Four hundred and Thirty-two thouſand and Forty-eight Pounds.

[e] In order to ſet this in a proper Light, it will be ſufficient to remark, the noble River of Thames was navigable from Lechlade to Oxford; and from Bercot, Seven Miles below Oxford, to London. In the Time of James I. the removing this Stop in the Navigation from Oxford to Bercot, which the growing Communication by the River rendered very troubleſome, came to be conſidered as a Thing of Importance. After much Deliberation on the Means, a Law was obtained for this Purpoſe, which however was not carried into Execution. But the great Utility of the Meaſure remaining as obvious as ever, the Attempt was renewed, and the Navigation of theſe Seven Miles gained in virtue of the Powers granted by Stat. 21 Jac. I. Cap. 32. which hath proved highly beneficial, by bringing the Produce of ſeveral Counties to this Metropolis, and making them Returns of various Neceſſaries from hence.

the Crown, in order to facilitate ſuch Deſigns; which however, from a Variety of Cauſes, were attended in general with little Effect[f]. In Proceſs of Time Applications of the ſame Sort (for the Idea of their Expediency ſtill ſubſiſted) were made to the Legiſlature, and ſeveral Laws paſſed, and large Powers were given, for this excellent Purpoſe. But even theſe were attended with rather leſs Succeſs than might have been expected, from a Concurrence of ſiniſter Accidents, to ſome or other of which many of theſe well-intended Undertakings were found in their Progreſs to be unluckily expoſed[g]. But however ſome of them happily ſucceeded, which, by the local Advantages they produced, abundantly proved the wonderful Utility of ſuch Endeavours, and were in many other reſpects attended with the moſt beneficial Effects[h]. As, upon reviewing them, it ſeems highly probable that ſeveral Attempts of this Kind miſcarried, from their being prematurely undertaken, before there was a ſufficient Fund of Wealth for the Support of ſuch expenſive Improvements, the Profits of which were in ſome Degree contingent, and perhaps alſo before domeſtick Correſpondence

[f] There are many Inſtances of theſe in the 19th Tome of Rymer's Fœdera, particularly one in p. 686, impowering Commiſſioners to render the River Wey navigable to its Fall into the Thames. It is evident from the Commiſſion, that this River had been navigable in former Times (which might be the Caſe with others) but was grown foul and choaked at this time, which Impediments the Commiſſioners were directed to remove. This was effectually done thro' the Care and Induſtry of that eminent and worthy Patriot Sir Richard Weſton of Sutton Place, whom we have already celebrated for his excellent Treatiſe on Brabant Huſbandry, which Samuel Hartlib publiſhed. This hath been exceedingly beneficial to Surry, and to ſome Parts of the adjacent Counties, but more eſpecially to the ancient Town of Guildford, and this contributed to keep up the Deſire of improving Rivers, notwithſtanding ſome Attempts failed.

[g] We may collect this from various renewed Acts, and others for enlarging the Powers formerly granted. Indeed nothing can be more difficult than to calculate the Expence which may be requiſite in ſuch Undertakings, in proportion to which the Duty or Tonage paid the Proprietor or Proprietors is fixed. The Conſtruction of Locks is troubleſome, and at the ſame time chargeable, ſubject to continual Repairs, and, from a Variety of Cauſes, often incertain. From hence it hath ſometimes happened, that, after an Act obtained, it hath been many Years before the Works have been commenced for carrying it into Execution. In the Caſe of Worſley Brook in Lancaſhire, for making which navigable an Act paſſed 10 Geo. II. Cap. 9. nothing was done at all till the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal was undertaken, and then this Circumſtance being ſtated in the Preamble of the Act, Powers are granted for applying the Water of this and ſome other Brooks for making and ſupporting his Grace's then intended Canal from Worſley to Salford.

[h] In the Firſt Place, we ought to name the River Lea, commonly called Ware River, which falls into the Thames at Blackwall, and in this Point of Light was the firſt River diſtinguiſhed by the Care of the Legiſlature. See Stat. 13 Eliz. Cap. 18. Beſides this, there are Twelve other navigable Streams that ſwell this noble River, and it may be half as many more, which Art and Expence might alſo render navigable. Inſtances of the ſame Kind occur in other Parts of the Kingdom, as of the Avon in the South, which falls into the Sea at Chriſt Church in Hampſhire. The Lugg and Wye in the Weſt, which fall into the Severn. The Aire and Calder in the North, which, after their Junction, fall into the Ouſe, and with it into the Humber, by which Rivers (ſince they were rendered navigable) the Manufactures of Leeds, Wakefeild, &c. find a ſpeedy, ſafe, and ſhort Paſſage to the Port of Hull.

had acquired ſuch a Conſiſtency, as to make Plans of this Nature appear evidently of ſuch Importance as they really were. It is therefore not at all unlikely that ſeveral of them may be again reſumed and carried into Execution, more eſpecially if we reflect how much better theſe Things are now underſtood, and how many new-invented Methods have been of late Years introduced, which may be applied to bring them to Perfection, or at leaſt to that Degree of Perfection of which they are capable.

But, beſides theſe, there are other Conveyances by Water, that in the Light in which they are here conſidered certainly deſerve Notice. It hath been frequently and very truly obſerved, that South Britain may be ſo interſected in Seven or perhaps more Places, by the Junction of Rivers, as to produce a regular inland navigable Correſpondence between the Ports upon the Eaſt and Weſt Seas. A Thing of ſuch viſible Importance and Utility, and at the ſame time ſo apparently practicable, that we may juſtly wonder it hath continued ſo long in Contemplation, without being carried into Execution [i]. In North Britain, ſince this Work hath been in the Preſs, the Junction of the Clyde and Forth is actually and effectually undertaken; and the Interſection of that Part of the Iſland between Inverlochy and Inverneſs is ſo apparently feaſible, that, as hath been already ſhewn, it might with little Labour and at no great Expence be at any time accompliſhed [k]. In

[i] The Correſpondence between London and Briſtol being very expenſive by Land, and tedious by Sea, it was natural to endeavour at finding ſome Means of leſſening at leaſt, if not removing theſe Inconveniencies. In order to this, it was propoſed to make uſe of the Avon which runs to Briſtol, and the Kennet which falls into the Thames; but it does not appear this ever went farther than Speculation. In the Reign of Charles II. a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, to unite, by a new Cut from Lechlade, the Thames with the Avon that paſſes through Bath. Captain Yarranton propoſed the ſame Thing, by uniting the Thames by the Charwell, to the Avon by the Stour, and ſo to the Severn, with only Eight Miles of Land Carriage. It ſeem'd neceſſary to mention theſe, becauſe it may become requiſite to review and fix on ſome one of them, in a future Seaſon, when, in conſequence of a Method to be hereafter explained, a Communication ſhall be accompliſhed between Hull, Liverpool, and Briſtol. For, in that Caſe, ſome ſuch Communication by Water will be neceſſary to maintain that Intercourſe between the midland Counties and the Capital, which is of ſo great Conſequence to both.

[k] It is not to be doubted that theſe direct Canals between the Two Seas will be of great and general Uſe. That which is now carrying on between the Forth and Clyde will, in its Progreſs, as well as when finiſhed, evince this. The Number of People employed in the Work muſt occaſion a great Conſumption, and of courſe encourage the raiſing Proviſions, to the no ſmall Emolument of the Landholders. They will receive a Conſideration for cutting through their Lands; in other Words, a Premium for ſuffering their Eſtates to be improved. By the very Cutting, the various Strata will be made known, and probably ſeveral valuable Foſſils diſcovered that otherwiſe would never have been diſcloſed. Many who come as Labourers, will ſettle there and become Inhabitants; and the Sums of Money which this great Work will coſt muſt be ſpent in and gradually circulate through this Country, which will have a very viſible as well as beneficial Effect on the Lands and the People by that time it is finiſhed. A Circumſtance of prodigious Conſequence conſidered in a national Light, as it will put it immediately and effectually in their Power to improve all the local Advantages this Canal muſt neceſſarily produce.

reference to artificial Canals, there have been ſeveral, and thoſe too very conſiderable in this Country, made at different Times, for different Purpoſes, and by different Nations. As for Inſtance, Cardike or Caer Dike by the Romans; moſt probably in the Days of Agricola, Forty Miles in Extent, connecting the Rivers Nyne and Witham, which the Remains of it, ſtill viſible, ſhew to have been Twenty Yards in Breadth, and which ſerved for conveying Corn and other Proviſions between their Stations in Northamptonſhire and Lincolnſhire [l]. Offdike or Offa's Dike, made by the Saxons from Briſtol to Cheſter, of which there are alſo ſome Remains, generally ſuppoſed to have been for Defence againſt the Britons, but which poſſibly might ſerve for other Purpoſes alſo. Foſſdike, cut in the Reign of Henry the Firſt (if in truth it was not Part of the Cardike) for the opening a Communication between Lincoln and York, by the Trent and Humber, which Canal, now ſtiled a River, is about Seven Miles in Extent [m].

ADD to theſe, as we may very juſtly, the more modern Navigations through the Fens, which are large, commodious, and extenſive, of the ſame Kind with thoſe in Holland, of ſome Canals in France, and even of thoſe in China, though inferior more eſpecially to the laſt, the greateſt Part of the Traffick of that mighty Empire being carried on, and that too with much Facility and Safety, by theſe WATER ROADS [n]. If therefore we have

[l] What is ſaid of this noble Canal, which does ſo much Honour to the Romans, in the Text, is from Moreton's Natural Hiſtory of Northamptonſhire, p. 513—515. But the very ingenious Dr. Stukeley, in his Medallic Hiſtory of Carauſius, p. 123, 125, 138, 149, 160, 168, 188, 198, 202, gives a much larger, and which ſeems to be no improbable, Account of this Roman Canal, which he thinks derives its Name from Carauſius, not from his making, but repairing, ſcouring, and enlarging it. According to this Gentleman, he founded the City of Granta, out of which Cambridge aroſe, and, beginning a Canal from thence, joined it to this, and brought down thereby prodigious Quantities of Grain, from the fertile Corn Counties, for ſupplying the Gariſons. He alſo maintains, that he continued it on from Lincoln to Torkſay, where falling into the Trent, the Navigation was carried to the very Extremity of the Roman Province. Though the greateſt Part of this Canal be either filled or grown up, yet in ſome Places it is ſtill viſible and full of Water, the raiſed Road running by it is alſo very apparent. This Affair, to which our old Antiquaries were Strangers, deſerves to be more exactly inquired into.

[m] It did not ſeem neceſſary to take Notice, in the Text, of thoſe artificial Creeks made by Cuts into Rivers, as at Beverley in Yorkſhire, becauſe of this we have already ſpoken, Vol. I. p. 174, 175. or of that at Chicheſter, which is exceedingly convenient to this ſmall neat City, which carries on a very great Trade in Grain, and in ſome Years hath exported Thirty thouſand Quarters. I will take this Opportunity of adding, that a Propoſition was once made to the City of York, of reſtoring its ancient Honour as a Sea Port, by cutting a ſtrait and capacious Canal into the Humber, through which Veſſels of conſiderable Size might have come up from the Sea directly, which muſt have been highly advantageous in many reſpects to this ancient, famous, and well-ſeated City, which certainly deſerves to be embelliſhed and improved, as well as reſpected and admired.

[n] As our great Roads over all Europe came in the Place of military Ways made by the Romans, ſo their Canals ſerved as Models for Ours. Suetonius (in Claudio, Cap. i.) ſpeaks in Admiration

have been later in more generally adopting this Mode, it may be aſcribed to a Variety of Cauſes; ſuch as our having many other Ways of Communication, leſs adapted to thoſe Regions, our Country being not of ſo large Extent as to render this Method indiſpenſably neceſſary, and the cutting ſuch Paſſages through the Lands of private Perſons being leſs agreeable to the Nature and Spirit of our Government. But when, through an Alteration in the State of our Trade, our Manufactures, and our Circumſtances, ſuch Communications appeared to be really neceſſary, there could no reaſonable Doubt be entertained of their being found exceedingly practicable, as very few Improvements have been made in other Parts of Europe, which, under proper Management, ſupported by ſteady Perſeverance, we have not been able to introduce here, and this very often with ſuperior Advantages to thoſe which were our Models. A Circumſtance that ought to be ever remembered as a juſt and rational Encouragement to new Undertakings of every Kind, provided they are of national Utility °.

These Obſervations are exceedingly material to the forming diſtinct and accurate Notions of our lateſt Improvements, which can never be obtained

miration of the Canal made by Druſus, which diverted the Waters of the Rhine into the Yſſel. The Junction of the Meuſe and Rhine, by a Canal Twenty-three Miles in Length, was made by Corbulo (Tacit. Annal. Lib. xi.) to avoid a Paſſage by Sea, and at the ſame time to employ the Troops. Hence theſe Water Communications have been ſo much eſteemed and practiſed in the Low Countries and the United Provinces, where the Making and Management of them is perfectly well underſtood. In France the Canal of Briare unites the Loire and the Seine. It is Thirty-three Miles in Extent, and is of great Utility in facilitating the Correſpondence of the Capital with the Provinces, to their mutual Benefit. It was begun in the Reign of Henry IV. and finiſhed under the Direction of Cardinal Richelieu. It hath Forty-two Locks, for paſſing each of which the Proprietors receive a ſmall Duty, which is doubled or even trebled in Exigencies of State, and the advanced Duties let to Farm for the Benefit of the Crown. The Canal of Orleans joins the ſame Rivers, but it is ſhorter, and hath only Twenty Locks. Almoſt every City and great Town in China, not immediately ſeated on a Lake, a River, or a Canal, hath a navigable Cut into one or other of them, by which they are plentifully ſupplied with Fiſh and all Kinds of Water Fowl, and have a cheap and conſtant Communication with their Neighbours. The grand Canal which paſſes from Canton to Pekin, in a ſtrait Line is upwards of Eight hundred Miles in Length, having Seventy-five Locks, and Forty-one fine Cities on its Banks. The Emperor hath near Ten thouſand Veſſels thereon, for tranſporting Proviſions, Manufactures, and the Tributes of the Provinces to his Courts. Kircheri Chin. Illuſtr. lib. v. Navaret. lib. i. cap. 19. Le Comte, tom. i. p. 150. Gemelli Carreri, lib i. c. 5. Du Halde, tom. ii. p. 186.

° Innumerable Inſtances might be produced in Support of this Propoſition. In reſpect to Minerals, a Premium brought to Light Cobalt, which, without a Premium, hath been alſo diſcovered in North Britain. It was a Reproach caſt on this Country, that it would not produce Hops or Corn in Plenty. Experience ſhews, without Cauſe. It was ſaid a Century and an Half ago, that we could have no good Horſes; we have now as fine a Breed as any in Europe. In the former Note we have enumerated moſt Sorts of Water Communication, and in the Courſe of this Chapter it will manifeſtly appear that we have already many, and may have them all, ſo far as is expedient for the Size and Condition of this Country. It is indeed true, that Canals for carrying on Inland Navigation are new and lately introduced, ſo as not to warrant great Commendations, but the Proſpect is fair, and why ſhould we not enjoy it?

but

but by conſidering maturely the Natures of them reſpectively, the Time wherein, and the Circumſtances under which, they were entered upon or accompliſhed; for theſe will ſet many Things in a clear and true Point of Light, which muſt have been otherwiſe left in Obſcurity, for want of Room to enter into long Diſcuſſions, by this means rendered unneceſſary, becauſe every Reader's own Reflection will point out ſuch Cauſes as muſt effectually anſwer that End p. The Superiority of Water over Land Carriage, where the former is intirely free and perfect in its Nature, is ſo great, that it was never diſputed; and to the Advantages ariſing from this alone, ſeveral Places owe that flouriſhing State in which they are and have been for Ages, the Uſe of this Navigation being at all times ſelf-evident. But the transferring theſe Benefits, though in ſomewhat an inferior Degree, to Rivers not navigable in a State of Nature, could be no otherwiſe effected than by the Interpoſition of Art, invited thereto from the Views of Utility and Profit q. The Fen Navigations were in a great meaſure the Reſult of Situation, and perhaps from that Circumſtance held to be impracticable in any other. We have however of late ſeen, as hath happened indeed in other Caſes, that this was not a well-founded Concluſion r.

p It hath been already remarked, that one Kind of Induſtry, and one Species of Improvement, makes Way for another. When Property was rendered ſecure, Agriculture became an Art, which was a Drudgery before. When Intereſt took Place of Uſury, Trade reared its Head. As the Rate of Intereſt was reduced, it began to expand. As Wealth diffuſed, Manufactures were every-where introduced; but they continued only to creep, till Credit gave them Wings. Commerce ſpread abroad, Plantations were ſettled, Britain took the Lead. She defended the Liberties of Europe, the Nations confided in her publick Faith; her Empire grew, her Traffick extended with it. Induſtry increaſing, required freſh Aids. New Ports were opened, old ones improved, theſe demanded new Roads; and national Vigour ſtill ſwelling, Inland Navigations are become neceſſary to promote univerſal Connection through the Syſtem.

q Theſe cannot be always intimately and effectually united. When a River is rendered ſo far navigable, as that Veſſels laden can paſs through it, and the Freight and Lock Duties are conſiderably inferior in their Amount to Land Carriage, Proprietors ſeldom incline to ſpend more Money to render the Paſſage (even where that is practicable) ſtill more commodious, which would be nevertheleſs advantageous to the Publick. This, as Things ſtand at preſent, is an Evil that ſcarce admits of Remedy. On the other Side, publick Benefit is ſo much the Object of the Legiſlature, that the Duties are often ſo limited, as to conſtrain the Proprietor not to carry his Improvements beyond what thoſe Duties will bear, and from one or other of theſe many of thoſe Defects ariſe, which are, though very unjuſtly, charged in general upon River Navigations.

r In China they have a Tradition, that in very early Ages their whole Country was overflowed, drained by Dint of Labour, a great Part of the Water either confined to Lakes, or carried into the Sea, and the reſt diſpoſed in the Canals which interſect that Empire. In the United Provinces the ſame Cauſe hath produced the ſame Effects, in reſpect to Dikes and Canals. In Ireland they alſo have a Tradition, that the Marſhes aroſe there from an Extravaſation of Rivers, which renders Improvements of this Kind very eaſy in that Iſland. This being viſibly the Caſe likewiſe in our Fens, might very well eſtabliſh an Opinion, that only ſuch a Soil was capable of ſuch Communications; and this once prevailing, prevented any Attempts in our Inland Counties to procure Conveniences, of the Want of which their Inhabitants were however ſufficiently ſenſible.

A NOBLE-

A Nobleman of the First Rank formed a Design of making a Canal from Worsley Bridge to Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, for the carrying thither his Coals; which not being barely for his own, but also for the publick Benefit, an Act of Parliament passed in Anno Domini 1759, to enable him to undertake this Work, with all the proper Clauses for securing the Advantages that had been proposed to the Community. After the Canal was actually begun, it was thought practicable to carry it over the River Irwell upon Arches, and so over Trafford Mos to Longford Bridge, which made another Act necessary; and such a Law being obtained, this stupendous Work was carried into effectual Execution [s]. The Value of this Mode of Navigation came from thence to be better understood, and the very extensive Uses to which it might be applied were more clearly comprehended. In consequence of these Discoveries it was determined to carry the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal over the Rivers Mersey and Bolland, and to continue it to that Part of the River Mersey, over-against the Hemp Stones, in the County of Chester, where that River is naturally navigable, and the Passage consequently open to Liverpool. The Powers requisite for the Performance of this made a Third Act necessary, which, upon the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Country through which the proposed Canal was to pass, and who were to be benefited by it, was likewise obtained, the Duke taking upon himself the whole Expence, and this without demanding any Augmentation of Tonage [t].

This

[s] We owe many of our national Benefits to happy Experiments, and the Consequences that have unexpectedly followed them; and we might have owed more, if all our Artists had been endowed with Mr. Brindley's Sagacity, and their Patrons with the Perseverance and publick Spirit of the Duke of Bridgewater. The original Scheme of the Canal was, to carry it from Worsley to Salford near Manchester, both on the same Side of the River Irwell, as the First Act of Parliament shews. But when this Design was changed, and the Second Act obtained for carrying the Canal over the River by Barton Bridge, which implied a Necessity of raising the low Ground to preserve the Level, and to carry the Canal over Roads, and in a Variety of Directions, it was by the People in the Country generally concluded impracticable. But when, by Resources equally singular and extraordinary, this was effected, and the Canal proceeded in spite of all Obstructions, they changed their Sentiments, and rightly concluded, that by a due Application of Skill, Labour, and Expence, a Canal might be carried on through every Kind of Soil, to any Extent, and without Danger of meeting any insurmountable Obstacle.

[t] Upon perusing this Act, it will appear, that, in granting Powers to his Grace, the Legislature kept publick Utility in View, and provided that all the Benefits proposed by this new Navigation should be effectually secured. Strict Regard is paid to private Property, proper Means assigned for speedy Decision in case of any Disputes, and, which deserves particular Notice, the Completion of the Work is limited to a short Term. It is asserted, that Two thousand Ton of Goods went annually by Land Carriage from Liverpool to Manchester, at the Rate of between Thirty and Forty Shillings per Ton, that is, to the Amount of at least Three thousand Pounds per Annum. On the Duke's Canal they must be carried for Six Shillings, Freight and Tonage included, that is, the Whole for Six hundred Pounds. The First Bend of this Canal passing in the Neighbourhood of Altrincham in Cheshire, saves the Carriage of Coals and other heavy Goods Thirteen Miles by Land through very bad Roads. By the Act, all Manure for Lands, and all Materials

This unexpected Extenſion of the Canal, which, from a Thing of private Convenience, was now become a Work of ſo much publick Utility both to Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, very naturally excited a Spirit of Emulation in the Inhabitants of the adjacent Counties; the trading and manufacturing Part of which eſpecially ſaw the Importance of this new Water-Carriage, they felt their own Wants, and, after mature Conſideration, conceived they might in the ſame Way be relieved. This, upon due Deliberation, produced an Application to Parliament for the Powers they judged neceſſary for cutting a navigable Canal from Wildon Bridge in Derbyſhire, to run Weſtward into Staffordſhire, and then proceeding North to join the Duke's Canal at Preſton Bridge, and to terminate therewith by falling into the Merſey at Runcorn Gap in Cheſhire [u]. An Act accordingly paſſed for this Purpoſe Anno Domini 1766; and the very ſame Year, ſo prevalent was the Deſire of promoting theſe Inland Navigations, that an Act likewiſe paſſed for the making another Canal, from between Bewdley and Tillon Brook in Worceſterſhire to Haywood Mill in Staffordſhire. By theſe Canals a Conjunction will be effected between the Severn and the Trent, and of both with the Merſey, ſo that conſequently a Communication will be opened between the Ports of Briſtol, Liverpool, and Hull [w].

A Scheme

Materials for mending publick Roads, are exempted from Tonage. Theſe Circumſtances ſhew ſome of the Advantages accruing to the Publick from this new Navigation.

[u] One cannot expect clearer Evidence, in Confirmation of what hath been advanced, as to the Facility of introducing any national Improvements into this Country at preſent, than the concerting and undertaking this (commonly ſtiled Earl Gower's) Canal. It concerns immediately the Three Counties of Derby, Stafford, and Cheſter, opens a Communication with Lancaſhire, and may, though remotely, influence the Trade of other Counties. It was ſeveral Years in Contemplation, and, after repeated Surveys, Two of the ableſt Judges declared, that no Tract of Land in this Kingdom was fitter for Inland Navigation; that it could not be any-where ſo beneficial, or ſo convenient for eſtabliſhing a Communication between the Eaſt and Weſt Seas. It was effectually to anſwer all and each of theſe important Ends, that it was reſolved to begin in the open Navigation of the Trent, and to terminate in like Manner in the Tide-way of the Merſey. By this means the Canal is protracted more than One hundred Miles, and carried through a Diverſity of Soils with incredible Labour. It is ſaid Mr. Brindley undertakes to purchaſe the Lands, conſtruct Locks, make Towing Paths, and erect Bridges, at Seven hundred Pounds a Mile, to Hare Caſtle, where the piercing a Mile through a Hill will demand Ten thouſand Pounds, and a Thouſand Pounds a Mile will be required for the reſt of the Canal. Taking therefore into our View the important Purpoſes to be obtained, the great Extent of the Work, and the immenſe Expence which muſt attend the Execution of it, one may reaſonably hope what hath been ſaid above will be fully juſtified.

[w] It is ſaid in the Text, that the Spirit of Emulation which produced what is called Earl Gower's Canal was natural, as having been long the Subject of Speculation, and which the Duke's Undertaking fully proved might be, if properly ſupported, leiſurely carried into Execution. But the Reſolution of joining to this only intended Canal, another of Half the Extent, from the Severn, was ſingular and extraordinary; a true Feature of that Magnanimity and Spirit of Enterprize which are eſſential to the Engliſh Nation, and to which ſo many great Things in the Courſe of this Work have been juſtly aſcribed. They ſaw diſtinctly the Motives on which this extenſive and expenſive Deſign was undertaken, they judged from the Alacrity of the Subſcribers it would be vigorouſly

A Scheme that would have been thought, and perhaps would have been found impracticable in the preceding Century, and which, all its Circumſtances conſidered, muſt appear aſtoniſhing to our Poſterity. Theſe prodigious Works, now in a Train of Execution, ſhew that we ought not to deſpair of Things of great national Utility, though they may long dwell in the Minds, or only float upon the Tongues of Men. It proves that a ſingle vigorous Attempt will do much more than the moſt ſerious or even the moſt concluſive Arguments. For Facts ſpeak to the Senſes and to the Feelings of Mankind, as well as to their Reaſon. As ſoon therefore as it appeared, that an eaſy and commodious Paſſage could be opened between Mancheſter and Liverpool, all Diffidence and all Difficulties vaniſhed. Surveys were immediately directed; and, as ſoon as they were perfected, Subſcriptions chearfully followed, the Nobility and Gentry expreſſing the warmeſt Zeal in riſquing their private Property for the publick Service. But then this Zeal was according to Knowledge; they were clearly convinced of the Utility of the Undertaking; and they ſaw, without ſuffering any Uneaſineſs, that Time, Labour, and Expence, muſt purchaſe them thoſe Benefits this new Navigation was to beſtow; and therefore what in Days of leſs Induſtry, leſs Commercial Spirit, and, let us add, leſs Opulence, would have been held inſuperable Obſtacles, did not at all deter them from purſuing ſo great and ſo glorious a Deſign.

WHAT the actual Advantages, that will be derived from theſe Canals when finiſhed, may be, Time and Experience only can determine; but upon what reaſonable Expectations they have been ſo ſteadily as well as ſtrenuouſly ſupported, is incumbent upon me to report, in order to juſtify the Pains taken about them in this Work [x]. It is a vaſt Tract of Country through

vigorouſly carried on; and they clearly comprehended all the Conſequences that would attend its being completed. They therefore very prudently contrived to loſe no Time in beginning a Canal of Communication, by which they might participate in all theſe Advantages, and at the ſame Time, to this free Intercourſe between Liverpool, Mancheſter, and Hull, add an open Navigation through Staffordſhire and Worceſterſhire, by the Severn, to the opulent Port of Briſtol.

[x] In reſpect to Inland Navigations, they are intirely artificial, whereas Rivers made navigable are only ſo in part. For this Reaſon the former are more expenſive, amounting ſometimes to upwards of a Thouſand Pounds a Mile, and therefore great Circumſpection is requiſite in the Choice of the Grounds through which they are to paſs. It is alledged in their Favour, that they are carried on more directly, by which becomes the Paſſage ſhorter; that they are free from Currents, exempt from Floods, are not impeded by Shallows, which renders the Navigation more regular and certain; that fewer Locks are requiſite; and that the Ground for them may be more properly choſen, by which Delay is avoided, and that Horſes draw Boats on them with Expedition, and with Eaſe. In reſpect to what is called Earl Gower's Canal, it is propoſed, that it ſhall be Twelve Feet wide at Bottom, in moſt Places Three Feet, at the Fords no more than Thirty Inches deep. The Boats to be Seventy Feet in Length, Six in Breadth, and to draw near Thirty Inches Water. Theſe Veſſels will carry about Twenty Tons; and are ſo conſtructed, as, by ſhifting the Rudder, to ſail with either

through which they are to paſs, and not barely one or two, but ſeveral Counties that are to ſhare the Benefit of them, with this remarkable Circumſtance in their Favour, that in no Part of this noble Iſland could ſuch a Communication be of more Uſe, the Number conſidered of large, and many of them manufacturing Towns, in its Vicinity[y]. All Kinds of Proviſions, but more eſpecially Grain, will by their means be rendered cheaper, and kept to a more equal Price. For by furniſhing Manure from great Diſtances at a low Rate, and giving a quick Carriage even to remote Markets, the Canal will excite an active Spirit of Cultivation, and the Certainty of obtaining a ſpeedy Supply at a ſmall Expence will render an unreaſonable Riſe of Corn, where it has been in Times paſt frequently and fatally experienced, for the future in a great meaſure impracticable. Many bulky, but at the ſame time very uſeful Commodities, ſuch as Flint, Free, Lime, Mill, Grinding, and Paving Stones, Marl, Slate, Coals of different Kinds, Marble, Alabaſter, Iron Ore, will find a much eaſier and cheaper Paſſage, and of courſe reach many more and thoſe too better Markets, than they can be carried to, circumſtanced as they are at preſent.

FREQUENT Additions will probably be made to theſe natural Riches from the Diſcoveries that muſt ariſe from the cutting through a Variety of Soils in the Progreſs of this great Work, ſome Inſtances of which have occurred already. Beſides, the Staples of theſe ſeveral Counties may be carried farther, in greater Quantities, and be notwithſtanding afforded at lower Rates, ſuch as Timber from different Parts of Lancaſhire, the Salt and Cheeſe

either End foremoſt. As to Equipage, a Man, a Boy, and a Horſe, are to belong to each Boat; and as the Canal will be ſupplied only with Water ſufficient for the Navigation, held up by Locks, and without Stream, the Horſe will without Difficulty draw a Boat, and occaſionally Two or Three of them. From this Account, the real Advantages which will attend this new Mode of Conveyance, more eſpecially for heavy, cumbrous, and yet cheap Commodities, is ſufficiently apparent.

[y] The Account of theſe Canals in the Text will not convey a proper Idea of their Utility, without taking in the Feaſibility and Facility of their Extenſion, upon which it in a great meaſure depends. In order to comprehend this clearly, we muſt recollect the grand Canal of China, the nobleſt Model of Inland Navigation in the World. The primary Object of that is, connecting Canton with the Capital; but what renders it of univerſal Benefit are, the Cuts made into it from every City and great Town. Our Canals, as deſcribed in the Text, ſhew that their primary Object of opening an inland navigable Communication between Briſtol, Liverpool, and Hull, ſo long wiſhed and ſo little expected but Forty Years ago, will, when they ſhall be completed, be abſolutely attained. A Thing no doubt of very ſignal and national Importance, which will, notwithſtanding, be in its Value very much enhanced by the Canals joining theſe from numerous trading and manufacturing Towns, ſome of which are mentioned above, all of them ſtanding in need of ſuch a Conveyance to one or more of theſe Ports, and which muſt receive infinite Benefit by ſo cheap, ſo eaſy, ſo commodious, ſo certain, and ſo regular a Correſpondence with each other. With great Reaſon, therefore, have the Gentlemen of Staffordſhire called their Canal THE TRUNK, in Alluſion to the numerous Branches that are expected to ſpring from it. But, beſides theſe, may we not, without pretending to ſee far into Futurity, conjecture that this Spirit of improving by Inland Canals will ſpread into ſeveral other Parts of this Iſland?

of Cheſhire, Earthen-ware from Staffordſhire, numerous Articles from Birmingham, and all the various Manufactures from Mancheſter and other Places, will be relieved from a Variety of Impediments under which they have hitherto laboured. Raw Materials of every Sort will be conveyed with much more Eaſe and Expedition to the ſeveral Towns where they are wrought up, and, when manufactured, will with like Facility be carried to the Ports from which they are uſually ſhipped, either Coaſt-ways to different Parts of this, or into other Countries. Thus Agriculture, Manufactures, domeſtic Trade, foreign Commerce, and every Species of Induſtry ſubſervient to all theſe, will be evidently and in a high Degree promoted by this Inland Navigation, to ſay nothing of the Numbers who will live and be comfortably ſubſiſted by it. It muſt however be acknowleged, that ſome Objections have been made againſt, and ſome Suſpicions ſuggeſted, as to Inconveniencies with which it may be attended [z]. It is but Juſtice to obſerve, that theſe are in their Nature far more incertain, and at the ſame time of much leſs Conſequence, than the Benefits that have been before ſtated, nor would it be at all impoſſible to find Remedies for them even if they ſhould happen.

In the Proſecution of thoſe numerous Improvements that have been made in the Two laſt Centuries, new Inſtruments and a vaſt Variety of Machines became neceſſary, and many ſuch have been invented which have

[z] A ſhort View of the moſt conſiderable of theſe Objections, and the Anſwers given to them, ſeem requiſite to the ſetting this important Object in a proper Point of Light. It is ſaid, that cutting theſe Canals, and thereby dividing cultivated Lands, as well as in other reſpects, is an Injury to private Property. To this it might be anſwered, that under all Governments private Intereſt muſt give Way to publick Utility. But more ſatisfactory Anſwers in this Caſe may be given. Private Intereſt is here conſulted in the very Meaſure purſued for promoting publick Utility. A Senſe of this produced the Petitions on which it is founded, and the Subſcriptions by which it muſt be promoted. Men are not apt to miſtake their own Intereſts, and never concur deliberately in hurting them. Beſides, Compenſations are provided, and every Limitation on the Powers inſerted in the Acts, that could be deviſed, to prevent Grievances in this Particular. It is alleged, that by this very Cutting much Land is waſted and deſtroyed. Let us ſee how far this is founded. A Mile of Canal takes up an Acre and an Half; a Canal of an Hundred Miles, One hundred and Fifty Acres, which is leſs than a Quarter of a Mile ſquare. It is believed it will very much diminiſh Land Carriage. To thoſe who think the Nation ſuffers by our keeping too many Horſes, this will appear an Advantage; thoſe who think otherwiſe, may doubt as to the Fact. They will own, that, in the Firſt Inſtance, Land Carriage between Places ſeated on Canals will be diminiſhed; but as the Trade of theſe Places will be increaſed, the Land Carriage from thoſe to Places not ſeated on Canals muſt increaſe with it; in what Proportion, Time only can determine. It is ſuggeſted, it may interfere with River Navigation. But this can happen but ſeldom, and only by being cheaper, which is an Advantage to the Publick. It is not however impoſſible that Means may be found to improve ſome of theſe River Navigations, ſo as to prevent this Inconvenience. Laſtly, it is apprehended theſe Inland Navigations may hurt the Coaſt Trade. The Event may prove the very reverſe, becauſe by them greater Quantities of Commodities will be conveyed to the Sea-Ports, and of courſe they muſt be ſent to foreign Countries, which will increaſe our Commerce, or Coaſt-wiſe to different Parts of our own.

been here and elſewhere employed with ſo much Succeſs, as to raiſe the Character of our Artiſts to the greateſt Height over all Europe. Our Implements in Agriculture are not more ingenious in their Conſtruction, than ſtrong, neat, and accurate in their Execution, ſo as to be admired and imitated by Foreigners, where-ever that Science, of ſuch general Utility, is encouraged and eſteemed [a]. What is now ſtiled the new Huſbandry, and which has exerciſed the Thoughts and Pens of the ableſt Authors abroad, was the Invention of a practical Farmer here. In regard to Carriages alſo, we at leaſt equal other Nations in the Beauty, Lightneſs, and Convenience of ſome, in the Strength, Utility, and ſkilful Contrivance of others, ſuited for all the Purpoſes in which they can be uſed either for Pleaſure or Profit. In regard to thoſe Machines which act by circular Motion, it is thought the Dutch excel in ſome Kind of Wind Mills; but in reference to thoſe moved by Water, for preparing Metals which are to be uſed in different Manufactures, as well as in ſuch as are uſed in thoſe Manufactures of different Sorts, we ſucceed better than moſt of our Neighbours by their own Confeſſion [b]. In the ſeveral curious and arduous Contrivances requiſite in the Management of Mines, we have little Reaſon to envy them, though theſe are allowed to be Things in their own Nature of the utmoſt Difficulty, and where there is the greateſt Neceſſity for abridging Labour, which

[a] As there are a great Variety of Soils in this Country, ſo very different Ploughs have been invented, ſuited to this Difference in Soils, which hath been of general Utility in Huſbandry, and is one great Reaſon why, in proportion to its Extent, we have in this Kingdom more cultivated Land than in any other Part of Europe. On this Account, ſeveral of them derive their Names from the Places where they are moſt in Uſe, ſuch as the Colcheſter, Lincolnſhire, and Suſſex Ploughs, as alſo the Caxton or Trenching Plough drawn by Twenty Horſes. But the moſt common are the Dray, Single and Double-wheeled Ploughs, and the Four-Coultered Plough, accurately deſcribed and highly commended by the celebrated Tull. The ſame may be ſaid of our Harrows, Hoes, Spades for ſeveral Uſes, &c. Yet are we ſtill much ſhort of abſolute Perfection, ſince the worthy Author of the Eſſays on Huſbandry gives Deſcriptions and Figures of ſeveral Inſtruments which might be introduced from other Countries, and ſome old ones, which, having been inadvertently diſuſed, deſerve therefore to be revived. The ingenious Mr. Young, in his excellent Farmers Letters, delivers his Thoughts on the ſame Subject with equal Intelligence and publick Spirit.

[b] As Metals are amongſt the Staple Commodities of this Country, no Skill or Pains have been ſpared in contriving and improving Machines for reducing them into Forms fit for Sale and Uſe. Of theſe we may reckon the Stamping Mill for Tin Ore, the Forging Mills for making large Iron Bars, the Slitting Mills for dividing theſe; Braſs Battery Works; Plate and Flatting Mills for the finer Metals; Gold and Silver and other Wire Mills, and many more. Yet theſe great, theſe ingenious, theſe expenſive Pieces of Mechaniſm, are only preparatory to Manufactures of different Kinds, in every one of which very many and very curious Machines are employed with ſuch Effect, that not only the fineſt and moſt uſeful Things are made, but are alſo made in ſo ſhort a Space, with ſuch Facility, and in ſuch Quantities, as render them at the Firſt Hand exceedingly cheap, which gives and ſecures Subſiſtence to Multitudes of induſtrious and laborious Workmen.

in moſt other Caſes is unpopular with us[c]. The Dexterity ſhewn in adapting Machines to a Variety of Intentions, which have been introduced in many new Undertakings, that might otherwiſe have proved impracticable, does great Honour as well to this Country, as to the preſent Age.

In nothing hath this been more conſpicuous, than in the laſt-mentioned of our Improvements, that is, the navigable Canals, which have been chiefly conducted by one original Genius, ſo fertile in Reſources, that hitherto no Obſtacles, however formidable, have put a Stop to his Deſigns. He was prepared for his Operations above, by his Knowledge in conducting thoſe under Ground, in the Coal Mines at Worſley, ſo that the Difficulties which occurred in the Progreſs of the Canal, though they appeared new, or rather were ſo in the Sight of others, were not beheld in the ſame Light by him; for his Acquaintance with the Mechanic Powers, and what Experience had taught him of their Effects, produced a Confidence which was held for Temerity till the Event ſhewed it was well founded[d]. But his Works being publickly carried on, their Principles were quickly underſtood, his Reſources became known, and he readily contributing both his

[c] The Profit of Mines depends in a great meaſure on the Expence of working them, in proportion to the Value of the Metal. If no Engines were in Uſe, more Men muſt be employed; but then, from the great Charge attending this, a few, and thoſe only the richeſt, could be wrought. But, as Things now ſtand, Engines diminiſhing much of the Labour, many more Mines are worked, and of courſe more People ſubſiſt by them. For the raiſing Ores out of the Pits, Winlaſſes, Cranes, and Horſe Engines are employed. For raiſing and carrying off Water, they have in the Tin Mines in Cornwall (ſee Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory, p. 169—175) abundance of Contrivances, the Whim, the Ragg and Chain, the Water Wheel and Bobbs; but the beſt, moſt effectual, and therefore uſed in Mines of every Kind, is the Steam or Fire Engine. This, by continual Improvements, is now brought to ſuch Perfection, that, though a very complicated Machine, it in a great meaſure regulates itſelf. It would be tedious, if not endleſs, to mention the ſeveral Inventions to anſwer different Purpoſes, and to remedy particular Inconveniences which are to be met with in almoſt every conſiderable Mine in theſe Kingdoms.

[d] In the Coal Mines which extend very far under the Hills at Worſley, he had practiſed many of theſe Methods afterwards transferred to the Canal. For after bringing the Coals from the Places where they were hewn in little Waggons, carrying a Ton each, eaſily puſhed by a Man down an inclined Plain to a flat Stage, he cauſes them to be ſhot from thence into Boats, on a ſubterranean Canal of Water raiſed out of the Mine, with a Rail on each Hand, by the Help of which a Man draws Five, Six, or more of them, each of the Burthen of Seven Tons, more than a Mile to the Mouth of the Mine, and, being there received into a capacious Stone Reſervoir, from thence is conveyed, carrying the Boats with it, into the open Canal that goes to Mancheſter. The vaulted Roof of this ſubterraneous Canal is ſupported in ſome Places by a Brick Arch, but is in moſt ſuſtained by the natural Rock through which it is cut. In the ſeveral Operations requiſite to the cutting and extracting the Coals, this great Diſciple of Nature hath ſhewn his Sagacity in a Multitude of new invented or much improved Machines, ſuch as portable Cranes for removing of Stones, an Overſhot Mill which gives Motion to a Wheel Eight Yards in Circumference, which, beſides driving Three Pair of Stones for grinding Corn, and a Boulting Mill of curious Conſtruction, ſerves alſo for making Mortar. Add to all this, his having taught a new Method of making a Fire Engine, by which Two Thirds of the Expence is diminiſhed (uſually Five hundred Pounds) by making Cylinders of Deal inſtead of Caſt Metal, and Chains of Wood, which are found to anſwer better than thoſe of Iron.

Advice

Advice and his Aſſiſtance, we ſee them extended under his Direction with equal Spirit and Succeſs. There is little Doubt to be made, that whenever theſe great Works ſhall be completed, and their Conſequences evidently diſplayed, they will be imitated in many Places. As little Reaſon is there to queſtion, that though this, like moſt new Undertakings, appeared ſingular and ſurpriſing, yet, when thoroughly inveſtigated, it may be diſcovered, that theſe Water Conveyances [e], or at leaſt ſome of the new Machines employed about them, are capable of being applied to other advantageous Ends, eſpecially in ſo inquiſitive and enterpriſing an Age as this, when every Attempt to promote publick Utility is not only ſure of meeting with favourable Notice, but likewiſe, in proportion as it appears to be practicable, of Encouragement and Support.

With all theſe pregnant Advantages, there cannot ſurely be the leaſt Doubt made, that we have from the Commencement of the preſent Century rendered this noble Country much better than it was, and brought large Quantities of Land, which is the beſt Proof of national Improvement, into Cultivation. At that Period, if we may credit the beſt Judges, it was computed that One Quarter of it was almoſt abſolutely waſte, and near Half as much more but in a little better Condition [f]. If this Kingdom was then in that State, the other two were certainly in a much worſe, though all of them, even then, in a State of Improvement, in compariſon to what they had been in the Courſe of the preceding Century, during which however conſiderable Efforts had been made. Of the Truth of all this, there wanted not ſufficient Evidence to convince any candid and conſiderate Inquirer. From the ſame Kind of Evidence, that is, from the Income and

[e] It is not improbable, that by the Help of ſuch Canals running on the Sides of Hills, and thereby intercepting the Waters of Springs which diſcharge on the lower Grounds, conſiderable Tracts of marſhy Lands might be converted into fine Meadows. By diverting ſuch Springs, and taking ſome inconſiderable Streams into ſuch Canals, poſſibly a Remedy might be found for that Deficiency of Water, which is the chief Cauſe of the Difficulties occurring in Rivers rendered navigable by Art, or at leaſt the Number of Locks in them might by this means be diminiſhed. The Junction of navigable Rivers by the Intervention of ſuch Canals hath been long eſteemed practicable, and one may with a Degree of Probability conjecture, that in no great Space of Time ſomething of this Kind will be undertaken, for the Expediency of which many Reaſons might be offered.

[f] In the Computations by Mr. King, referred to in the Text, the Number of Acres in England is fixed at Thirty-nine Millions, and no more than Twenty-one Millions allowed for both Arable and Paſture Lands. Half a Million is aſſigned for High Roads, Foot-paths, and uſeleſs Waſtes; Ten Millions for Heaths, Moors, and barren Lands, valued at Twelve Pence an Acre; and Three Millions more for Foreſts, Parks, and Commons. This Gentleman had great Opportunities of making and of correcting his Calculations, by having recourſe to the publick Accounts of Hearth Money and other Taxes, which now no longer ſubſiſt. Dr. Davenant, and other political Writers, reaſon upon his Computations, and declare them, as far as they could diſcern, to be very conſiſtent and exact; but this muſt be underſtood with a Degree of Latitude, as preciſe Exactneſs is not to be hoped for in ſuch Computations.

Produce of Eſtates, the general Face of the Country, the apparent Condition and Circumſtances of all Ranks of People, together with the Income and Expences of the Publick, it is inconteſtable that numerous and great Improvements have been made, though it would be no eaſy Matter to bring theſe under any ſatisfactory Form of Calculation g.

But this wonderful Improvement hath been effected in different Ways, for of what was then cultivated there was much capable of Melioration; there were more Foreſts, Woods, Coppices, than there are now, beſides wide Tracts of Land that have been brought to yield both Graſs and Corn, which were then underſtood to be uſeleſs and barren. The ſame, though in a leſs Degree, hath unqueſtionably happened in North Britain and Ireland, as the Marks before-mentioned appear viſibly in both Countries, and thoſe Marks are ſuch as cannot poſſibly deceive us h. It no-way derogates from the Truth of this Aſſertion, that there are ſtill very large and conſiderable Spaces of wild and waſte Grounds, and ſeveral Hills, Mountains, and Moors, that are very ſuſceptible of Cultivation; for theſe, whatever their Extent, are but the Remains of what formerly were much more frequent, and ſerve to put us in Mind of what muſt have been the Caſe when even this beſt cultivated Part of the Iſland was in the State before-mentioned i.

Theſe

g The ingenious Author of the Eſſays on Huſbandry, P. i. p. 85. computes, that (excluſive of Scotland and Wales) England contains Thirty-four Millions of Acres, and of theſe he conceives there may be Fifteen Millions of Arable Land, and thinks we cannot hope to bring above One Million of Acres more into Cultivation. But if, throwing Wales into the Calculation, we have actually Fifteen Millions of Arable Land, we ſhould in proportion have Twenty Millions of Meadows and Paſtures, for ſurely our Oxen, Sheep, and Horſes are evidently increaſed as much as the Produce of our Arable Land; and, if ſo, we ſhould not have Five Millions of unimproved Acres in all England and Wales. But whoever conſiders the Foreſts, Heaths, Moors, Commons, and Mountains, ſtill viſible in different Parts of the Country, will probably think they amount to more. Theſe Differences may be very well accounted for, if, inſtead of eſtimated or common, we have recourſe to ſquare Statute Miles and Acres, for, according to Dr. Nehemiah Grew's Calculation (ſee Vol. II. p. 6.) there are of ſuch Acres upwards of Forty-ſix Millions in South Britain. After all, there will be much of Conjecture in Things of this Nature; yet from Facts, our having made very large Improvements, as is aſſerted in the Text, is not at all leſs certain.

h In reference to North Britain, we need only to look into the Intereſt of Scotland conſidered, which was written by Mr. Lindſay, Provoſt of Edinburgh (particularly p. 45. 46, 47.) to be informed of the almoſt invincible Bars to the Improvement of Agriculture in that Country in former Times, and the Cauſes of that Dilatorineſs which appeared in Cultivation, even when thoſe Cauſes were happily removed. In regard to Ireland, conſult, A Collection of Tracts relating to the preſent State of that Iſland, printed for T. Woodward, A. D. 1729, 8vo. In theſe may be ſeen how this Country recovered from a deplorable State of Poverty and Indolence, and with what Vigour and Succeſs Improvements of every Kind were purſued. See alſo the Hiſtories of ſeveral Counties in Ireland, that have been publiſhed. Improvements began there A. D. 1690, in North Britain, about the Commencement of the current Century.

i To form ſome diſtinct Notion of this Matter, let us for a Moment conſider a particular Inſtance. The Weald, that is, the Wild, Foreſt, or Chace, extended from Winchelſea in Suſſex to Rivers

Theſe Remains ſerve likewiſe to encourage that active Spirit of Induſtry which produces publick Emolument, by ſhewing that there is ſtill abundant Room for its Exertion. It may not be amiſs to remark, that at this Juncture theſe unpleaſant Scenes ſtrike us more forcibly from the Conſideration of the highly cultivated Lands in their Vicinity, which not a little deepen the Gloomineſs of the Proſpect, by ſeeming to reproach our Indolence [k]. I ſay ſeeming, becauſe all Things cannot be done at once; and that, notwithſtanding this, Things are really in that improved State which we have aſſerted them to be, will admit of ſome farther Teſtimonies, which it may be proper therefore to produce.

THERE are Two Sorts of Lands, that appear particularly to have been within this Period rendered in a ſuperior Degree beneficial to the Community, from the ſingular Attention that hath been ſhewn to their Improvement. The Firſt Sort are ſuch as have been either wholly or in Part overwhelmed by ſalt or by freſh Waters, ſo as to be more or leſs unprofitable till by Art and Induſtry recovered. The latter, ſuch as from their Situation and Circumſtances had for a long Series of Years been in a leſs advantageous State of Cultivation than that of which they were naturally capable,

Rivers Hill in Kent, a vaſt Tract of Land above One hundred Miles in Length, and about Thirty in Breadth, comprehending nearly Two Millions of Acres. This the Britons called, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, Andrede, i. e. Marvellous, or Coide Andrede, i. e. The Mighty Wood, and the Saxons the Wyeld. It was a rude, uncultivated Waſte, overgrown with Wood; for reclaiming which, the Saxons laid Parcels of it to the Farms in the Neighbourhood, for feeding their Tenants Hogs, being eſteemed unfit either for Arable or Paſture. Many of theſe Diviſions, being Vallies, they ſtiled Denes, and thoſe who brought them into ſome Cultivation gave them their own Names, as Halden, Tenterden, Malden, &c. In Proceſs of Time, and in conſequence of the Cuſtom of Gavelkind, theſe Dens are become by Diviſion and Subdiviſion very ſmall, in compariſon of what they were. The Soil of this whole Tract is much of the ſame Nature, and hath been chiefly improved by Marl, of which they have ſeveral Kinds, and of different Colours. The inquiſitive Reader may find full Information, in regard to this Subject, in a Treatiſe, intituled, "The Inrichment of the Weald of Kent," publiſhed, but not written, by the famous Gervaſe Markham.

[k] As rich, beautiful, and fertile as many of the Lands about this Metropolis at preſent are, the County of Middleſex was formerly over-run with Heath and Wood. Of this, there want not pregnant Proofs at this Day. On the Eaſt lies Epping or Waltham Foreſt; in the Reign of Henry VII. Hackney was in the Foreſt. Stepney, or Stebonheath, ſhews in its Name what once it was. If we croſs the River Lea, we come to Tottenham and Edmonton, Places detached from that great Waſte, of which Enfield Chace is the Remains. Cane Wood, Hornſey, Highgate, and Finchley Common, ſtretch towards the Woods of Northaw and Southaw, and ſhew what they once were, even in their preſent Condition. The Weſt Side of the County is compoſed of the Hundreds of Elthorn and Spelthorn; in the former of theſe lie the Pariſhes of Northolt and Southolt, in the Saxon Language North and South Woods; the latter comprehends Hounſlow Heath, and the Warren of Staines. In the Time of Henry V. St. Giles's Fields were a Wood, in which the Lollards aſſembled. Theſe Facts, at the ſame time they explain and juſtify what is advanced in the Text, may alſo ſerve to convince us, that in Proceſs of Time all theſe Heaths, Woods, and Waſtes now left, will gradually fall into ſome Kind or other of Cultivation.

and

and to which within this Space of Time they have been happily reſtored, as hath been demonſtrated from the Conſequences attending the Change in their Condition. Of both theſe we ſhall treat ſuccinctly, as they are direct and pregnant Inſtances of the Truth of what we have aſſerted [l]. The former are ſuch as we uſually diſtinguiſh by the Name of Fens, Marſhes, Bogs, &c. of which there are conſiderable Quantities both in Great Britain and Ireland. Romney Marſh forms, as we have already ſhewn, and therefore we ſhall not inſiſt upon it here, a very conſiderable and a very profitable Tract of Meadow and Paſture [m]. The wide-ſpread Fens in the Counties of Northampton, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and the Iſle of Ely, make a very large Diſtrict. Thoſe in Somerſetſhire, of which we have likewiſe ſpoken already [n], when added to theſe, may be truly ſaid, more eſpecially if we take in leſſer Spots of the ſame Kind in different Parts of the Kingdom, to be equal in Extent to one of our midling Shires, which renders them in the ſtricteſt Senſe a national Object.

[l] Theſe are the moſt diſtinct, and at the ſame time the moſt inconteſtible Kinds of Improvement, affording, if the Expreſſion may be allowed, ocular Demonſtration of the Advantages they produce. The draining Ten Acres of Fen, or reclaiming Ten Acres of Bog, removes a Nuiſance, and adds ſo much Land to the publick Territory. In this Light, it may be conſidered as the Donation of Induſtry, and as real an Acquiſition as if obtained by Conqueſt. The Produce, and conſequently the Value of Land, raiſed in a conſiderable Degree by the mere Alteration of the Mode of Culture, is a real Acquiſition alſo, and may be regarded as the Preſent of Oeconomy. By Methods like theſe a Country may be extended and improved; but it is by ſuch Methods only that an Iſland can ever be extended and improved, Nature having aſſigned us Bounds that we can paſs no other Way; Bounds, however, by which we are not impriſoned, but defended.

[m] See Political Survey of Great Britain, Vol. I. p. 404, 405. Romney Marſh differs from the Fens in this, that it was not recovered but wreſted from the Sea, and both is and muſt be defended againſt it by ſtrong Banks, and at great Expence. This Difference in their Nature is the Reaſon that, notwithſtanding by Stat. 15 Car. II. Cap. 17. §. 15. all the Laws of Romney Marſh, univerſally allowed to be very wiſely and judiciouſly ſettled, are declared to be incorporated with thoſe of Bedford Level; yet that Corporation could never avail itſelf of ſo much as One of them. We have declared againſt this Manner of Gaining, or, as the old Term is, Winning Land from the Sea, but we as freely own, that Fifty thouſand Acres of fine Feeding Lands, and this Marſh does not amount to leſs, is an Acquiſition, and an Acquiſition of very great Value, and not only ſo, but as the Lands continually improve, and the Climate grows better, their Value is daily increaſing.

[n] We have ſpoken of theſe Somerſetſhire Fens, Vol. I. p. 331, 332, 333, and have mentioned the numerous Advantages that would ariſe from draining them, as well as the Probability there is that they might be drained with Facility. As to leſſer Quantities of theſe wet Grounds, there are more or leſs in the ſeveral Counties of Derby, Eſſex, Glouceſter, Kent, Middleſex, Nottingham, Surry, Suſſex, and York, as appears in Sir William Dugdale's Hiſtory of Imbanking. Many of theſe have been of late Years recovered, and others much improved by Cultivation. Such Grounds, when once brought into a State of bearing Hemp, become highly valuable, and not only yield good Rents, but contribute alſo to employ, and conſequently to maintain, great Numbers of induſtrious Perſons of both Sexes and all Ages, as we have occaſionally ſhewn in the Courſe of this Work.

It is in this Light that the middle Diſtrict, that is, the Moraſſes in Northamptonſhire, &c. uſually ſtiled THE FENS, have been conſidered from the Time of their original Draining under the Auſpice of Government [o]. The Direction and Superintendence of this important Work has been eſpecially committed to a Corporation, who have had the Powers given them by the Crown confirmed, and all their Concerns regulated, as to them ſeem moſt expedient, and at their own Requeſt, by Authority of Parliament. This publick Attention hath within theſe few Years been extended to an entire Review of their Syſtem, making the requiſite Alterations therein, conciliating the proper Methods for Draining and Navigation, which was a Point of equal Difficulty and Importance; giving them Powers to borrow Money, for making their Improvements, to a certain Amount, and with ſingular Advantages; aſſigning the neceſſary Funds for diſcharging thoſe Loans, and in all reſpects affording them whatever Helps and Aſſiſtances they thought fit to demand [p]. By theſe Means, and their conſtant Confidence

[o] Theſe Fens are frequently mentioned by our antient Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians. It ſhould ſeem, from their Accounts, that they were maintained in tolerable good Order under the Direction and Patronage of the Clergy and Monks. For in thoſe Days they had many rich and potent religious Houſes ſcattered through them, ſuch as Peterborough, Ely, Ramſey, Croyland, Thorney, &c. But after theſe were diſſolved, the Eſtates belonging to them coming into private Hands, the Dikes and Drains fell into Decay, and the Country conſequently was overflowed, and reduced gradually into a wretched Condition. It ſeemed then neceſſary that the Legiſlature ſhould interpoſe, as at length it did by Stat. 43. Eliz. Cap. xi. in the Title of which it is ſaid, ſome Hundred thouſand Acres were its Object; this however was not carried into Execution, many, and amongſt them ſome ſenſible Perſons, ſuch as Camden, Britan. p. 361. thinking they ought to be left as they were. King James I. who paſſed Two Laws in favour of Draining, manifeſted however his good Intentions in this reſpect, but proceeded no farther. Charles I. by his Charter dated 10th May, in the 13th Year of his Reign, incorporated the Undertakers for draining the Great Level, with Francis Earl of Bedford at their Head. The Troubles having interrupted this good Work, when there were Thoughts of reſuming it, A. D. 1653, the Oppoſition, which was never ſilent, alledged, that the Fens produced as much in Reeds and Sedge as by expenſive Draining. In Anſwer to this, an Account was taken that Year, by which it appeared, that Wheat, Barley, Oats, Hemp, Flax, &c. on 28,000 Acres of drained Land, yielded 113,600 l. After the Reſtoration, the Corporation for draining Bedford Level was legally ſettled by the wiſe and well-weighed Statute 15 Car. II. Cap. 17. on which ſolid Baſis this important Undertaking hath reſted ever ſince. By Stat. 20 Car. II. Cap. 8. the Manner of taxing Lands for the Maintenance of the Works is fixed in the moſt equitable Manner. The Miſchiefs occaſioned by dividing Commons was remedied by Stat. 1 Jac. II.

[p] The Diſtinction of North, South, and Middle Levels ſeems to have been introduced, with no bad Intention, at the Cloſe of the laſt Century, viz. A. D. 1697, but in Proceſs of Time was productive of great Inconveniencies. A Debt was contracted of near 50,000 l. which bore particularly hard on the North Level, which owed near 19,000l. to the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Lincoln. By Stat. 27 Geo. II. Cap. 19. the Duke and Earl generouſly conſenting, the Debt due to them was remitted, the other Debts liquidated, the North Level exempted from the Debts of the Two others, and they from thoſe of the North Level. By Stat. 27 Geo. II. Cap. the Navigation through the Fens to Peterborough and Lynn is ſettled, which is a fair Precedent in regard to the other Navigations. By Stat. 29 Geo. II. Cap. 9. a Fund is ſettled for diſcharging the

fidence in the Protection of the Legiſlature, their Affairs within this Period have been brought into a very thriving and flouriſhing Condition. In Proof of this we may ſafely appeal to the advanced Income of their Lands, the Growth and Improvement of their Towns, the conſiderable Increaſe of their People, the Augmentation of Trade, and the repairing old and makeing new Roads and other publick Conveniences. Evidences concluſive in all Caſes, but particularly ſo in this, as the Contraſt between their paſt and preſent Condition is not only very conſpicuous, but, which does not always happen, is within Memory likewiſe. We may add to theſe, the ſeveral Applications made within theſe few Years to Parliament, and Acts procured thereby for ſeparate Drainings, which ſhews the increaſing Vigour of this generous Spirit, and a Reſolution in private Perſons to riſque very large Sums for proſecuting ſuch Improvements, by which many Thouſand Acres have been, and many more will be, rendered firm Land and fit for Cultivation [q]. It cannot be doubted but this Succeſs will excite other Applications of a like Kind in reference to the Moraſſes ſcattered through the reſt of this Kingdom [r].

In North Britain, from the Extravaſation of Rivers, Overflowing of Lochs, the Redundance of Springs, and other Cauſes, there are many Marſhes, or, as they uſually ſtile them, Moſſes, in almoſt every Part of

Debts of the South and Middle Levels, amounting to 27,440 l. Bonds given are to be aſſigned without Stamps. Credit reſtrained for the future to 5000l. for the North Level, and 32,000l. for the other Two.

[q] It is of Importance, to ſhew the Truth of what is ſaid in the Text, to remark, that the Great Level of the Fens contains Six hundred thouſand Acres; that a very large Quantity of theſe have been drained and rendered firm and dry Land, to the great Benefit of their reſpective Owners, and that there are (ſometimes intermixed with theſe) conſiderable Tracts not yet ſo completely drained as they might be. The Owners of theſe, ſeeing the Regard ſhewn to the Corporation, have applied to Parliament for the Powers requiſite for Draining at their own Expence. In the Seſſions in the 29th Year of his late Majeſty's Reign, Two ſuch Acts were obtained, in the 30th Four, in the 31ſt Two, in the 32d One, and in the 33d One, by which many Thouſand Acres were to be recovered and preſerved. This manifeſtly proves, that the Improvements in this Way are very great; that they are increaſing; and that in the midſt of an expenſive War our People had Spirit and Fortune to purſue them.

[r] It may not be improper to remark, that though, from the great Extent and Conſequence of the Fens in the Great Level, they occupied ſo much of the publick Concern, other Places in a like State were by no means neglected. This appears not only from Sir William Dugdale's elaborate Treatiſe, but alſo from ſeveral Statutes, ſuch as 37 Hen. VIII. Cap. 11. 7 Jac. I. Cap. 20. 16 & 17 Car. II. Cap. 11. 10 & 11 W. III. Cap. 26. 11 Geo. II. Cap. 39. This demonſtrates the Continuance and Extent of this improving Spirit, ſo ſingularly beneficial to Individuals and to the Publick. As to ſmaller Parcels of wet and marſhy Grounds, of which there formerly were conſiderable Quantities in almoſt every County, the greateſt Part of them (except where reſerved for Peat, which in ſome Places turns to great Profit) have been rendered dry and improved by their Owners, which alſo are ſo many Acquiſitions to the Community, and very important too, if, as ſome have computed, every Ten thouſand Acres of Land completely drained adds a Million to the common Stock.

the Country, which, ſince a laudable Attention to the augmenting natural Advantages and removing natural Defects hath prevailed, have in a great Variety of Inſtances been drained, or otherwiſe turned to beneficial Purpoſes. As this noble and publick-ſpirited Diſpoſition viſibly increaſes, we may reaſonably hope that a continual Progreſs will be made in ſo ſalutary a Work [s]. In our Siſter Iſle of Ireland, through the frequent Calamities of Civil and Foreign Wars, by which Induſtry through a Series of Ages was repeatedly interrupted, joined to the natural Cauſes that have been before-mentioned, this Country hath been more obnoxious to theſe Evils than almoſt any other. Such Moraſſes, Moſſes, or Bogs, are there not only common, but alſo of large Extent, conſequently detrimental, ſo as to become the ſtanding Reproach of One of the fineſt Iſlands in Europe. Yet ſince publick Tranquility hath been effectually reſtored, the Number of Inhabitants increaſed, and Induſtry and Science began to flouriſh as they do now, the People in general have every-where more or leſs applied to Draining; and this with ſuch Succeſs, as to change many of theſe miry Plains into as rich and fertile Meadows as are any-where to be ſeen [t]. It muſt however be confeſſed, that, notwithſtanding theſe ſucceſsful Attempts, there are yet remaining very conſiderable Tracts of unprofitable Marſhes. But the Means of reclaiming them are now ſo well underſtood, the Advantages from Draining ſo generally known, the Circumſtances of the Nation ſo happily altered for the better, the Value of Lands ſo much raiſed,

[s] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 330. contains the Earl of Cromarty's curious Account of the Origin and Growth of Inland Heath and Peat Moſſes in Scotland; and no doubt in other Countries, where they abound, they were produced the ſame Way. Stagnating Waters cauſe them likewiſe, and theſe are apt to extend their Bounds. Locher Moſs, Ten Miles long, and of conſiderable Breadth, contains many Thouſand Acres near Solway Firth, was cauſed as the Fens were in Lincolnſhire, by the Sea throwing up Land to ſuch a Height, as, impeding the Paſſage of the freſh Waters, forced them to ſettle on the Land, and, by corrupting all Kinds of Vegetables, generated this Moſs. Many Circumſtances formerly concurred to their being ſuffered to remain in that State. There was no Want of Land, Peat was a cheap uſeful Fuel, Draining was little underſtood, it was expenſive, and Money was ſcarce. But ſince Property is become ſecure, and Manufactures and Trade flouriſh, a new Syſtem prevails. Land bears an high Price, Coals are eaſily had, the Method of Draining is well known, the Gentry have a Turn to Improvements, and theſe have anſwered ſo well, that their Fortunes are enlarged, and of courſe this Diſpoſition daily extends.

[t] Sir William Petty, than whom no Man knew Ireland better, reckoned 1,500,000 Acres of coarſe Land, uſually ſtiled unprofitable, and as much more which (a Century paſt) he held to be abſolutely ſuch. The greateſt Part of this was Marſh, Fen, or Bog. Dr. King, Archbiſhop of Dublin, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 190, hath given an excellent Account of their Nature, and the Methods by which they might be recovered, juſtified by Experiment. Since the Time he wrote, this laudable Work hath been aſſiduouſly purſued, and with ſuch Succeſs, that it is thought One million of Acres or more have been reclaimed, to the inexpreſſible Benefit of the Country. There is no Doubt that the Premiums given by the Dublin Society have contributed exceedingly to this, for they very wiſely propoſe Gold Medals to Gentlemen, and offer ready Money to Farmers; and this they have done, and done it with conſtant Succeſs, for many Years paſt.

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and the publick Encouragement to theſe noble and neceſſary Undertakings ſo judiciouſly given and ſo conſtantly applied, that without being ſanguine we may venture to predict, that all theſe fenny Bogs will be gradually recovered in every Place, to the Ornament, Honour, and Profit of that ſpacious, beautiful, and fertile Iſland.

In reſpect to the Second Sort of Lands, which, though in themſelves never totally uſeleſs or abſolutely uncultivated, were notwithſtanding generally eſteemed to be in a great meaſure unprofitable, as well with reſpect to Individuals as to the Community, though the Benefits derived from bringing them into perfect Order may not have been larger than thoſe ariſing from the former Claſs, yet the Quantities of Ground thus improved have been certainly more conſpicuous [u]. For through the Courſe of the current Century it may be affirmed, that there hath ſeldom been a Seſſions of Parliament in which one or more Laws have not paſſed for the Dividing and Incloſing of Commons, and this in almoſt every Part of the Kingdom. The Method of obtaining ſuch Acts of the Legiſlature, when that is neceſſary, is by Petition from the far greater Part of the Perſons intereſted, repreſenting that what they deſire is for the publick Benefit, as well as for their private Advantage [w]. The Act, when it is obtained, provides that the Diviſion ſhall be made with general Conſent, by Commiſſioners converſant in the Nature and Value of the Lands, who are impowered to give a Recompence ſuitable to the Claim of every Individual who hath any Property

[u] As to the Origin of Commons, Opinions differ; and as, in all Things of high Antiquity, Conjecture comes to have a great Share in all that is ſaid about it, there is nothing improbable in ſuppoſing (though there is no Appearance of it now) that Commons were anciently Woods, which their Lords aſſigned to their Tenants, reſerving certain Services or Quit Rents, and that the Nature of their Poſſeſſion aroſe from their clearing it in common, which gave them Property in regard to Strangers, and a Community in this Property amongſt themſelves. But though this gives a general Idea of a Common, and the Property of thoſe to whom it belongs, it by no means accounts for many Circumſtances attending Commons, which ariſe from local Cuſtoms and ancient Uſage. Theſe, whatever they are, prove binding alike on all, no Individual having any Power to interfere with them. It is ſufficiently clear, that Property thus reſtrained, of which a Man hath no Direction, and conſequently can make no Improvement, muſt from thence be expoſed to many Inconveniences, and of courſe it need excite no Wonder, that Perſons ſenſible of theſe Inconveniences, ſhould be deſirous of being relieved from them.

[w] It is proper to mention, that an Act of Parliament is not neceſſary where all Parties are agreed; for, in that Caſe, a Deed of Agreement amongſt the Proprietors, confirmed by the Court of Chancery, is ſufficient. Where this general Conſent is not to be attained, the Aſſent of thoſe who hold Four Fifths of the Property is ſuppoſed to warrant an Application to Parliament. In the Number of theſe muſt be included the Lord of the Manor, and the Impropriator or the Clergyman intitled to Tythes, theſe being conſidered as the leading and permanent Intereſts. In caſe of an Impropriator, he either receives Tythes after Incloſure as before, or a proportionable Sum in Money. In the latter Caſe, the Clergyman who is intereſted in Tythes hath a Compenſation, equivalent to their Value, aſſigned him in Land, and of courſe the reſt of the Lands incloſed remain thenceforward Tythe-free.

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in the Commons intended to be thus incloſed. As all theſe Tranſactions are in themſelves of the moſt publick Nature, it ſhould ſeem that every poſſible Precaution is taken to prevent Surprize in the Firſt Inſtance, and to guard againſt any Fraud or private Injuſtice in the ſucceeding Steps, as well as any Impoſition on the Legiſlature [x]. Yet it cannot be diſſembled that very loud, and, what is more to be regarded, ſome very ſerious and in Appearance weighty Objections have been made to theſe Proceedings, tending to queſtion their Conſiſtency with the Maxims of ſound Policy, and that Reverence which ſhould be always paid to the publick Good. The chief of theſe Suggeſtions are, that Incloſing of Commons occaſions Depopulation; that it alſo leſſens Tillage, which is the principal Support of the State; and that in many reſpects it bears exceedingly hard on the indigent and at the ſame time induſtrious Part of the People. If theſe Points, or indeed any One of them, could be clearly proved, it would be deciſive; but being alledged only as ſimple Suggeſtions, many apprehend they have received ſatisfactory Anſwers [y].

[x] The Diſadvantages ariſing to the Publick from common Fields are ſaid to be, that ſimply from their Condition their Produce is ſmall in Quantity, and of an inferior Quality; that the Creatures bred upon them, Horſes, Cows, and Sheep, are ſtinted in their Size, lean, half ſtarved, of very little Value; and that the Commoners themſelves live meanly, and are taught to conſider Idleneſs and Indigence as Independency. In reſpect to Individuals, that of Neceſſity ſuch Lands are ill cultivated, and this too at a great Expence; that they are more liable to be treſpaſſed on than any other; that this makes the Attendance on Cattle in them very troubleſome and chargeable; that the Neceſſity of general Agreement, where the Proprietors are numerous, renders all Alterations and Improvements in a great meaſure impracticable; that Commons, when ſmall, are of little Conſequence; and in proportion to their Increaſe in Extent, all theſe Inconveniences, with which they are attended, increaſe likewiſe. For theſe Evils no Remedy hath been or indeed can be deviſed, except Dividing and Incloſing; and, as a Proof of this, we find it uniformly recommended by all our eminent Authors on Huſbandry, from Fitzherbert down to Worlidge. A Circumſtance well deſerving Attention.

[y] As to the popular Clamours formerly againſt Incloſures, they might have ſome Foundation, as Tillage was then neglected, we had few Manufactures and little Commerce, ſo that the common People had few Reſources. But this hath little to do with the preſent State of Things. The Anſwers given to the Objections made in the Text, are briefly theſe: By Depopulation muſt be meant a local, not a national Loſs of People, which however would be difficult to prove, ſince the Villages and Towns in the Vicinity of theſe incloſed Commons are as well or better inhabited than ever. As to the Nation, the Conſumption and Price of Proviſions ſhew, our People in general do not decreaſe. In truth, this Spirit of Incloſing proves it. For the Intent of Incloſing is, to increaſe the Quantity of Proviſions; and nothing could excite, or at leaſt nothing could ſuſtain this, but an increaſed Demand. In reſpect to decreaſing Tillage, this alſo is hardly to be proved. It is certain the Produce of arable Lands in general is greatly augmented, that the Tillage of Commons was inconſiderable, and a great Part of it Beans. In reſpect to the Poor (to whom the greateſt Regard is due) they only change the Kind of Labour, and this not to their Diſadvantage, for Wages are higher, and Employment, in incloſed Countries, more eaſily obtained.

What ſeems more concluſive on this Head than any Anſwer, is the Continuance of the Practice for ſo long a Courſe of Time, and after being ſo frequently canvaſſed in ſucceſſive Parliaments, to the Notice of which ſuch flagrant, ſuch fatal, and ſuch evident Evils as thoſe before-mentioned, had they really exiſted, muſt have come, and would certainly not have been overlooked. It may be, that an accurate Enquiry by Authority into the Conſequences which have actually attended the Diviſion of Commons in one or more Counties, might ſet this Matter in ſuch a Light, as wholly to remove theſe Suſpicions, which however, with thoſe with whom in reaſon they ought to have had the moſt, have had evidently very little Weight [z]. At all Events, taking Things as they ſtand at preſent, Commons incloſed being on all Hands allowed to increaſe in the Profits ariſing from their Produce, fall manifeſtly under this Arrangement of Improvements. Indeed if it was otherwiſe, or Experience did not put the Fact beyond all Diſpute, there would be no Inducement whatever to incloſe; and the very aiming at Improving in this Way, had the Error been but once clearly detected, Applications of this Sort would have been long ago diſcontinued. In North Britain, as anciently the Cuſtoms of both Countries were much the ſame, they had and ſtill have many Commons, which are uſed in the ſame Manner as here, and have been found liable to the ſame Inconveniencies. To obviate theſe, a Law paſſed not long after the Revolution, by which any Perſon, who hath a Right to the Enjoyment of a Common, may, by a ſhort legal Proceſs, compel the Aſſignment to him of an Equivalent for ſuch his Right in Severalty [a]. In Ireland they have likewiſe Commons, which they conſider as waſte Grounds, incapable of being ren-

[z] If viſible ill Conſequences attended dividing and incloſing Commons, ſo great a Proportion of Proprietors in them, as are requiſite to concur in the Petitions for Incloſing, could not be obtained, becauſe a ſmall temporary Advantage would be no Equivalent for bringing ſuch Evils on the Neighbourhood. But, ſuppoſing them to be from Self Intereſt capable of this, would not the other Proprietors repreſent theſe Miſchiefs, and undertake the Proof of them, in Juſtification of their own Conduct? Or would not ſuch as maintain this Doctrine adduce Facts in its Support, which is the more incumbent upon them, as It can be ſupported no other Way? If nothing of this Kind hath appeared to publick View, and ſuch Petitions continue to be every Seſſions preſented, is not the Preſumption in favour of the Practice, and is it not highly probable that both Individuals find their Account, and that the Publick is alſo benefited, by bringing ſuch Lands into thorough Cultivation?

[a] M'Douall's Inſtitutes of the Law of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 682. where the Reader may find the ancient Law of that Country upon this Subject. As alſo, p. 219. where it appears, that before the Statute mentioned in the Text, there was no Method of Dividing, which occaſioned much Uneaſineſs and many Inconveniences, for the Remedy of which the Law was made. Scots Acts, Vol. iii. p. 453. bearing Date 17 July 1695. directing Summons from the Party deſiring a Diviſion before the Lords of Seſſion, who, for putting an End to all Diſcords about Commonties, are inveſted with full Powers, to call ſuch as are intereſted before them, to hear, adjuſt, and to determine their reſpective Rights to direct Commiſſions where neceſſary, and to receive the Commiſſioners Reports. Where there are Moſſes in Commons, which cannot be divided, free Egreſs and Regreſs to theſe Moſſes to be preſerved, to all who are intereſted in the Common.

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dered of the leaſt Utility, otherwiſe than from Incloſures, by which alone, and without any Cultivation, they are ſpeedily brought into good Paſture.

We come now to the laſt Head that enters into this Part of our Deſign, which in truth hath been the ſolid Foundation of moſt of the paſt, and muſt continue to be the perpetual Baſis and Support of all future Improvements. This is the ſupreme Power and continual Protection of Parliament, to which in all Times the Nation hath ſtood alike indebted for her Welfare and her Safety [b]. The Authority of the one, and the Proſperity of the other, have conſtantly and uniformly advanced together. In more remote Times the Wiſdom of Parliament, according to the then State of Things, was conſpicuous in thoſe Occurrences which were conducive to publick Benefit. In the Reigns after the Conqueſt, they were very careful of our native Commodities, and conſtantly ſtruggled to preſerve the Profits of them to the People of this Country; they repreſſed the Encroachments of the great Men; they frequently aſſiſted Induſtry; they delivered thoſe who exerciſed it from Oppreſſion; and if Improvements were but few and weak, it was principally owing to them that we had any [c]. As Times mended, and Mankind grew more enlightened, we meet with ſtronger Proofs of their Attention and more viſible Indications of their publick Spirit. The Conſtitution growing more perfect, theſe ſalutary Effects were more frequently felt, and became continually more and more conſpicuous. When National Advantages were to be acquired, or Obſtacles to publick Happineſs were to be removed, we find them the great and indeed the

[b] The candid Reader will permit me to uſe the Word Parliament for National Councils, which have been in uſe with us ever ſince we were a Nation, and it is hoped will remain ſo as long as we continue a Nation, though this Name was not uſed before the Reign of Edward I. We ſpeak of this great Council here, as ſuperintending the general Oeconomy, and thereby preſerving and promoting the publick Welfare. This, in Times preceding the laſt Century, would have been conſidered as mere Conjecture. But the Diligence of our judicious and laborious Antiquaries Lambard, Somner, Salden, &c. have put the Matter out of all Doubt, by reſcuing from Duſt and Oblivion very many of our ancient Laws, which juſtify very fully what hath been advanced in the Text, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more, and to produce ſome Inſtances, to the Honour of our Anceſtors, in the ſucceeding Book.

[c] It is generally agreed, that though the Laws after the Conqueſt, and yet prior to thoſe in our Statute Books, ſeem to proceed ſolely from the Monarchs by whom they were made, yet in reality they were made by the Advice and with the Conſent of the great Councils or Parliaments of thoſe Times. As to the Laws immediately ſucceeding theſe, however uncouth, obſcure, trivial, harſh, or even abſurd moſt of them may appear to us, yet if we look back to the Cuſtoms and Uſages of thoſe Times, in other Countries as well as our own, which is with indefatigable Pains, as well as great Accuracy and Judgment, performed to our Hands (and a great publick Service it is) by the ingenious and learned Mr. Barrington, we ſhall certainly and upon good Grounds change our Minds, and admit ſuch rough Statutes were ſuited to thoſe rough Ages, and contributed to make Way for theſe ſmoother Times, in which we have the Happineſs to live.

only effectual Inſtruments of ſuch Meaſures [d]. The Intereſts of the Community, the Concerns of particular Bodies of Men, and even the Wants of Individuals, when any-way connected with publick Utility, were repreſented to them. The neceſſary Points of Information were generally, if not always, within their Reach, from their extenſive Means of Inquiry, and the diſtinguiſhing Marks of Truth ariſing from the Freedom of Debate, in which the natural Diverſity of Men's Sentiments, and ſometimes of their Intereſts, making them exceedingly quick-ſighted, became in a great meaſure certain, more eſpecially from the Forms of their Proceeding, every thing being ſubject not to a ſingle, but to ſeveral and repeated Diſcuſſions, againſt which Falſhood or Fallacy are rarely Proof [e]. But if even in any Inſtance this ſhould happen, or from Cauſes unobſerved or unforeſeen, or, which is ſtill more frequently the Caſe, from the Viciſſitudes to which all Events are liable, what was formerly well and wiſely enacted comes to ſtand in a different Point of Light, our Laws are not or ever were immutable, but may be altered, and this too in a Variety of Methods, according to the Nature of the Caſe. For beſides a direct Repeal, where from its Conſequences a Statute is diſcerned to be either noxious or uſeleſs, it is perceived to be improper only in Part, or capable of being changed for the better; this, according to the Uſage of our Legiſlature, may be done, what is injurious removed, and what is beneficial retained [f].

NEITHER

[d] After Henry the Seventh had ſettled himſelf on the Throne, he took every Meaſure in his Power to promote a more equal Diſtribution of Property than had prevailed before his Time. The Commons in Parliament from this Period became much more ſteady as well as more regular in their Proceedings, which gained them univerſal Reverence and Reſpect. In later Reigns, if more Buſineſs came before them, which brought on a Multiplicity of Laws, we muſt attribute this to the increaſing Wealth and growing Induſtry of their Conſtituents, and the univerſal Confidence repoſed in them by all Ranks and Degrees of People, not only at home, but abroad. This Regard for the Authority and Deference for the Deciſions of Parliament is not only exceedingly honourable, but highly advantageous to this Country, and ought, if that was at all neceſſary, to be an additional Argument for our conſidering this as a peculiar and a tranſcendent Bleſſing to Britain.

[e] This unreſtrained Freedom of examining Propoſitions for enacting new, or repealing or altering old Laws, hath been productive of the moſt beneficial Effects in regard to publick Utility. Truth is beſt diſcovered, and Certainty more eaſily found, from indulging Inquiries, and allowing every Man to ſpeak his Sentiments. It is by this means we have detected Errors, not barely received, but reſpected by our Anceſtors; that we have emancipated ourſelves from thoſe narrow Notions by which their Trade was, and that of other Nations is ſtill confined; and that we have overcome thoſe Prejudices, by which they were hindered from ſeeing their true Intereſts for Ages, and by which, but for this Remedy, we might have been likewiſe blinded. By this Mode of canvaſſing thoroughly Matters of publick Importance, we come to have enlarged Notions, to reaſon clearly from juſt Principles, to pay due Reſpect to Experience, and to ſhew a proper Regard in every Inſtance to the Authority of thoſe who are beſt acquainted with and argue from it. Hence our Superiority in Huſbandry, Manufactures, and Commerce, now not ſimply acknowleged, but avowedly copied by our moſt intelligent Neighbours.

[f] Beſides thoſe mentioned in the Text, there is yet another Method, which, becauſe it will require ſome Diſcuſſion, we reſerved for this Place. Human wiſdom is ſo limited, and the politi-

NEITHER are theſe Applications for Aſſiſtance or for Redreſs, in our Days at leaſt, at all difficult or dilatory. Petitions may be preſented to the Parliament when ſitting; and this in modern Times being annual, whatever can contribute to the Emolument or Eaſe of the Whole or any Part of the Britiſh Empire, more eſpecially in regard to Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce, may be eaſily, ſpeedily, and certainly brought to their Cognizance, and ſubmitted to their Examination. In Matters of a very high high Nature and very extenſive Operation, Laws have been framed of a very comprehenſive Nature, and theſe ſo well conſidered, and made with ſuch conſummate Prudence, as to regulate the moſt weighty Objects, for a long Series of Years, with very few if any Alterations, conciliating thereby univerſal Eſteem and Reſpect 8. If, after weighing well all theſe Circumſtances (as ſurely they well deſerve) we at the ſame time advert to the Force and Plenitude of Parliamentary Authority, which extends to all Things, and to all Perſons Civil, Eccleſiaſtical, and Military, within the wide Limits of the Britiſh Dominions, and that ready and chearful Submiſſion which their Deciſions and Regulations meet with, we cannot help diſcerning and being convinced, that the ſpeculative Idea of living under the happieſt political Eſtabliſhment, that of an abſolute Power, conſtantly directed by the

cal Views even of the beſt informed and beſt intentioned Senates ſo liable to fall ſhort of the Purpoſes they were deſigned to reach, that ſcarce any Law can be framed with ſo great Prudence, or grounded on ſuch ſolid Principles, as not from a Change of Circumſtances to become the Source of at leaſt temporary Inconveniences. For this, our Parliaments have a ſpeedy, ſuitable, and effectual Remedy, by ſuſpending ſuch Clauſes of a Law as create the Inconvenience, and this for the Space of Time this Inconvenience may be ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt. Thus in reſpect to Cochineal, many Suſpenſions of the Act of Navigation have taken place, on account of the Uſe of it in our Manufactures, that it might be imported (for a limited Time) from any Place, and on board Ships of any Nation. Britiſh-made Gunpowder, though to a certain Price exported with a Bounty, yet in virtue of Two Statutes may be at any Time prohibited by Royal Proclamation, or an Order in Council. In like Manner the Corn Law may be and hath been ſuſpended, and Exportation for a time prohibited.

8 We have already mentioned many of theſe wiſe and well-conſidered Laws in the Courſe of this Chapter, and many more (if we had Room) might be mentioned, that come fully up to this Point, both as to the prudent Grounds on which they were made, and the beneficial Conſequences with which they have been attended. Such as the Act of Navigation, which hath been juſtly eſteemed, the maritime and commercial Charter of Great Britain. The Act of Tonage and Poundage, the Merits of which, in reſpect to Method and Perſpicuity, are clearly pointed out by the ingenious Mr. Saxby, in his Preface to the Britiſh Cuſtoms. The Acts for recoining our Silver Money, by which the Nation was reſcued from inevitable Ruin by the Wiſdom, Steadineſs, and Authority of Parliament, by which, in the Space of a Year, all thoſe Obſtacles were overcome which ſome very wiſe Men thought almoſt inſurmountable. The Statutes of the Third and Fourth of Wm. and Mary, Chap. 8. and Eleventh and Twelfth of Wm. III. Chap. 20. freed many of our native Commodities and Manufactures from all Duties on Exportation; and this ſalutary Meaſure was farther promoted by that of the Eighth of Geo. I. Chap. 15. and by the ſame Act and a former of the Third and Fourth of Queen Anne, the Duties on many Drugs imported for Dyers Uſe (being duly entered) are taken away, to the great Benefit of many of our Manufactures.

Dictates of Wiſdom, Moderation, and Juſtice, is, as far as human Contrivance can give it Conſiſtence, viſible in the Britiſh Conſtitution [h], from which the Liberty, the Power, the Independency, the Splendour, and Proſperity, of all its Subjects are, and may they ever continue to be derived!

In the Three former Chapters of this ſecond Book, a ſuccinct Account hath been attempted, of the native Commodities, the copious Poſſeſſions, and genuine Funds of Wealth, which belong to the Britiſh Iſles. In the Introduction to this Chapter, the Propriety, and even Neceſſity, of providing convenient and effectual Inſtruments for the rendering theſe profitable, at leaſt in any conſiderable Degree, hath been fully explained. It hath likewiſe been ſhewn, that, through the Want of theſe for a long Series of Years, we were hindered from availing ourſelves of our numerous natural Advantages, which, if the Expreſſion may be allowed, kept us indigent in the Midſt of unemployed Riches [i]. Theſe Inſtruments, we have rendered it evident, were gradually and ſometimes but very ſlowly introduced, becauſe, however uſeful, they were not always, merely on account of their Novelty, pleaſing or acceptable. It aroſe from hence that, till Prejudices could be overcome by Experience, their Courſe was much impeded, in compariſon of that rapid Progreſs with which they proceeded when once, from a Senſe of their beneficial Conſequences, they were fully eſtabliſhed. For, this being effected, they ſpeedily made, as we have had frequent Occaſion to

[h] As it is eſſential to Government that abſolute Power ſhould reſide ſomewhere, ſo it is the peculiar Felicity of the Britiſh Conſtitution that it is placed in the Legiſlature. By this means every attainable Benefit is within the Nation's Reach, and the Redreſs of every Evil, where it is poſſible, may be obtained. In other Countries, and under other Forms of Rule, abſolute Power may act quicker, and from thence appear more conſpicuous, but not more effectually or more permanently. This appears plainly from the Inſtances given in this Chapter, for all the ſalutary Changes in our Oeconomy, by which Britain hath been rendered ſo great, and its People ſo happy, as to be at once revered and envied by all her Neighbours, have been deviſed by the Wiſdom, and carried into Execution by the Authority of Parliament. Add to this, what may be looked upon as ſtill more extraordinary, the publick Credit of this Country, by which ſhe hath attracted the Confidence of her Neighbours, was originally eſtabliſhed, and hath been in every Inſtance ſteadily and honourably maintained by Parliament. Theſe are ſuch Proofs of the wide Extent and great Utility of this ſupreme Puiſſance of the Legiſlature, as are generally known through the Britiſh Empire, and it is hoped will at once explain and juſtify what is aſcribed thereto in the Text.

[i] In thoſe Days we had many Commodities which were uſeleſs becauſe unknown, and many more imperfectly known, and therefore imperfectly uſed, for we wanted that Source of national Abundance, Induſtry. This was not a natural or national Defect, that is, it did not proceed either from our Soil or Climate. The former was ever capable of gratefully repaying the Care and Labour that proper Culture required, and the latter through all our Iſles was no-where cold enough to chill, or hot enough to debilitate our Bodies, and thereby depreſs our Minds. But Encouragement was wanting. The greateſt Part of the People, particularly thoſe moſt uſeful to the Community, were in their Perſons not free, in their Properties inſecure, uſeful Knowledge at a very low Ebb, the Country almoſt always either impoveriſhed by foreign, or haraſſed by civil Wars. In ſuch a State, Improvements were not made, becauſe they were plainly impracticable.

remark, a very perceptible Alteration in the Appearance of the Country, and in the Condition of its Inhabitants [k].

These ſucceſſive Improvements, by mutually aſſiſting each other, enlarged on every Side, and ſpread their benign Influences where-ever they came. In conſequence of this, the Produce of our Lands are become much ſuperior to what they were heretofore, though our Soil and Climate remain nearly the ſame. Inſtead of exporting, as formerly we did, the greateſt Part of our groſs Commodities, to be wrought up by Foreigners, and ſometimes re-imported when ſo wrought up, to be conſumed by ourſelves, we now reap from them, together with their intrinſick Value, the full Profit of all that our own Induſtry in manufacturing them can beſtow, and, which is ſtill more, we import immenſe Quantities of raw Materials from many different and ſome very diſtant Countries, which we alſo manufacture, and this not ſimply to ſerve ourſelves, but alſo for the Supply of other Nations, of which, if it was at all neceſſary, innumerable Inſtances might be given [l].

By

[k] We have, in the former Chapters, according to the Extent of our Abilities, and the beſt of our Informations, given the Reader a comparative View of our paſt and preſent Condition in many Inſtances, which it would be equally needleſs and tedious to recapitulate here. It may not however be improper to remark, that in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Cornwall had ſcarce any Reſource but in her Tin Mines, we raiſed from them to the Value annually of Forty thouſand Pounds at moſt, whereas we have raiſed for many Years paſt annually to Five Times that Value, though the County now hath ſeveral other and thoſe too very conſiderable Reſources. We have before had Occaſion to mention a Record in the Exchequer, 28 Edw. III. A. D. 1354. in which the Exports from this Country are computed at 294,088 l. 14 s. 8 d. which hath been held (the Difference of the Coin conſidered) to be equivalent to 737,021 l. 19 s. 11 d. of our preſent Money. It is true that Tin and Lead are omitted in this Account, which would have ſwelled it conſiderably higher. To this we ſhall oppoſe a ſingle Article, of which we had then no Exportation, viz. Grain, and by this for Nineteen Years, that is, from A. D. 1746, to 1765, there was annually gained to this Nation, that is, exported and ſaved on the Home Conſumption, after deducting the Bounty and the Price of all Corn imported within that Period, 947,954 l. 9 s. 7 d. which is a Proof not only of the Superiority of our preſent Circumſtances to what they were Four hundred Years ago, but alſo, which is more to be conſidered, of the vaſt Importance of our Agriculture, of which this is a pregnant and indiſputable Inſtance.

[l] To treat this Subject fully and fairly would require, as it moſt certainly deſerves, an ample Volume, which would do equal Honour to our Commerce and our Manufactures. At preſent out of innumerable Articles, three only ſhall be recommended to the candid Reader's ſerious Conſideration, viz. Flax, Cotton, and Silk. For the Numbers of uſeful Hands employed in, and the Profits thereby accruing from the firſt, we may refer to the Linen Manufactures in North Britain and Ireland, and to ſeveral Kinds of it alſo in South Britain, which, though leſs in publick Fame, might, upon Inſpection, be found not inferior to either. The ſecond we import in great Quantities from the Eaſt Indies, the Levant, and the Weſt Indies. The Manufactures made from thence are very numerous and very valuable, giving full Employment to many Thouſand induſtrious Perſons of both Sexes. The ſame may be ſaid with equal Truth of the Third, particularly viſible at Canterbury and in Spital Fields. Beſides, the Mixtures of them with each other and with Wool conſtitute a Variety of Manufactures, and are thereby the Support of ſeveral of our moſt populous and opulent Towns, too many indeed, and at the ſame time too well

known,

By theſe happy Fruits of Skill and Induſtry, where-ever they reach, our Soil is highly cultivated, our Rents conſiderably raiſed, our People properly employed in a Variety of uſeful Occupations, our Trade increaſed, our Commerce extended, our Navigation and of courſe our Naval Strength augmented. Theſe Facts we have not barely ſtated, but at the ſame time have ſupported them by Evidence, and illuſtrated them by Inſtances, that they might be rendered clearer and more ſatisfactory to the Reader.

Let us here then take a View of our preſent national Situation, and, as far as the Strength of human Penetration will permit, open our Eyes to the Proſpect of what may be our future Condition, from the vigorous Purſuit of our true Intereſts with that Steadineſs and Perſeverance they deſerve, and that Probability of Succeſs which ought to encourage at the ſame time that it ſo viſibly invites us. We have in our Hands all the rich Patrimony beſtowed upon us by Providence, the ſingular Prerogatives belonging to theſe Iſlands, and the immenſe Treaſures of our numerous natural Productions. We have likewiſe the ſeveral excellent Inſtruments invented by the Sagacity of our Anceſtors, and, together with them, we have all their Acquiſitions as well as their Example. But great as theſe are, and to the moſt capable Judges they will ſurely appear very great! theſe give us no Title to be idle. We muſt proceed if we intend to preſerve, for we have not yet arrived any Thing near the poſſible Summit of our Grandeur. With all theſe mighty and manifold Improvements, we may find Means to meliorate, and that in a high Degree, what is thus ſo happily improved already; and we have ſtill, it cannot be repeated too often, very large Tracts of Land utterly unimproved. Theſe Iſlands are unqueſtionably capable of maintaining more than twice the Number of their preſent Inhabitants, and, which is more to the Purpoſe, the very flouriſhing Condition in which we are, demands, for this very Reaſon, the utmoſt Exertion of our Abilities [m].

The

known, to be enumerated here. It might be thought an Omiſſion, if, before we concluded thi Note, we did not obſerve, that of the Firſt Commodity we raiſe great Quantities, excellent in its Kind, in different Parts of both Iſlands. Of the laſt, as excellent to the full as in any Part of the World; in ſmall Quantities it is true, but enough to ſhew that more might be raiſed with Eaſe and Certainty; the Second we chiefly import from our Territories abroad.

[m] All the great Empires the World hath ſeen have gradually grown to an unwieldy Bulk, and then as gradually declined, from internal Principles of Corruption. Moſt of the free Governments Hiſtories record, though conſtituted with much Wiſdom, and for a Time conducted with great Virtue and publick Spirit, have in the End been ſwallowed up by Deſpotiſm, or crumbled to pieces by Factions. Ours is become an extenſive and puiſſant Empire, and is a free Government withal; and with this peculiar Privilege, that we have a permanent Principle of Preſervation ariſing from our Power ſpringing from Commerce, and this founded in various Species of Induſtry, which, duly cultivated and properly attended to, will ſupport us for Ages yet to come. We have Grandeur and we have Wealth, but we are not arrived to ſuch a Pitch, as that we may indulge ourſelves in Luxury and Lazineſs; I mean as a Nation; for in every opulent free Country

The Powers of this Country, that is, of the Two Britiſh Iſles, muſt be augmented in proportion to their additional Dominions, or, to expreſs myſelf figuratively, to avoid much Circumlocution, but at the ſame time I hope not unintelligibly. The Denſity of the Center of our Syſtem muſt be ſo increaſed, that the Force of its Attraction may be equally felt through the wide Expanſe of its Dependencies. The Means we have ſhewn to be clearly in our Poſſeſſion; and the Capacity of uſing them will never decay, while the great political Principle of Motion, our excellent CONSTITUTION, continues inviolate.

try there will be many lazy and luxurious Men. But the Bulk of this Nation ſubſiſts, and muſt ever ſubſiſt, by a cloſe and vigorous Application to Huſbandry, Manufactures, and Trade; upon theſe our Plenty and our Power are founded, and by theſe our ſeemingly disjointed Dominions are firmly connected. It muſt be confeſſed, that, in compariſon of former Times, all Ranks of People live incomparably better. What then? Shall we grudge them the Fruits of their Freedom and Induſtry. But will not this excite the Jealouſy of our Neighbours? Yes, certainly. But it will keep us alſo upon our Guard, and conſequently always in Safety. But, with all this Parade of Induſtry, and its glorious Effects, we have Multitudes of idle and indigent Perſons amongſt us, the Maintenance of whom is One of the heavieſt of our Taxes. It may be ſo; but if it is, we from thence diſcern the Neceſſity and the Facility of breaking up freſh Lands, introducing new Manufactures, and thereby enlarging our Trade, that theſe People may maintain themſelves and their Poſterity without either diſturbing or diminiſhing the Induſtry of others. I am ſenſible that I have touched ſome of theſe Points before, particularly at the Cloſe of the former Volume. But, beſides that the Importance of the Subject might atone in ſome Degree for the Repetition, I will very freely own, nothing affords me ſo much Pleaſure as contemplating continually the Idea, that as its Limits are already, ſo the Duration alſo of the Britiſh Empire may extend to the ſame Period with the Globe.

THE

THE POLITICAL SURVEY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the Condition of this Country in the Time of the Britons, as well before as after the Coming of the Romans.

THE Scope and Design of this Book stated and explained. The best Way of attaining a distinct Idea of the Constitution is, to trace the Progress of it from the earliest Times. Very different and even contrary Accounts have been given of the First Inhabitants of these Isles. The Truth in this, as in most other Cases, seems to lie between the Extremes. An Attempt to form a probable Account of the State Things were in before the Coming of Cæsar. He found, at his Arrival, an established Form of Government amongst the Britons. They had a Religion, Priests, Ceremonies, and Sacrifices: As also a numerous Militia, strong Towns, and other Places of Defence. Pro-

bable,

bable, though not certain, that they had likewiſe a maritime Force. The Druids the ſole Magiſtrates, Judges, and Philoſophers amongſt theſe People. No Proof that they were abſolutely without Arts, becauſe we find none of theſe mentioned by Cæſar. They had both a Domeſtic Trade amongſt themſelves, and a Commercial Intercourſe with foreign Nations, at and before this Period. The Conſtruction of their Fiſhing Veſſels or ſmall Craft very ſingular and ingenious. The Emperor Claudius firſt reduced Part of Britain into the Form of a Province. The Romans at great Pains to extend and to improve their Conqueſts. Found it neceſſary to extirpate the Druids, and in great Danger from a general Inſurrection. Julius Agricola effectually eſtabliſhed the Roman Power and the Roman Form of Government in Britain. Carried their Arms and Trophies of Victory farther than any of their ſucceeding Generals. The Britons adopt the Cuſtoms and Manners, and ſubmit to the Laws, of the Romans. Become very ſerviceable to that Empire, and from thence are very highly conſidered. The Emperor Severus came over hither, and ended his Days at York. A ſuccinct Account of Affairs here till the Time of Conſtantine the Great. This Account continued to the Reign of the Emperor Julian. Maximus aſſumes the Purple, and, in Support of his Title and Power, exhauſts in a great meaſure the Force of Britain. The Romans, on the Decline of their Empire, at length abandon this Country. Some Remarks upon the foregoing Hiſtory. The Benefits and Advantages derived to Britain from the Reſidence of the Romans here. Some Miſchiefs and Inconveniences occaſioned by their Dominion. The diſtreſſed and diſtracted Condition of the Britons at and after their Departure. Form of Government adopted by them after their Retreat into Wales. Concluſive Obſervations on the Contents of this Chapter.

THE proper Object of this Work was not by any means to add to the Number either of the Deſcriptions or Hiſtories of the Britiſh Dominions, but to apply ſuch Materials as could be found in them, or in our Laws, to explain what hath been already, or what hereafter may be done, for the Improvement of theſe Iſles, and the Emolument of their Inhabitants. In Proſecution of this Undertaking, we have had frequent Occaſions of mentioning the very different Circumſtances in which they have been in different Periods of Time, and ſometimes to mention the Cauſes; but this hath been done as briefly as might be, intending to give in this Book, as ſuccinctly as poſſible, an Account of the ſeveral Nations that have borne Rule in this Country, and the Policies they introduced [a]. This ſeemed to be indiſpenſably neceſſary, to obviate what might otherwiſe

[a] It is by contemplating coolly the State and Condition of our Anceſtors that we come to have liberal and enlarged Notions, and to extinguiſh thoſe narrow and ill-founded Opinions which produce

otherwiſe be taken for Inconſiſtences, to vindicate ſome Aſſertions that may appear but ſlightly grounded, and more eſpecially to do that Juſtice it certainly merits, to our excellent Conſtitution, to which our paſt and preſent Happineſs hath been owing, and upon which it muſt always depend. This, it is conceived, can never be ſo perſpicuouſly performed, as by ſuch a regular Deduction, from which the Spirit, Genius, and Manners of our reſpective Anceſtors will be beſt diſcerned, the Influence of Government on the Temper and Condition of the People rendered evident, and from thence the various Viciſſitudes theſe Countries have undergone, from better to worſe and from worſe to better again, may be ſo clearly accounted for, and ſo fully explained, as to give the candid Reader that Satisfaction which he muſt naturally wiſh to have in reſpect to ſo intereſting and ſo important a Subject [b].

It will appear from ſuch a Deduction, that the Inhabitants of theſe Iſles, even in the earlieſt Ages, when their Actions firſt furniſhed Materials for Hiſtory, breathed a true Spirit of Freedom, had a juſt Notion of its Advantages, and of the Miſeries attending Subjection to deſpotic Power. Upon this Principle, therefore, they always ſtudied to acquire and to preſerve the former, and never failed, when they were ſo unhappy as to fall under the latter, to continue ſtruggling againſt, till the Yoke was removed. But at the ſame time they were zealous for Liberty, it was a rational, practicable, and profitable Liberty they ſought. They judged rightly, that Form of Rule muſt be the beſt which enabled the greateſt Number of People to live independently by their Induſtry, and to draw their Subſiſtence from the Fruits of their own Labour. They ſaw very clearly that this was not to be obtained,

produce national Prejudices. If there be any Thing in Nature certain, it is, that Mankind are deſcended from the ſame Stock; nor is there any Thing more incertain, than the Origin of the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Countries of which the World conſiſts. It is therefore to very little Purpoſe to examine what hath been written on ſo very obſcure a Subject. But it is quite otherwiſe in reſpect to thoſe Times, however early, of which any probable Hiſtory can be had. In regard to our own, we can trace it for upwards of Two thouſand Years, with at leaſt as much Aſſurance of Truth as any Nation in Europe; and this is fully ſufficient to anſwer all the Ends of uſeful Information, which is all we can expect or deſire.

[b] It is a Matter out of all Doubt, that the Beauty and even the Fertility of Countries depend on the Policy, that is, on the Nature of the Government to which their Inhabitants are ſubject. The Syſtem of the Hebrew Republick rendered Paleſtine the moſt fruitful Region in the Eaſt, now thinly peopled, and, in compariſon of what it was, a Deſert. Spain, when inhabited by the Moors, was a perfect Garden, a great Part of which at this Day lies wild and waſte. The French Refugees, ſettled under the Protection of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, raiſe on a ſmall Spot more, and more valuable Productions, than are to be found in ſome Hundred Leagues on the adjacent Coaſts of Africa. In China, wiſe Inſtitutions make the Soil fruitful, and the Nation numerous; now become ſo populous, that they muſt keep up to this high State of Cultivation, or ſtarve. Our own Iſland of Barbadoes (its Size conſidered) is wonderful, in the rich Crops it carries, all of them the Fruits of Skill, Induſtry, and Experience.

but from the Force of Laws, to which they were willingly obedient, and for the Preſerving and Recovery of which they frequently and vigorouſly contended. Such a Syſtem, or rather a Syſtem of ſuch Laws, is what we at this Day ſtile THE CONSTITUTION, and a moſt excellent one it is, as hath in ſome meaſure been demonſtrated already, and the Steps by which it gradually arrived at this ſuperior Excellence will be hereafter traced; for ſo ſolid, ſo ſuperb a political Structure, required Time as well as Science, and a Concurrence of many able and experienced Stateſmen and Patriots to conſtruct, repair, and, by gradually improving every Opportunity, to bring it to that perfect State in which it muſt be our Duty, and that of our Poſterity, to ſupport and to maintain it [c].

IN reſpect to the Britons, who were the firſt Inhabitants of this Iſland, there is a great Variety, and indeed great Diſcordance in Opinions, even amongſt the moſt Learned of our Writers. Some, without troubling themſelves about Authorities, treat theſe People as naked, miſerable, illiterate Savages, without Cloaths, without Houſes, except Hovels or hollow Trees, rude in their Manners, fierce in their Natures, without Arts, Civility, or Knowledge of any Kind. Others, following the Britiſh Hiſtory, deſcribe them as a martial, potent, numerous, learned, and polite Nation, well known through a great Part of the World, who ſent powerful Armies abroad, equipped great Fleets, atchieved many Conqueſts in foreign Countries, erected ſtately Edifices, founded large Cities, inſtituted Seminaries of Learning here at home, attracting thereby the Eſteem, and preſerving the Reſpect, of their Neighbours [d].

As

[c] It is exceedingly pleaſant to conſider the Rudiments of great Empires, to mark the Progreſs of their Power, to trace their political Improvements, to look into their Effects on the Manners of the People, and, in conſequence of that, on the Condition of the Country; to contemplate the Reverſes and Revolutions in their Affairs, and to diſtinguiſh thoſe ſingular and unexpected Events which they produce. But when theſe Inquiries affect ourſelves, and reſpect the Community of which we are Members, they become ſtill more pleaſing and more ſatisfactory, as they are from their Object more intereſting and inſtructive, eſpecially when ſuch Inquiries are conducted without Prejudice or Partiality, and ſolely with a View of inveſtigating and making known the Truth, as far as, from a ſerious Meditation on the beſt Materials we can procure, it may be diſcovered.

[d] The Tranſlator and Publiſher of this Britiſh Hiſtory was Geoffrey of Monmouth, Biſhop of St. Aſaph, a Man of great Learning for thoſe Times. He tranſlated it for the Uſe of his Patron Robert Earl of Glouceſter, natural Son to Henry I. His Credit was attacked by Two of his Contemporaries, G. Barry, commonly ſtiled Giraldus Cambrenſis, and William Little, better known by the Appellation of Gulielmus Neubrigenſis, who roundly charges him with inventing or forging a great Part at leaſt of this Hiſtory, which he pretended to tranſlate out of the Britiſh, his native Language, into Latin. In this cruel Accuſation he is followed by Polidore Virgil, and many others. But this (whatever may be thought of the Book) is a downright Calumny. The venerable Kentiſh Antiquary Lambard had a fair Copy of the Britiſh Original, older than the Time of Geoffrey. Mr. Lewis, who wrote the Hiſtory of Britain (dedicated to Henry Prince of Wales) had alſo ſuch a Copy. But, to put this paſt Diſpute, there is a Copy, larger than that

As in moſt other Caſes, and eſpecially in ſuch as relate to Matters of Antiquity, Truth generally lies between the Extremes, and the ſafeſt Way ſeems to be, the rejecting in a great meaſure both of theſe Notions, the former having in it as much of Prejudice, as there is of Partiality in the latter. The Britiſh Hiſtory may have, and indeed probably hath, ſome ſmall Ground of Truth; but this is ſo mixed with Fables, ſo blended with and obſcured by idle Inventions, that there is no relying upon its Authority. But, waving this, and taking to our Aſſiſtance better Guides, viz. Reaſon and Experience, we may eaſily diſcern, that, though not a very potent or polite People, theſe ancient Britons, our primitive Anceſtors, need not be degraded into abſolute Savages, merely becauſe the Greeks and Romans beſtowed on them, as well as all other Strangers, the contemptuous Appellation of Barbarians.

The original Inhabitants of this Iſle, even thoſe who are ſtiled Aborigines, did not moſt certainly ſpring up here out of the Earth, or fly hither over the Seas, but came from ſome other Country or Countries in Veſſels of tolerable Size, bringing, as we have before had Occaſion to mention, Animals and many other Things with them; and this being the Caſe, it cannot be doubted that they brought alſo the Manners, Cuſtoms, and in a certain Degree the Sciences, that had been introduced among the People they left. Theſe Principles of Knowledge, they muſt have great and frequent Opportunities of exerciſing, in a Country overgrown with Wood, and which in that State could adminiſter but little to their Subſiſtence, without the Application both of Skill and Labour; neither is it likely that theſe would have been found ſimply ſufficient, without the Aſſiſtance from time to time of Supplies of different Kinds from their Parent and other neighbouring Countries [e]. Thus far we have ſtated what ſeems to have

which Geoffrey uſed, ſtill preſerved in the Library of Jeſus College in Oxford. But, notwithſtanding it was thus decried, we find an Abridgment of it was made, for the Satisfaction of an Italian Lady of Britiſh Deſcent, by Ponticus Virrunius. We have alſo an Engliſh Tranſlation of Geoffrey's Britiſh Hiſtory, with a copious and very curious Preface by Mr. Aaron Thompſon. The Diſtaſte taken by critical Readers againſt this Work induced them to run down the Britons, of which a large Specimen may be found in Dr. Woodward's Letter to Sir Chriſtopher Wren, printed by Mr. Hearne at the Cloſe of the Eighth Volume of Leland's Itinerary.

[e] If a great, it may be the greateſt Part of the Britiſh Hiſtory, though no Forgery, but, like other Hiſtories of like early Times, compoſed from what in Wales they ſtill call *Hen Whelley*, i. e. old Stories, ſhould be thought too fabulous to merit Belief, and for this good Cauſe in a great meaſure exploded, why ſhould we not try to ſubſtitute ſomething in its Room that may be at leaſt probable? This is what we have attempted in the Text, and to the candid Reader's Judgment thereon we readily ſubmit. After laying down this, as what might have been ſuppoſed the Caſe, and then comparing it with Facts delivered by Authors of unſuſpected Credit, we come to have rational Evidence that ſo Things really were. In reſpect to ſuch remote Periods, we are not to look for abſolute, if we can reach moral Certainty it is ſufficient.

been probable, and therefore not very wide of Truth. Let us now ſee how far this correſponds with Matters of Fact related by the moſt authentic Hiſtorians.

BRITAIN was known to, and viſited for the ſake of her native Commodities, by the Phœnicians and other Nations, as we have already had Occaſion to ſhew, in very early Times. The Greeks were acquainted with it by Name at leaſt Two hundred Years, and the Romans alſo before the Days of Cæſar. There might therefore have been true Hiſtories written of what paſſed within this Period, if there had been any Perſons able to write them [f]. When Julius came hither, he found, as himſelf tells us (and there cannot be better Authority deſired) an eſtabliſhed Syſtem of Government, conſiſting in a Kind of princely Ariſtocracy, compoſed of many Sovereigns, who ruled their ſmall Territories independently in Times of publick Tranquillity; but when Troubles aroſe, or when attacked by a ſuperior Force, they confederated and choſe a Commander in Chief to lead their united Armies. Upon Cæſar's Invaſion, they inveſted Caſſibelinus or Caſſivellaunus, a Man every Way worthy of the Truſt, with this ſupreme Authority, who by the other Princes, while the War laſted, was very punctually obeyed [g].

THEY had a Religion full of Ceremonies, an Order of Prieſts, and ſeveral Places of publick Worſhip. Theſe Prieſts were the Druids, who were alſo Senators, conſulting together upon every critical Occaſion, and in Effect directed all publick Affairs; and theſe Druids were their Magiſtrates likewiſe, deciding in that Quality all private Controverſies, not arbitrarily but by ſettled Laws, which, though not committed to Writing, yet were well and publickly known, like what is ſtiled Common Law at this Day [h].

THEY

[f] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 343. 470. vol. ii. p. 38. where the Authorities from antient Writers are cited. It may not be amiſs to remark the following Paſſage, Ezek xxvii. 12. "Tarſhiſh was thy Merchant, by reaſon of the Multitude of all Kind of Riches; with Sil-"ver, Iron, TIN, and Lead, they traded in thy Fairs." This is ſpoken of Tyre before its Deſtruction by Nebuchadnezzar, which was more than Six hundred Years before the Coming of CHRIST. The Septuagint for Tarſhiſh ſets down Carthaginians, and all the Antients agree, that the Carthaginians carried Tin from hence. It follows, that this Country, or ſome Parts of it, were then inhabited; that theſe Inhabitants digged and ſold or exchanged their TIN, for in thoſe Times, and many Ages after, there was none known but what came from Britain.

[g] Cæſar de Bello Gal. lib. iv. v. He ſpeaks often of theſe Britiſh Princes or Chiefs conferring together, and taking Reſolutions in what we ſhould call Councils of War. It appears from the Meaſures they took to repel his Firſt Invaſion, they were not unſkilled in military Operations; and though he covers it handſomely, yet it may be collected from his Relation, what was well known in his own Times to be the Fact, they obliged him to reimbark.

[h] Cæſar de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. cap. 13. He there gives it as his Sentiment, that the Gauls learned the religious and philoſophic Inſtitutions of the Druids from the Britons, and urges as a Proof

They had too a regular and well-disciplined Militia, composed of Chariots and Infantry. In the former rode their Chiefs, each attended by his Train; and they are allowed to have fought, after their Manner, not only with great Courage and steady Resolution, but also with much military Skill and Address, availing themselves of every Advantage that could be taken, from the Situation of Ground and other Circumstances. Their Towns likewise, it seems, were fortified, which however must be understood according to the Manner of the Times, and the State that the Country was then in. They chose for this Purpose a convenient Spot of considerable Extent, in which they built their Dwellings such as they were; and, having done this, they encompassed them with a Trench, and this was surrounded with a standing Grove, or with a Rampart of felled Wood; for in those Days they sought only natural Defences, which were fully sufficient against the Arms then in Use. Whenever these Towns, after a long Resistance, were forced, they provided Means for their Retreat; and if they found themselves too weak to keep the Field, they withdrew into Marshes and Fens, the Avenues to which they made as inaccessible as they could, regarding such Marshes in the Light that we do Fortresses [i].

In regard to naval Strength, whether they had any such Thing or not, is a Point of some Incertainty. The very learned and judicious Selden, than whom no Man was a better Judge, hath taken much Pains to establish the Affirmative, and conceives that the Reason why Cæsar was not opposed by Sea, was the total Destruction of the British Fleet sent to the Assistance of the Veneti, that is, in the Language of modern Times, the Inhabitants of the Diocese of Vannes in Bretagne; and he farther suggests, that it was their sending this Aid that principally induced Cæsar to invade this Island, which Positions he supports by a Number of Arguments, that render it at least highly probable; and if any Reliance could be made on our ancient Historians, independent of Geoffrey of Monmouth, there might be sufficient Authority brought to countenance his Opinion [k].

As

Proof of this (indeed a very strong Proof it is) that they sent over hither their Youth to be instructed in these Mysteries, which were comprehended in Poems that these their Disciples learned to repeat; and says farther, that in this Course of Study they sometimes spent no less Time than Twenty Years.

[i] Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 11—19. Eutropii Breviar. lib. vi. cap. 14. J. Celsi Comment. de Vita J. Cæsaris, p. 73—87. He calls the British Monarch Cassellanus. He also says, that London, though at that time the strongest Place in the whole Island, surrendered to Cæsar, whom he makes to have been always victorious, but allows he was exposed to continual Toil, frequently in Danger, out of which he extricated himself by Fortitude and Perseverance, against an Enemy brave in the Field and subtle in their Conduct.

[k] Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 18. Henr. Huntingd. Historiarum, lib. i. Seldeni Mare Clausum, l. ii. c. 2. Cæsar expressly says, that in all their Wars and Revolts against the Romans, the

As the Druids were Prieſts and Magiſtrates, ſo they were alſo, as Philoſophers, the Maſters and Inſtructors of theſe People, who received from them implicitly whatever Opinions they thought fit to divulge. By them they were taught firmly to believe the Immortality of the Soul, which was a rational and laudable Principle of vigorous and intrepid Courage. They likewiſe delivered the Doctrine of the Seaſons, or that Kind of practical Aſtronomy by which they were enabled to proſecute their Labours in the Field, and to conduct the ſeveral Branches of their rural Oeconomy. That they practiſed various Superſtitions, and, as ſome ſay, cruel and nefarious Ceremonies, and had recourſe to many deluſive Arts to captivate the Minds of the Populace, is not to be denied. By theſe they brought and retained them in the moſt exact and ſubmiſſive Obedience, ſo that all were obliged to follow their reſpective Occupations aſſiduouſly, and contribute thereby, as far as they were able from their private Endeavours, to the publick Welfare[l].

In conſequence of this, we find they had ſufficient Quantities of Corn for their own Support, and their Paſtures were abundantly ſtocked with Sheep and Black Cattle. Beſides Animals for Food, they bred Poultry, Geeſe, and Hares to pleaſe their Fancy. That they had Property, appears from the Druids deciding all Diſputes about the Limits of Lands. It is likewiſe clear that they had a generous Breed of Horſes, and knew very well how to break and manage them; and that they uſed Cavalry as well as Chariots, may be inferred from Cæſar's Relation[m]. They painted them-

the Gauls were ſupported from Britain, but he ſays nothing of their naval Force. Henry Huntingdon tells us, that Lud, the Father of Caſſebellinus, reduced ſeveral of the Iſlands lying near Britain, by a marine Armament. Mr. Selden, laying theſe and other Circumſtances together, concludes the Britons, prior to the Coming of the Romans, were Sovereigns in their own Seas.

[l] Cæſar de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. cap. 13. 15, 16. Strab. Geograph. lib. iv. Diod. Sicul. lib. vi. Pompon. Mela de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 2. Lucan. Pharſal. lib. i. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxx. cap. 1. lib. xvi. cap. 44. Ammian. Marcel. lib. xv. Diogen. Laert. in præfat. ad lib. de Vit. Philoſoph. Moſt of theſe Writers extol their Wiſdom and Knowledge. As to their Crimes; in reſpect to Magick, they were infamous Impoſtors; and in offering human Sacrifices, barbarouſly as well as impiouſly cruel. But that they were mere Pretenders to Science, which is a modern Notion, and that they were as illiterate as they were ſuperſtitious, is by no means ſo certain. See upon this Head, which is very curious, Selden's Analecta Anglo-Britannica; his England's Epinomis, and his Notes on the Ninth Song of Drayton's Polyolbion. Conſult alſo Rowland's Mona Antiqua Reſtaurata, where p. 266. a Specimen may be found of their moral Odes, which they taught their Pupils. As to their political Talents, ſee what hath been already ſaid (Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 535) as to the Laws they eſtabliſhed in the Iſle of Man. The Emperor Claudius proſcribed their Religion, but Chriſtianity prevailing did it much more effectually, for it expoſed their Impoſtures, and brought their barbarous Rites into juſt and general Abhorrence.

[m] De Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 11. Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 191. It may be fairly preſumed, that as they certainly imported the Animals, ſo they brought over alſo the Art of training them; and from their ſingular Expertneſs, and the great Numbers they brought into the Field, that they had long practiſed this Manner of Fighting.

ſelves

ſelves with a blue Pigment made of Woad, as we have already explained at large [n]. Now this Plant, and the Art of preparing a Paſte and Dye from it, they muſt have brought with them hither. The Diſcolouring of their Bodies with it, for whatever Purpoſe the Romans could not help obſerving, but it by no means follows that they had not any other Art or Manufacture amongſt them, becauſe no other is reported by Perſons who invaded them as Enemies, ſtayed amongſt them but a ſhort time, and were very fully occupied by their own Affairs during the Time they remained here.

In their Trade with each other, they uſed either Rings or ſmall Plates of Iron tied together, in the Nature of Money, which concludes in favour of their Civility, ſince no barbarous Nation ever made uſe of any Medium in buying and ſelling [o]. That they had likewiſe foreign Commerce, is not barely probable, but certain, for the Inhabitants of Bretagne (as it is now called) traded hither in large Ships, and on this Trade, as Cæſar ſays expreſly, founded a very formidable naval Strength. Yet their Merchants only were permitted free Acceſs by the Britons, and none were allowed to penetrate into the Country, ſo apprehenſive were they of a too great Reſort of Strangers, and ſuch was their Jealouſy of their Freedom. Other Nations, as in different Parts of this Work hath been already ſhewn, carried on conſiderable Commerce in other Quarters of the Iſland, and the Ports of Ireland were much frequented, as well as generally known by foreign Merchants [p].

In reference to ſmall Veſſels, which is by no means a Proof that they had not any of a larger Size, thoſe of their Conſtruction were ſo ingenious and ſo commodious, that Cæſar acknowledges his Obligation to them for their Invention, of which he profited on another Occaſion [q]; and which Veſſels were made with ſuch Facility, and were of ſuch Utility, that the Uſe of them continued in ſome Corners of this Iſland almoſt within the Memory of Man [r]. If therefore we lay all theſe Circumſtances together, and conſider

[n] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 116. It may be they had a ruder and ſo a ſhorter Way of preparing this Tincture, than that now in Uſe, but ſtill there muſt be an Art in the Preparation.

[o] Cæſar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 10. He adds, that theſe paſſed by Weight, which is an additional Circumſtance of Exactneſs and Juſtice in their Dealings.

[p] Cæſar de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 18. Strab. Geogr. lib. iv. Tacit. in vit. J. Agric. c. 24. but on this Subject enough hath been occaſionally ſaid in other Places.

[q] De Bello Civili, lib. i. cap. 54. Lucan. Pharſal. lib. iv. Solin. Polyhiſtor. cap. 35. The Keel and Ribs of theſe Veſſels were of light Wood covered over with Leather.

[r] The Veneti uſed theſe Wicker Boats covered with Leather, and ſo did the Italian Veneti, a Colony from them, on the River Po, as Lucan obſerves. But for all this, the Veneti in Gaul had a ſtout Fleet of large Veſſels built of Oak, with Leather Sails; and if ſo, why might not the

ſider them as brought in Aid of what Reaſon and Reflection ſuggeſts, in reſpect to the Firſt Settlers of any Iſland, we may rationally conclude, that when the Romans came over hither, they did not find our Anceſtors a Race of miſerable ignorant Savages, but rather a People, though widely different from them in Temper, Cuſtoms, and Manner of Living, in Poſſeſſion of all the Neceſſaries and ſome of the Conveniences of Life, and, which is ſtill of greater Conſequence, they were in general content with their own Condition.

Under the Reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, the Britons were left to themſelves, lived ſubject to their own Kings, and were governed by their own Laws [s]. The Romans, however, ſtill kept up a Claim to the Iſland, founded upon Cæſar's Expedition; and the Britons, for the ſake of their Commerce with Gaul, kept Meaſures with them, ſending from time to time Preſents to Rome, which were there received and accounted for Tributes [t]. Caligula appeared diſpoſed to make a real Conqueſt, which however ended only in building a Light-houſe on the oppoſite Shore, and in a childiſh and ridiculous Triumph [u]. Claudius executed what Caligula made a Shew of doing, and, either by the Force or Terror of his Arms, made ſuch an Impreſſion here as at Rome was conſidered as a Conqueſt. He left behind him Aulus Plautius, whom he ſent hither before he came in Perſon, to reduce his Acquiſitions into the Form of a Province [w].

It was from this Time that the Romans began to lead Colonies, to ſettle Magiſtrates, and eſtabliſh Juriſdictions in this as in their other Provinces. They proceeded ſo ſpeedily and ſo ſucceſsfully in their Settlement, that in leſs than Twenty Years many Emporia or trading Cities were fixed in proper Places; a regular Correſpondence being commenced with Rome, occaſioned a prodigious Reſort of Merchants; immenſe Sums were ſent over and lent here at Intereſt; and in a Word, as we have before ſuggeſted, all the Marks appeared of a lucrative and extenſive Commerce [x].

the Britons have both Sorts of Veſſels as well as they? The principal Advantages of theſe Wicker Boats were, the Simplicity of their Conſtruction; their Lightneſs, ſo as to be as eaſily carried from one Place to another; and the Facility of turning them up, when by Accident they were at any time overſet.

[s] Dio Hiſt. Rom. lib. liii. in vit. J. Agric. cap. 13. H. Huntingd. Hiſt. lib. i. Yet, as we learn from Horace, Carm. lib. iii. v. Auguſtus regarded Britain as Part of the Empire.

[t] Strab. Geog. lib. iv. Tacit. An. lib. ii. Viti Hiſtor. Britan. lib. iv. p. 265, 266. Camden ſays, that during this Period Britain was neglected by the Romans.

[u] Tacit. in vit. Agricolæ, cap. 13. Sueton. in C. Calig. cap. 44. P. Oroſ. lib. vii. cap. v. Tacitus aſcribes this Conduct to the Fickleneſs and Irreſolution of Caligula's Temper.

[w] Dio Hiſt. Rom. lib. lx. Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 24. Eutrop. Breviar. lib. vii. cap. 3. Claudius gave his Son the Surname of Britannicus.

[x] Stillingfleet Origin. Britannicæ, p. 5. in which Work the Progreſs and Proceedings of the Romans in Britain are learnedly and perſpicuouſly treated.

The greateſt Perſons were the firſt in adopting Roman Manners, and Kings themſelves ſtooped ſo low as to become the Inſtruments of inſlaving thoſe whom it was their Duty to defend. But the Druids, who ſaw with Regret their old Conſtitution expiring, and themſelves deſpiſed, did all they could to revive the ancient Spirit of their Countrymen, and to render Plenty odious when purchaſed by Servility [y]. This having ſome Effects, Suetonius Paulinus, who then governed here in the Time of Nero, reſolved to extirpate them, and with this View marched to attack their great Sanctuary of Mona or Angleſey, of which Expedition we have ſpoken in its proper Place [z]. But the Vices of the Romans themſelves proved much more deſtructive to their Affairs than all the Efforts of the Druids. Praſutagus, King of the Iceni, having bequeathed to them, that is, to the Emperor, all his Riches, in Hopes of procuring their Protection for his Queen and Daughters, they behaved to them with equal Inſolence, Indecency, and Inhumanity, which induced his Widow, the famous Boadicia, to excite a general Inſurrection, which, but for the Courage and military Skill of Paulinus, who returned with great Celerity from Angleſey to London, had probably compelled the Romans once more to quit the Iſland [a].

She was overcome; but, notwithſtanding this, the Britons continued their Struggle for Liberty many Years, till at length Julius Agricola was ſent hither with a potent Army by Veſpaſian, who had himſelf ſerved here, and had contributed as much as any of the Roman Officers to the Enlargement of the Province [b]. By this wiſe and able General the greater Part of the Iſland was actually reduced; and what he won by Force of Arms, he alſo ſecured by his judicious Policy. By his diſintereſted and equitable Adminiſtration, he diſpoſed the Britons to a real Submiſſion, and a cordial Coalition with the Conquerors. He reſumed and perfected the Reduction of Mona, and the Deſtruction or Expulſion (if any ſtill remained) of the Druids. His Affability gained him the Affections of the People, whom he diſpoſed to embrace the Roman Manners by flattering them with the Names and Privileges of Citizens, receiving them into his Armies, pro-

[y] Tacit. in Vit. Agricolæ, cap. 15. They wanted not many cogent Arguments to perſuade the People to ſhake off a foreign, and at this Period an oppreſſive Yoke.

[z] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 490, 491, where the Hiſtory of this Expedition, drawn from the moſt authentick Writers, may be found.

[a] Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 31. et in Vit. Agric. cap. 15, where he declares the Britons meditated no leſs than a total Expulſion, which nothing but this quick March, and the hard-won Victory which followed it, could have prevented.

[b] Sueton. in Veſpaſian. cap. 4. Tacit. in Vit. Agric. cap. 13. Flavius under Claudius, and A. Plautius, where he fought many Battles, ſubdued Two Nations, and reduced the Iſle of Wight. His Son Titus ſerved under him as a Tribune with much Reputation, and bravely diſengaged him from a Poſt in which he had been cloſely blocked up by the Britons, which ſhews they nobly defended their Freedom.

viding for the Education of their Youth, living amongſt them with much Familiarity, and commending and rewarding their Valour, their Learning, and their Politeneſs [c].

In a Word, this truly great Man was properly ſpeaking at once the Conqueror, and in ſome Degree the Legiſlator, of Britain, of which he acquired a thorough Knowledge. He penetrated into Countries not known ſo much as by Name to his Predeceſſors, and, there are good Grounds to aſſert, even as far as the Frith of Murray, after defeating the whole Force of the Caledonians under the Command of their Monarch Galgacus; an Expedition unequalled by any of the ſucceeding Emperors, or their Generals [d]. The Roman Territory, thus enlarged, was in different Periods divided into different Provinces, in which the People lived intirely after the Roman Cuſtoms, ſpoke at leaſt many of them the Latin Language, had Preſidents over moſt of the Provinces, Magiſtrates in all the great Towns, who adminiſtered Juſtice according to the Roman Law [e]. The Temples, Palaces, Houſes, Baths, and in a Word all Buildings, whether publick or private, were after the Roman Model: Facts not barely ſupported by Hiſtory, but which the Remains of theſe ancient Edifices and Antiquities of every Kind, that have been and are daily digged up in a Multitude of Places, inconteſtably prove [f].

This Change in the Manners and Diſpoſition of the Inhabitants was ſo complete and ſo univerſal, that, conſidering themſelves as Romans and their Country as a Part of the Empire, they made no Scruple of calling ſuch of

[c] Tacit. in Vit. Agric. cap. 21, where he frankly acknowledges that the Britons, in adopting Roman Manners, only preſſed forward into Servitude, and rivetted their own Chains.

[d] Richard of Cirenceſter, whoſe Map of Roman Britain Dr. Stukeley prefers to that of Camden, places the Aræ Finium Imperii Romani, the Altars erected on the Limits of the Roman Empire, near that Frith. Mr. James Fraſer, Miniſter at Kirkhill near Inverneſs, having examined Beaulieu Frith, found that, though now an Arm of the Sea, it was once firm Land, and that great Works had been erected there. On opening a Cairn, or large Heap of Stones, Urns were found in the very Middle of the Frith. Phil. Tranſ. N° 254. p. 231. But to put out of Doubt this Point of the Romans being thus far North, at Caſtle Bean in the Heart of Murray (the Banatia of Ptolemy) there were found A. D. 1460 a Marble Veſſel finely wrought, and full of Roman Coins. As to Richard of Cirenceſter (Ricardus Corinenſis) he was a Monk of Weſtminſter, who died about A. D. 1400, his MS. was diſcovered at Copenhagen, and afterwards printed there by Mr. Charles Bertram.

[e] As to the Provinces, they were, Britannia Prima, containing the Southern Part of England; Britannia Secunda, Wales; Flavia Cæſarienſis, the middle Part of England; Maxima Cæſarienſis, the Northern Part; and Veſpaſiana, all Agricola's Conqueſts in Scotland as far as Murray Frith. But theſe being ſoon loſt, Theodoſius, when he commanded here, recovered a Part, which he formed into a Province, and this he called Valentia, in Honour of the Emperor Valentinian.

[f] As to this Point, the Reader may find competent Satisfaction by conſulting Camden, Battely, Muſgrave, Hearne, Horſeley, and the Tranſactions of the Royal Society.

their Countrymen, who ſtill remained free, by the opprobrious Name of Barbarians; which they in ſome meaſure merited, by their continual Incurſions into a Country better cultivated, and of courſe much richer than their own [g]. To ſecure them from theſe deſtructive Invaſions, their Governors, inſtead of acting offenſively againſt the Northern Nations, had recourſe to well conſtructed and well fortified Intrenchments, which, according to their original Deſignation, we ſtile WALLS [h]. The great Tract of Country behind theſe was highly improved, fully inhabited, and in a moſt flouriſhing Condition; but theſe Inhabitants, though Natives, were Provincial Subjects, who had no Views or Intereſts, but thoſe of their Maſters, employing their Subſtance and their Swords for their Emolument, and for their Defence, and this according to their Directions [i].

THESE Meaſures were not only acceptable to the Roman Officers of every Rank reſiding here, but were alſo in many Reſpects of the greateſt Utility to the Empire. Britain was on this Account much conſidered, and very carefully attended to, more eſpecially by the beſt and wiſeſt of their Emperors. Trajan particularly took care that the Roads in all Parts ſhould be completed, and put into the beſt Order poſſible, that the Correſpondence between all the Stations might be regular, ſafe, and commodious [k]. Adrian came over in Perſon, remained here ſome time, and provided effectually for the Security of the Frontier [l]. Antoninus, following his Example, made additional Proviſions for the Safety of the Iſland both by Land and

[g] In this Sketch of Britiſh Hiſtory, only ſuch Circumſtances are touched as may beſt ſerve to point out the Changes which their Condition made in the Manners of the People. Thoſe ſubject to the Romans were in Love with their Situation, and the Comforts attending it. The unreduced Britons, in the Midſt of their Indigence, boaſted their Freedom. Thus they had a reciprocal Contempt and Hatred for each other, which contributed to the Diſtreſs and Deſtruction of both. The Chain of Roman Troops, by permitting no Correſpondence, rendered impracticable any Accommodation.

[h] Theſe Walls, to give a ſuccinct Account of them, are, 1. That aſcribed to Agricola between the Friths of Forth and Clyde, A. D. 81. 2. Adrian's Wall, between Newcaſtle and Carliſle, i. e. between the Rivers Tine and Eden, A. D. 121. 3. By Lollius Urbicus, under Antoninus, between Clyde and Forth, A. D. 138. 4. By the Emperor S. Severus, where Adrian's was A. D. 210. 5. By Carauſius, between Clyde and Forth, A. D. 290. 6. By Theodoſius, in the ſame Place, to cover his Province of Valentia, A. D. 367. 7. By the Command of Stilicho this Wall was repaired, A. D. 398. 8. Again repaired by the Britons with Turfs, A. D. 426. 9. Gallio Ravenna's ſtrong Stone Wall, between Tinmouth and Solway Frith, A. D. 426.

[i] They conſidered themſelves as Part of the Empire, to the Intereſt and Glory of which they thought it their Duty to ſacrifice all other Conſiderations, and in this they perſiſted.

[k] Galen de Method. Medendi, lib ix. cap. 8. Under Trajan the Empire attained to the Summit of Power, which by wiſe Conſtitutions he laboured to eſtabliſh and ſecure.

[l] Spartian. Vit. Adriani. His Coins ſhew how high he rated his Exploits here, which intitled him to be regarded as the Reſtorer of Britain, in his own Time; though in ſucceeding Ages his Conduct hath been cenſured for leſſening the Roman Territory, and abandoning Fourſcore Miles of Country to the Caledonians.

Sea, and his Succeſſor was no leſs active and attentive to the Welfare of Britain [m]. Under Commodus, Helvius Pertinax commanded in this Iſland with great Reputation, which raiſed him after the Deceaſe of Commodus to the Empire. He ſent hither Clodius Albinus, who, during the Confuſions which enſued on the Demiſe of Pertinax, aſſumed the Purple, and carried over a numerous Army of Britons into Gaul, to maintain his Title againſt Septimius Severus, where, after gaining a Victory, they were through his ill Conduct routed, and himſelf ſlain [n].

To compoſe the Troubles, and to protect the Inhabitants in the Roman Provinces againſt their Enemies, Severus came over hither, and, from his glorious Exploits here, aſſumed the Sirname of Britannicus Maximus. He died at York, where the famous Lawyer Papinian preſided in the Britiſh Court of Juſtice. His Two Sons, Baſianus (afterwards ſtiled Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla) and Geta, took each of them the Name of Britannicus [o]. In the ſubſequent Troubles of the Empire, diſtracted and torn to Pieces by ambitious Men, Britain had a very large Share; and ſeveral of thoſe who are ſtiled Tyrants in the Roman Hiſtory aſſumed the Title of Emperors here, as many of their Coins in the Cabinets of the Curious plainly ſhew. When theſe deſtructive Diſturbances were compoſed, the Emperor Probus permitted, as we have elſewhere obſerved, the Planting of Vines in Britain.

New Diſſenſions ariſing after his Demiſe, Carauſius, who is ſaid to have been a Native of St. David's, a Man of ſuperior Abilities, and an excellent Officer both by Land and Sea, aſſumed the Imperial Title, and, as we have had occaſion more than once to mention, held it for ſeveral Years, reſiding chiefly in Britain, though the Sea Coaſts of Gaul made likewiſe a Part of his Dominions. He did many great Things, and was exceedingly careful in providing for the Safety and Proſperity of his Subjects, till he was ſlain, ſome ſay in Battle, others through Treachery, by Allectus [p], who likewiſe ſtiled himſelf Emperor, and held that Title a little While. Againſt him came Conſtantius Chlorus, after reducing the Maritime Parts of Gaul with a great Fleet and Army, and Allectus being routed and killed, Conſtantius reſtored the Peace and Proſperity of Britain, where he had reſided in his Youth with great Credit, and is ſaid to have married a Britiſh Lady. He

[m] Jul. Capitol. in Vit. Antonin. In his Time, Seius Saturninus, under the Title of Archigubernus, commanded the Roman Fleet on the Coaſt of Britain.

[n] Spartian. in Vit. Sever. Xiphilin. Vit. Severi. Eutrop. Breviar. lib. viii. cap. 10. Almoſt the Whole of the Army of Albinus was maſſacred, which, as is ſaid in the Text, conſiſted chiefly of Britons.

[o] Herodian. Hiſt. lib. ii. iii. Aurel. Victor. de Cæſaribus. P. Oroſii lib. vii. cap. 17. Rufi. Feſti Breviar. Digeſt. lib. xxviii. Tit. 6.

[p] Zonar. Hiſt. Rom. P. Oroſii lib. vii. cap. 25. Eutrop. Breviar. lib. ix. cap. 13, 14. Dr. Stukeley publiſhed the Medallic Hiſtory of Carauſius in Two Volumes 4to.

breathed his laſt at York, having been ſome time before called to the Empire, and in that City his Son Conſtantine, afterwards ſirnamed the Great, being come to viſit his Father, was upon his Death ſaluted Emperor by the Army, and in conſequence of thoſe happy Events, no Province during their Reigns was more cheriſhed by them, or more celebrated by their Orators than Britain [q].

At his Demiſe he bequeathed, amongſt other Provinces, Britain to his Son of the ſame Name, who quarrelling through Ambition with his Brother, loſt to him both Life and Empire. This Brother, whoſe Name was Conſtance, came over hither in the Winter, a Thing ſo unuſual that we find it mentioned in very high Terms in a Panegyrick on that Prince [r]. He was ſoon after ſucceeded by his other Brother Conſtantius, in whoſe Time Gratian, who was the Father of the Emperor Valentinian, commanded here. On his being recalled, Magnentius ſet up for himſelf, and for a few Years reigned with great good Fortune, but was at length ſubdued [s]. Julian, while he bore the Title of Cæſar, and commanded with much Reputation in Gaul, drew, as we have ſhewn in another Place, immenſe Supplies of Proviſions from this Iſland, for the Reception of which he conſtructed prodigious Granaries [t]. When he became Emperor, knowing the Importance of this Iſland, he ſent over conſiderable Forces to repreſs the Incurſions of the Nations from the Northern Part of the Iſle.

Under Valentinian, Theodoſius, Father of the Emperor of the ſame Name, came hither, and by his Military Exploits gained great Reputation; following the Example of Agricola, acting offenſively againſt the Enemy, and eſtabliſhing a new Province, compoſed of the Territory out of which he expelled them [u]. When afterwards the Son of this victorious

[q] Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. ii. P. Oroſii lib. vii. cap. 27. Sext. Aurel. Victor de Cæſaribus. But he was cenſured for withdrawing the Legions from the Frontiers, for making many Alterations in the Military Eſtabliſhment, and for changing the Seat of Empire, by which the Weſtern Provinces were rendered leſs ſecure

[r] Zonar. Hiſt. lib. iii. Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. ii. Eutrop. Breviar. lib. x. cap. 5. The Panegyriſt was Julius Firmicus. But Conſtans himſelf ſtruck a Medal to perpetuate the Memory of this Paſſage (Spanheim in Jul. Cæſar. p. 134.) with his Effigies on one Side, and on the Reverſe an armed Man on Ship-board, with an Image of Victory. The Inſcription, Bononia Ocean. which ſhews he embarked at Bologn. This Expedition was A. D. 343. It is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus lib. xx. c. 1.

[s] Zonar. Hiſt. lib. iii. Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. ii. P. Oroſii lib. vii. cap. 29. The Defeat of Magnentius, who, though born in Gaul, was the Son of a Briton, was accompanied with ſuch Slaughter as exceedingly exhauſted the Force of the Roman Empire.

[t] Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xx. Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. iii. Eutropii Breviar. lib. x. cap. 7. He alſo ſent over Lupicinius hither to repreſs the Northern Invaders.

[u] Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxviii. This new Province, according to Richard of Cirenceſter, was only a Part of Agricola's Veſpaſiania, the Reſt was never recovered.

General

General was declared Emperor, it ſo diſguſted Maximus, who was at the Head of the Army here, that he ſet up for himſelf, aſſumed the Purple, and carried into Gaul a numerous and potent Army compoſed chiefly of Britons, of whom few if any returned [w]. He was at firſt very ſucceſsful, and poſſeſſing himſelf of Part of Germany, fixed his Capital at Triers: But marching afterwards into Italy, he was there defeated and ſlain. This Tyrant, as he is frequently ſtiled by the Latin Writers, contributed very much to extenuate the Roman Power in this Iſle [x].

After his Death there followed ſuch a Scene of Confuſion, that it would require much more Room than we have to ſpare, ſhould we attempt to diſcuſs the diſcordant Accounts of the ſeveral Revolutions that with great Bloodſhed and horrid Devaſtation happened here [y]. The Empire haſtening to its Decline, was miſerably harraſſed on all Sides by the barbarous Nations, which was alſo the Fate of Britain; and the Inhabitants, having been hitherto protected by the Romans, looked continually to them for Relief, which they obtained ſo long as they were able to afford it. Gallio Ravennas was the laſt of their Generals who came hither, and who having with great Spirit and Succeſs repelled the Scots and Picts, repaired and fortified the Wall, which he exhorted the Britons to defend, and ſo left them [z] after the Romans had held this Country Four hundred and Seventy-ſix Years, according to Camden's Computation, though others ſay more than Five hundred Years [a].

[w] Zonar. Hiſt. lib. iii. Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. iv. P. Oroſii lib. vii. cap. 34, 35. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 381. Nennius and Geofrey's Britiſh Hiſtory mention this, and the Fact ſeems unqueſtionable.

[x] Vit. Hiſt. Brit. lib. vi. Gildæ Hiſt. de excidio Britan. cap. 10. Galfrid. Monmuth. Hiſt. Brit. lib. v. cap. 10—16. He calls him Maximian, and makes him a near Relation to Conſtantine the Great by the Side of Helena his Mother. Zoſimus ſays he was a Spaniard by Birth, though he had ſerved with the Character of a good Officer in Britain, and covered the Sea with his Navy when he came from thence. The Poet Auſonius, however, calls him by no better Name than the Rhutupian Thief, which ſome think implies his being a Briton, which the Saxon Chronicle affirms.

[y] Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. vi P. Oroſii lib. vii. cap. 40. 42. Pauli Diaconi lib. xiii. xiv. Gildæ Hiſt. de excidio Britan. Nennii Hiſt. Britonum. Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. Galfrid. Monmuth. lib. vi. viii.

[z] It ſeems to be certain, that Aetius and not Agitius (as it is in Gildas) was the Conſul to whom the Britons applied for Succour; and it appears no leſs certain, that the Romans were rather unable than unwilling to comply with their Requeſt, for at this Time their weſtern Provinces were daily falling into the Hands of thoſe ſtiled by them barbarous Nations, which could never have happened if they had conſtantly kept up their Forces and Fleets in Britain.

[a] It ſeems probable the laſt Number comes neareſt the Truth. The judicious Dr. E. Halley (Miſcel. Curioſa vol. iii. p. 423) clearly proves that Julius Cæſar landed here Auguſt 26 A. A. U. C. 699 A. A. C. 55. according to Gildas compared with the Roman Hiſtories, that Nation finally relinquiſhed this Iſland about A. D. 444. and conſequently, if we put theſe together, their Dominion laſted 499 Years. But if we reckon from Claudius's Expedition, they were not here ſo long; the Saxon Chronicle ſays 470 Years.

When

When the provincial Britons found that they were thus deſerted, it exceedingly depreſſed their Spirits, and they quickly diſcovered they were utterly unequal to the Taſk of defending themſelves. We have no Reaſon to wonder at this, ſince all their hardy and bold ſpirited Youths had been gradually carried out of the Country, ſo that the far greater Part of thoſe left behind were either old and infirm or looſe, luxurious, profligate, and withal turbulent and ſeditious People, alike incapable of reſiſting their Enemies or of ſubmitting for any Length of Time even to Governors of their own Choice [b]. In this ſad Situation, being without any Order or Diſcipline, and attacked on all Sides by foreign Foes, they had Recourſe through Infatuation and Deſpair to the very worſt of all Expedients, in which however they only copied their old Maſters [c], that of calling in One barbarous Nation to drive out another, which brought them under a new and heavier Yoke. Theſe are Facts fully atteſted by their own Hiſtorians Gildas and Nennius, who are indiſputable Authorities, and whoſe Accounts are not ſimply Relations, but Pictures alſo of thoſe truly miſerable Times, drawn by Men who write as if they had been Eye Witneſſes, and as if they ſpoke of what they ſaw and felt in a Language ſuitable to their Circumſtances [d].

It is the Remark of a very judicious and learned Prelate, that the great Source of the Misfortunes of the Britons was the Error committed by the Romans in not making an entire Conqueſt of the Iſland. This was plainly the Deſign of Julius Agricola, and the Cauſe of thoſe dreadful Apprehenſions of the Caledonians when they ſaw his Fleet ſteering for the Orkneys [e]. If Domitian had ſuffered him to have effected what he was ſo near accompliſhing, there would have been no Need of Walls; and if the Romans had been obliged to quit this Country, they would have left all the Britons in general in the ſame Condition, and of courſe they would either have united under One Monarch, or have recurred to their old Form of Government, and which ever had been their Choice, they would have had Strength enough, when free from inteſtine Diviſions, to have repelled any foreign Invaſion, as this could never have been made with ſuch a Force as Cæſar

[b] P. Oroſii lib. vii. cap. 40. Gild. cap. 2, 3, 4. Nennii Hiſt. Briton. cap. 27. Galfrid. Moſnumet. Hiſt. Brit. lib. vi. Gulielm. Malmeſb. de geſtis Regn. Angl. lib. i.

[c] Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. iv. p. 760. who cenſures Gratian for his Propenſity to the barbarous Nations. Some ſay that Gratian and Valentinian ſent Part of their Fleet to tranſport the Picts in great Numbers into the Northern Parts of the Province in their War againſt Maximus, that they might oblige him to return into Britain out of Gaul; and not ſucceeding, employed the Hunns and the Alani againſt him on the Continent. At leaſt this was charged upon him by Maximus, and not denied by St. Ambroſe, whom this Emperor employed to negociate with Maximus.

[d] Both theſe Writers are to be found in Dr. Gale's Collection of our ancient Hiſtorians. Gildas, from his complaining Invectives, obtained the Sirname of Querelus.

[e] Tacit in vit. Agricolæ, cap. 25. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, viſa Claſſis obſtufaciebat, tam quam aperto maris ſui ſecreto ultimam victis perfugium clauderetur.

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brought over, and with which, when in a worſe Condition, they found themſelves able to ſtruggle with Succeſs [f].

Our famous antiquary Camden obſerves, that if our Anceſtors thought it ſo great an Honour to derive themſelves from the Trojans, they might have done it from their Incorporation with the Romans, who valued themſelves on the like Deſcent. But it may not be amiſs to remark, that it was not barely the Romans, but all the Nations who were ſubject to them, and in conſequence of that ſerved in their Legions here, who intermixed with the Native Britons, and even numerous Colonies from diſtant Countries were tranſported hither, and had Lands given them to ſettle upon and cultivate here [g]. It is alſo highly probable that very many, if not moſt of theſe People, when they found Reſiſtance vain, ſubmitted to and intermixed with the Saxons.

In ſo long a Series of Years as the Romans remained and ruled here, it cannot be doubted that they introduced many Uſages which were highly advantageous to the Natives: They brought them from a rude and rough to a civil and orderly Manner of Life, and gradually to a Taſte for Urbanity and Politeneſs. This was much facilitated by the Practice of thoſe bodily Exerciſes to which the Romans were addicted, and ſtill more by their Application to Letters and Sciences. They likewiſe made them acquainted with many uſeful Occupations, to which, from their different Mode of Living, they had been utter Strangers. They inſtructed them in a Multiplicity of mechanick Arts, ſome of more and ſome of leſs Importance; all of which contributed to that Eaſe, Affluence, and Splendour in which it is certain they lived in thoſe Days [h]. Their Intercouſe with foreign Nations, and of courſe their Commerce was extended through moſt Parts of the Empire. But the moſt permanent as well as the moſt proſperous of their Improvements conſiſted in bringing over and naturalizing

[f] Dion. Hiſt. Rom. lib. xxxix. Where he ſays plainly, that except the Glory of coming hither, Cæſar gained nothing either for himſelf or the Republick.

[g] It was the Policy of the Romans to form Corps of Horſe (Alæ) and Foot (Cohortes) out of the Nations they ſubdued, and theſe they ſent into diſtant Provinces, where from being Strangers, having different Cuſtoms, and not ſpeaking the Language of the Country in which they were ſtationed, they were leſs likely to form Cabals. In this Iſland, as the Notitia Imperii, and many Inſcriptions ſhew, beſides Gauls, Spaniards, and Germans, we had Dalmatians, Sarmatians, and other Nations.

[h] The Roman Soldiers were moſt of them Artificers, which enabled them to inſtruct the People amongſt whom they were ſtationed. That they actually did ſo here, appears from the Potteries, Founderies, and other Manufactories, the Relicts of which have been diſcovered in different Places. The immenſe Quantities of Utenſils of divers Materials dug out of the Ruins of their Towns and Fortreſſes for a long Series of Ages, affords an additional Proof. To all this we may add, that the Emperors had an Officer here who was Director of the Looms.

to our Soil and Climate many Things which we had not before, and by this the Country itſelf was enriched as well as its Inhabitants. They likewiſe extended and improved our Agriculture, and thereby not only a much greater Number of People were maintained and ſupported, but maintained and ſupported alſo in a better Manner [i].

They likewiſe eſtabliſhed Cities, Towns, and Fortreſſes, which were generally ſo properly diſpoſed, and their Situation ſo well choſen, as to preſerve their Credit through all ſucceeding Times [k]. Theſe they connected, as we have already ſeen, by ſpacious and ſtately Roads, and in ſome Places by Canals for conveying ſure and ſpeedy Supplies to their remoteſt Garriſons. We may add to theſe, though calculated ſolely for their own Security, the Sagacity of their Eſtabliſhments for the Protection of their Dominions, both by Land and Sea, againſt Invaſions from the Northern Nations within the Iſland, and the piratical Depredations of the Saxons from the oppoſite Continent [l]; which Precautions of theirs have ever appeared moſt worthy of Admiration to thoſe, who by examining them cloſely, have not barely obſerved Facts, but diſcovered alſo their Motives, and the true Principles of that ſound Policy, by which they retained ſo wide an Empire, inhabited by ſo many different Nations, under ſuch ſtrict Obedience, through the Courſe of a long Series of Years. A Policy ſo compleat and perfect, that if it had been ſteadily adhered to, might have ſubſiſted much longer than it did. But the Luſt of Power in private Men, joined to that Luxury attendant on Proſperity, unhappily excited ſuch continual Convulſions, as at length brought on the Diſſolution of that So-

[i] Bradley's Survey of Ancient Huſbandry and Gardening, p. 104. 290. It is ſaid in ſome of the Southern Counties ſeveral Roman Terms of Art are in uſe amongſt Huſbandmen at this Day. Their Mode of Cultivating was practically taught the Saxons by the People who ſubmitted to them. It is alſo not at all improbable that ſome of the Writings of the Romans on Agriculture were preſerved in the Monaſteries; for we know that in thoſe Days the Monks were not only the great Patrons of this Art, but the greateſt Proficients in it.

[k] In Gildas and Nennius we have a Liſt of Twenty-eight Cities that were here in the Time of the Romans, upon which we have an excellent Commentary by the learned Archbiſhop Uſher. Richard of Cirenceſter tells us that there were Ninety-two, and that of theſe Thirty-three (the Names of which he hath given) were the moſt eminent. Camden and others have obſerved that the Saxons built upon the old Foundations. Speed ſays very juſtly, that the Roman Stations were the Seed Plot of our Engliſh Cities.

[l] At ſome Times there were Four or more Legions here, but conſtantly Three. According to Conſtantine's Regulation the Comes Britanniæ commanded a ſmall Force in the interior of the Roman Territories. The Dux Britanniarum commanded the Reſt and all the fortified Poſts along the Wall. But the Sea Ports and their Garriſons obeyed the Count of the Saxon Shoar or Comes Tractus Maritimi. They had alſo a competent Sea Force to protect the Coaſts, and a convenient Number of armed Veſſels ſtationed in the Friths and upon great Rivers.

vereignty which had triumphed over the beſt Part of what was then eſteemed the habitable World [m].

It muſt on the other Hand be allowed, that there reſulted from the Roman Government not a few Inconveniencies to the provincial Britons. Before they were totally ſubdued, prodigious Numbers were deſtroyed in making Cauſeways, cutting down Woods, draining Moraſſes, and erecting Fortifications. Labours ſo much the more grievous and galling, as they were at once the Inſtruments as well as the Badges of Subjection [n]. They were likewiſe expoſed to much Rigour, Extortion, and Injuſtice of every Kind from the Avarice, and even Caprice of the Roman Governors, eſpecially before they obtained the Benefit of the Laws which afforded them Protection, and even this they purchaſed at the Expence of Taxes and Tribute. They afterwards felt the Burthens, and experienced all the Diſtreſſes that aroſe from the Weakneſs of ſome and the Violence of other Preſidents and inferior Magiſtrates. They paid largely for the Maintenance of a ſtanding Army, compoſed chiefly of foreign Troops, the Military Eſtabliſhment here being very high [o], and the Naval alſo, though we have no diſtinct Account of it, was alſo conſiderable. The Youth were encouraged to affect a Military Life, enrolled and preferred in the Legions, and of courſe went abroad with them, eſpecially when the Commanders inclined to ſet up for themſelves, from a ſtrange Perſuaſion, that by ſupporting theſe bold Adventurers they did Honour to Britain [p]. The Nation was beſides exceedingly exhauſted by ſending con-

[m] The Seeds of civil Polity and the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion were ſown in all the Countries ſubject to the Roman Empire, and theſe were not ſo rooted out by the Irruptions of the barbarous Nations as never to ſpring up any more. On the contrary, the Countries which had been under their Dominion were earlier and more effectually civilized than thoſe which never fell under their Power. This is very conſpicuous in other Countries in Europe as well as theſe Iſlands, and is a Point worthy of being well conſidered.

[n] Theſe Works, as they rendered the Country more open and more advantageous to the Romans, ſo it rendered it leſs ſerviceable, becauſe leſs defenſible to the Britons; it is no Wonder therefore they went about it unwillingly and by Compulſion. Tacitus therefore with equal Elegance and Propriety puts this Complaint into the Mouth of Galgacus Monarch of the Caledonians, Corpora ipſa ac manus, Silvis ac Paludibus emuniendis, Verbera inter ac contumelias conterunt. In vit. Agricol. cap. xxxi.

[o] Pancirollus computes the Number of Roman Troops ſtationed here at Nineteen thouſand Two hundred Foot, and One thouſand Two hundred Horſe. Dr. Arbuthnot in his Tables of ancient Coins, p. 179, 180, rates the Pay of a Foot Soldier at Six Pence per Diem, and the Horſe at One Shilling and Six Pence. According then to this Calculation the annual Eſtimate of the Roman Forces amounted to upwards of One hundred and Sixteen thouſand Pounds, excluſive of Officers Pay, Military Stores, and other Contingencies.

[p] As unreaſonable and abſurd as this Notion was, it cannot be looked upon as unnatural, if we conſider the Habit of a Soldier's Obedience, and the Share he takes in the Succeſs and Glory of his General. But the Armies carried from hence in ſo ſhort a Space of Years under Clodius Albinus, Carauſius, Magnentius, Maximus, and Conſtantine, who was choſen by the Britons for the Sake of his Name, we may eaſily conceive muſt exhauſt even a populous Country, more eſpecially when joined with a Variety of other Cauſes.

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tinual Recruits to keep thoſe Britiſh Corps compleat that were diſperſed in Garriſons all over the Empire, as the foreign Forces were here [q]. Add to all this the immenſe Supplies of Corn, which they were obliged to furniſh for the Subſiſtence of the Legions in Gaul and in Germany, who could not otherwiſe be maintained there, as evidently appeared when the barbarous Nations, gaining Poſſeſſion of the Coaſts, interrupted that Correſpondence, and thereby obliged the Romans to abandon thoſe Provinces. But the worſt of all Evils was the ſtifling all Senſe of publick Spirit, by diverting to the Roman Empire that Diſpoſition which ſhould have rendered them zealous for the Intereſts of their own Country, and by which the Bulk of the Nation were rendered indolent and inactive; a Circumſtance that, from the ſame deſtructive Policy, proved not only fatal to them, but to the Inhabitants alſo of all the other Provinces, and rendered them an eaſy Prey to their fierce and barbarous Enemies [r].

As to thoſe dark, perplexed, and doubtful Times that ſucceeded this Cataſtrophe, the Stories of them have baffled the Induſtry and Judgment even of our ableſt Writers. But the Subſtance of what can with Certainty be collected is ſimply this: The Romans were no ſooner withdrawn, and the unhappy Britons left to themſelves, than their Weakneſs and Inability appeared [s]. The Scots and Picts penetrated the Wall; ſeveral Parts of which, that they might enter with the greater Freedom, they utterly ruined, ſacking the Cities that were neareſt it, ſpoiling the adjacent Lands, and by repeated Incurſions ſpreading ſuch a general Deſolation as produced a Famine [t]. Vortigern, who was then King, unable to reſiſt his Enemies, and at

[q] It appears from the Notitia Imperii, and from Inſcriptions, that there were at leaſt Twelve diſtinct Corps of Britiſh Troops, ſome Horſe and ſome Foot, not only in Italy, in Gaul, and in Spain, but in Illyria, Armenia, Egypt, and other remote Provinces, from whence few returned hither. Beſides theſe there were no Doubt conſiderable Numbers that ſerved on Board the Fleets which were withdrawn at the ſame Time with the Legions, ſo that the Country was ſtripped entirely of all her Strength both by Land and Sea.

[r] In the Time of the Emperor Valentinian III. the Romans quitted Britain, and in the ſame Reign the Franks ſeized the beſt Part of Gaul; the Burgundi too fixed themſelves in thoſe Countries which bear their Name; the Goths ſettled themſelves in Spain; the Hunns occupied Pannonia, now called from them Hungary, and afterwards took and ſacked Rome. The Provinces when the Legions, being their Protectors, were once withdrawn, having no Force or Spirit of their own, were with little or no Reſiſtance over-run by theſe Inundations of the barbarous Nations.

[s] Fordun Scotichron. lib. iii. cap. 12. We have the Fact aſcertained by Gildas, Nennius, and other Writers; but they are not at all clear in Relation to Time. However it appears from them to have been but a very ſhort Space. Fordun generally took his Accounts from old Chronicles, which for the moſt Part he cites; and from him we may collect, that in the Space of Four or Five Years the Scots and Picts, whom Gallio with a ſingle Legion had repelled (ſuch hath been always the Superiority of regular Troops) renewed their Incurſions.

[t] Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ, p. 301. This Wall, built by the Labour of the Britons, though under the Direction of the Romans, is a noble Monument of their Skill in Military Architecture;

at the ſame Time afraid to truſt his own Subjects, had Recourſe to the Saxons for Aſſiſtance. Theſe on their firſt Coming repelled the Northern Invaders, but not thinking themſelves properly rewarded for ſo great a Service, they compromiſed Matters with the Scots and Picts in order to turn their Arms upon the Britons. At that Time they were a fierce, cruel, and rapacious People, unreſtrained by any Senſe of Humanity or Principles of Religion; and being inflamed with an inſatiable Thirſt of Dominion, they plundered, burned, and ruined wherever they came without reſpect to the Conſequences that muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch horrid and wide ſpread Devaſtations [u].

The Britons, conſtrained by Neceſſity to take up Arms, were often victorious, though their Succeſs is ſo magnified in their own Hiſtory, as not only to ſurpaſs all Credibility, but even to render the very Exiſtence of thoſe Heroes who commanded them in ſome Degree problematical. The Truth of the Matter however ſeems to be, that if they could have forborne their inteſtine Diſputes, and united thoroughly in the Cauſe of their Country, they might have recovered and preſerved it [w]. But this was a Leſſon they could not be taught either from Prudence or Experience, inſomuch, that whenever they had the leaſt Reſpite from their foreign Enemies, they relapſed into civil Wars, by which their Strength was not barely exhauſted, but they were likewiſe diverted from purſuing the Methods they might otherwiſe have taken to prevent the Return of their Enemies, or to have put themſelves into a State of Security.

So far was their Conduct from this, that they ſuffered the Saxons to ſettle in different Parts of the Iſland, and thereby gave them an Oppor-

chitecture; ſo well conſtructed, and the Forts for its Defence ſo properly diſpoſed, as to render it, if well defended, impregnable; ſo ſtrong, that when deſerted, the Scots could not demoliſh it, or even Time and the Efforts of Men in ſo many Ages. Beda ſays it was Eight Feet broad and Twelve Feet high, which what ſtill remains proves to be exactly true.

[u] Gild. cap. 24, 25. Bed. lib. iii. cap. 15. The Britiſh Hiſtorian and the Saxon agree exactly in their Accounts. They ſay that all the Cities, Towns, and Habitations were conſumed from the Eaſt Sea to the Weſt; Churches, and all other publick Edifices ſhared the ſame Fate; the People alſo who reſiſted were maſſacred without reſpect to Sex or Age: In a Word, the Deſtruction was ſo univerſal in order to compel the Britons every where to retire, that at length the Saxons found Subſiſtence ſo ſcarce, that Numbers of them were for the preſent forced to quit the Iſland.

[w] The great Kings or Chieftans of the Britons againſt the Saxons were Vortimer, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Arthur; but the chief Difficulty is as to the laſt: He is not mentioned by Gildas or the Saxon Chronicle, yet the Britiſh Hiſtory makes him not only victorious over the Scots and Picts, but alſo over the Gauls, Romans, &c. which being manifeſtly falſe, created a Doubt with ſome whether ſuch a Perſon ever exiſted. Leland and Sir John Price have confuted this, and from them and Biſhop Stillingfleet the Sentiment delivered in the Text hath been adopted.

tunity of receiving continual Recruits from the Continent, by which Means they were at length overwhelmed by Numbers [x]. In theſe Facts the Britiſh and Saxon Writers upon the Whole agree tolerably well, and it is of little Conſequence, at leaſt to our Purpoſe, to trouble the Reader with Circumſtances in regard to which they do not agree at all. From this State of Things we ſee clearly, that on the One Side they fought to acquire, and on the other to preſerve Territory. In the Courſe of this furious Conteſt, the Country in general was laid waſte, the Cities and Towns depopulated and deſtroyed, Induſtry in a Manner totally extinguiſhed, and, together with the numerous Monuments of the Magnificence and Grandeur of the Romans and their Britiſh Subjects, the very Memory of their Arts, Sciences, and Polity buried in Oblivion; and thus this Revolution left both the Territory and its Inhabitants in the moſt dreary and deſolate Condition [y].

At the very Beginning of theſe Troubles, as well as during the Continuance of them, beſides thoſe who ſubmitted to the Saxons and the the Scots, great Numbers, to preſerve their Lives and Freedom, tranſported themſelves and their Effects into other Countries, more eſpecially into Armorica, Bretagne or Britanny, in which Diſtrict their Countrymen were ſettled before, though at what Time is a Point far from being clear [z]. Others

[x] If we attempt to account for the Conduct of the Saxons in thus burning and deſtroying the Midland Country which they deſigned to inhabit, it may look at leaſt ſomewhat like a Reaſon to ſay, that they meant to render it untenable by the ancient Inhabitants while their Countrymen were coming over daily and ſettling on the Sea Coaſts. By this Policy they had Time to reinforce their new formed States, and by continual Acceſſions of Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, to preſs upon and to curtail the ſeveral Territories ſtill in the Poſſeſſions of the Britons.

[y] The intelligent Reader, by contemplating this ſhort Account, will gain a competent Idea of the Change wrought in this Country by its falling into the Hands of theſe new Maſters. They deſtroyed at once in a Tranſport of barbarous Rage what the wiſeſt and politeſt Nation in the World had been whole Ages in raiſing. The Romans knew the Value of this noble Iſle, and ſpared no Pains to improve it. How far they ſucceeded we learn from their Hiſtorians, their Poets, and their Panegyriſts, much more we ſhould have known if their Works had come down to us entire, or had we any Authors of our own within that Period. That the Britons in thoſe Days lived in Plenty, Eaſe, and Luxury, Gildas informs us, and as to the Riches, the Splendor, and Elegance of the Romans, the Treaſures, Pavements, Altars, Statues, Moveables of all Sorts digged up for more than One thouſand Two hundred Years, are ſo many ſtriking and inconteſtable Proofs.

[z] Armorica in the Celtic and in the Britiſh Language ſignifies a Country on the Sea Coaſt. In all Times there was (as we have already mentioned) a cloſe Connection between the Inhabitants of that Country and this. But it is exceedingly difficult to diſtinguiſh the Time, when from a Colony ſent from hence, it came to be called Britannia ciſmarina and Britannia minor. Some ſay that Conſtantine the Great ſettled there the Invalids amongſt the Troops he carried from hence. Others that it was a Colony compoſed of the Remains of the Britiſh Armies carried over by Magnentius and Maximus. Some believe that theſe Exiles who fled from the Saxons ſeized on and ſubdued this Country, which is not barely improbable but impoſſible. Hiſtory ſhews theſe tranſmarine

Others took Shelter in the mountainous Part of the North of England, and from the Strength of the Situation, and the occaſional Aſſiſtance of ſome of their Neighbours, defended themſelves for a conſiderable Space againſt all the Efforts of their Enemies. Many from the ſame Motives fixed themſelves in Cornwall and Part of Devonſhire, of which Region EXETER continued long the Capital; and this Britiſh independant Sovereignty ſubſiſted for ſome Ages. But the moſt conſpicuous and permanent Seat of their Power was in thoſe Countries, anciently inhabited by the Silures, Dimetæ, and Ordovices, called by the Saxons WALES; and as Cornwall was inhabited by the ſame People, and lay next the Kingdom of the Weſt Saxons, they beſtowed upon that the Name of WEST WALES[a].

IN theſe Times of Confuſion, the Remains of our original Anceſtors having ſcarce any Reſpite from War, lived without a regular Syſtem of Government, conforming in ſome Reſpects to their old Cuſtoms, and in others were directed by the Will and Wiſdom of their Chiefs, and of their Clergy, who long adhered to the Principles of primitive Chriſtianity uncorrupted by the Errors of the Church of Rome[b]. At length, when their Affairs were better ſettled, HOEL DDA, that is Howel the Good, who was in Poſſeſſion of all Wales, by the Advice of the moſt knowing of his Subjects, and with the Conſent of his Great Council, compoſed about A. D. 943. a compleat Body of Laws, in the Prefaces to which he ſays expreſly, that they had none, or at leaſt none that were fit to be obſerved before. Theſe Laws in our Times have been carefully collected and publiſhed[c]. They are divided into Five Books; the Firſt regards Miniſters of

tranſmarine Britons were both a potent and martial Nation at this Time, to whom their Countrymen from hence reſorted for Protection.

[a] The Saxons beſtowed the Name of Wales on theſe Countries, and called the People Welſhmen. But why? It is commonly ſaid that *Walſh* in German means a *Stranger*, and that, as unlike their Conquerors in Speech and Cuſtoms, they were ſo ſtiled from thence. Others that the Saxons meant from their Conformity in Language and Manners to denominate them *Gauls*. But the judicious and very learned Sumner obſerves they did not call theſe People ſo till they had expelled them, that the Saxon Verb *weallan* ſignifies to *wander*, and that, by impoſing this Appellation, they meant to ſtile them *Fugitives*.

[b] Gildas, who inveighs with equal Bitterneſs againſt the Vices of the Clergy and Laity, allows that the former, touched with ſo ſevere a Chaſtiſement, gave ſincere Teſtimonies of Repentance, and laboured to reform their Countrymen by Preaching and by Example. Selden, who was no Friend to their Order, highly extols the Britiſh Monks for their Piety, Charity, and Induſtry, cultivating their Grounds with their own Hands, by which themſelves and their Lands were rendered beneficial to the Community.

[c] This Work, magnificently printed in Folio, and dedicated to his late Royal Highneſs Frederick Prince of Wales, is entituled, CYFREITHJEU HYWEL DDA AC ERAILL, ſeu Leges Wallicæ Eccleſiaſticæ et Civiles HOELI BONI, et aliorum Walliæ Principum, quas ex variis Codicibus Manuſcriptis eruit, Interpretatione Latina, Notis et Gloſſario illuſtravit Gulielmus Wottonus, S. T. P. adjuvante Moſe Gulielmio, A. M. R.S. Soc. qui et Appendicem adjecit. Londini MDCCXXX.

State

State and principal Officers of the Houſhold of the King and Queen, deſcribes their Functions, and aſcertains their Privileges and Emoluments. The Second reſpects civil Actions. The Third contains their criminal Law, together with many œconomical Regulations. Theſe Three are authentic, and had the full Sanction of Authority. The Fourth comprehends the Elements of their Juriſprudence digeſted in a very peculiar Manner; and the Fifth conſiſts of the Method of Proceeding in their Courts, with Deciſions and Reports. Altogether they exhibit a ſingular and curious Plan of their political Inſtitution, as well as a juſt Picture of the Cuſtoms and Manners of that People at that Period [d].

These Britiſh Statutes intermix with their ancient Maxims many Things that have plainly a Connection with the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Neighbours. The Houſholds of their Princes, for ſometimes they had ſeveral, were numerous, and muſt have been burthenſome upon the People. Their Lands, except ſuch as were given to the Church, were ſubject to many Services. They were equally divided amongſt the Heirs Male, and were not liable to Forfeitures. The Property, if it could be called ſo, of the common People was very precarious, and yet it is certain the Inhabitants of theſe Countries were numerous, had for thoſe Times a conſiderable Share of foreign Commerce, and probably, if they had been leſs turbulent, might have become more potent, and have preſerved themſelves longer in a State of Freedom [e].

It may be not amiſs to ſhew, as we have mentioned their ſeveral Retreats, the different Periods at which they were expelled or ſubdued. As to the Remnant of the Britiſh Nation that continued in the Northern Parts, they maintained themſelves with great Spirit and Intrepidity for almoſt Five hundred Years; but being then attacked by ſeveral Enemies, but eſpecially the Danes, the greateſt Part of them quitted their old Seats and came into North Wales, then under Prince Anarawd, who aſſigned them the Country between Cheſter and the River Conway, if they could

[d] To this ſplendid Edition of the Laws of Wales, there is prefixed a large and learned Preface by William Clarke, in which a curious and copious Account is given of the Contents of the Work, and of the Care and Accuracy employed to render it as perfect as poſſible. In this Work, lib. ii. cap. 19. p. 155. occurs a Law of Mulmutias Dunwallo with an Introduction plainly taken out of the Britiſh Hiſtory, lib. ii. cap. 17. which Law in the Preface and in the Notes is acknowledged to be ſpurious.

[e] This Conduct, though manifeſtly impolitick, was by no Means unnatural, conſidering the Manners of the Times, the ſharp Senſe they had of their Misfortune in the Loſs of their Country of which they had been deprived, and the unfriendly Diſpoſition of theſe People towards them. We might perhaps underſtand theſe Matters more clearly if we had a better Hiſtory of thoſe Princes; but the Britiſh Writers are ſo attentive to Genealogies, that in reſpect to Hiſtory and Chronology they are rather defective.

drive out the Saxons who had lately ſeized it. This they gallantly performed, and by his Aſſiſtance defeated them in a deciſive Battle A. D. 880, and ſo ſeated themſelves there [f]. Thoſe who were ſettled in Cornwall held that Country ſomewhat longer, though continually harraſſed therein by the Weſt Saxons. To revenge this, without weighing the Conſequences, they opened their Ports, afforded Subſiſtence to, and ſometimes concurred with the Danes in their predatory Incurſions. This ſo provoked the Saxons, that after depriving them of Exeter, and that Diſtrict of Devonſhire which they had poſſeſſed, they made them tributary, till at length they were totally reduced by King Athelſtan [g].

In Wales they continued, though in a State of Vaſſalage to the Saxon Monarchs, till they were themſelves ſubdued firſt by the Danes, and afterwards by the Normans. The old Britiſh Cuſtom of dividing and ſubdividing their Dominions, which, though uſually aſcribed to Roderic the Great [h], who made his Three Sons Princes of North Wales, South Wales, and Powis Land, was certainly of a more ancient Date, and theſe Princes ſometimes more in Number [i], contributed greatly to their Decline, which proceeded very rapidly after the Norman Conqueſt, every One of our Kings ſeizing ſomething; ſo that South Wales and Powiſland being detached from their Dominions, North Wales, on the Death of Prince Lhewelin ap Gruffyth

[f] Chron. Saxon. p. 83. Aſſer. vit. Alfredi, p. 27. Camden's Britannia, p. 802. where this Account is given from a judicious Antiquary, Mr. Robert Vaughan of Hengwyrt. Biſhop Gibſon obſerves theſe Cumbrian Britons, called in the Saxon Chronicle Britons of Stræclekwealas, who were driven out A. D. 875. by the Daniſh King Halfden, did not derive that Name from their old (as many have imagined) but from their new Poſſeſſion in the Yſtrad Klwyd or Vale of Cluyd in North Wales.

[g] The People of Cornwall maintained a conſtant and cloſe Correſpondence with the Inhabitants of Britanny, and were aſſiſted by them in all their Struggles againſt the Saxons. Their Loſt deſerves ſome Notice, as having a greater Reach of Policy than was common in thoſe Times. They entered into a Confederacy formed againſt King Æthelſtan by the Scots, Danes, Iriſh, &c. The Army and the Fleet of the Confederates were very formidable, and the Battle was fought at Brunanburhe, a Place not well aſcertained, of which A. D. 938, there is a pompous Account in the Saxon Chronicle, and this drew him upon the Corniſh, whom he ſubdued ſoon after.

[h] This Rodri Vaur or Roderic the Great had Three Sons, Mervin, Cadelh, and Anarawd. Theſe were ſtiled the Three crowned Princes of Wales, becauſe each of them wore a golden Band or Fillet about his Bonnet, which is properly a Diadem. His Son Anarawd ſubmitted to King Alfred. The Son of Anarawd was Howell Dda the Legiſlator, in whom the Three Principalities were again united. See more upon this Subject in the Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p 491, 492.

[i] Dr. Powell admits this, and indeed there are unqueſtionable Proofs of it. Gildas declaims againſt no fewer than Five Britiſh Princes as Monſters in Wickedneſs, and theſe were all cotemporaries reigning in different Diſtricts. Roderic himſelf acquired Part of his Dominions by Marriage of an Heireſs. Beſides the Three crowned Princes he left Three others who were alſo ſtiled Princes, and ſubmitted themſelves to Alfred before Anarawd took that Reſolution. Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 49, 50.

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was annexed to the Crown of England by that great and ſucceſsful Monarch Edward the Firſt, A. D. 1282, or thereabouts.

It was neceſſary to treat this Subject, which hath been hitherto but very ſlightly regarded, more at large, that the Obſervations thereupon might be the better underſtood. In the original State of this Iſland, the Tribes or Nations who poſſeſſed it, and of courſe their Rulers, Princes, or Kings were very numerous, and conſequently leſs potent[k]. This had ſome favourable Effects, as it confined their Attentions to particular Diſtricts, kept them upon their Guard, and obliged each of them to keep up ſuch Forces, as when collected were conſiderable enough to prevent One from ſwallowing up another. How long this Conſtitution had laſted we cannot ſay; but much longer it might have laſted, if the Spirit of it had ſubſiſted, and the Reſentment of private Injuries had not tempted particular Chiefs to forget what was due from them to the Publick[l].

The Druids, who by interpoſing had often extinguiſhed civil Wars, when theſe exaſperated Chiefs had Recourſe to the Romans, could apply no Remedy to that Evil, which proved the Ruin of this Syſtem. The Powers theſe Prieſts had over the Manners or rather the Temper of the People ſupported the Authority of their Princes when duly exerted, and when otherwiſe, ſerved very frequently to reſtrain it. Thus the Bulk of the Nation were mere Engines in their Hands, and that Influence which Superſtition gave them by diſtributing and directing their Labours, produced the ſame Effects that would have naturally flowed from Principles of Induſtry[m]. Under the Romans the common Sort of People were inſtructed how to exerciſe their Abilities, and were encouraged as well as permitted, after they became their Subjects, to exert them for their own Benefit. This

[k] In Camden we find Sixteen Nations in England, and Five more in Scotland. Marcianus Haracleotus ſays, that in Albion there were Thirty-three. But it is highly probable there were many more, or that numerous Tribes lived under different Chiefs, ſince Cæſar names no fewer than Four in Kent; and if ſo many in One County, it is improbable that any Monarch ruled over Four or Five. There muſt have been at leaſt a tolerable, though not an exact Equality, otherwiſe it is not eaſy to conceive how theſe Kentiſh Tetrarchs could have ſubſiſted.

[l] The Firſt Invaſion by Julius Cæſar had amongſt other Cauſes the Inſtigations of Androgeus or Mandrubatius, a Britiſh Prince who came over with him in that Expedition. Caligula was animated to his abortive Attempt by the Solicitations of Adminius the Son King of Cunobeline. In the Reign of Claudius the gallant Caractacus King of the Silures was after Nine Years War betrayed to the Romans by Cartiſmandua Queen of the Brigantes.

[m] Inſtead of thinking meanly of the Abilities or Knowledge of the Druids, we have more Reaſon to ſuſpect them of that Want of Philanthropy which is but too common with Politicians. They were themſelves free from all Services in Peace and War, living in Plenty and Eaſe. The Princes and Nobles they educated in manly and generous Sentiments. But indulging a Community of Women and other Senſualities to the Vulgar, diſpoſed them thereby to implicit and boundleſs Obedience to their Dictates.

changed the Face of the Country, and made ſo favourable an Alteration in the Condition of the Bulk of its Inhabitants, that it is no Wonder they parted ſo reluctantly with ſuch Maſters [n].

In the general Wreck that followed there were few Principles of civil Oeconomy preſerved, and the little that was preſerved ſeems to have remained amongſt thoſe who ſubmitted to the Conquerors, or who retired to put themſelves under the Protection of their Neighbours. As to the Relicks of the Britiſh Nation who continued under their own Chiefs, they recurred in a great Meaſure to their old Conſtitution, which ſprung up again with all its Defects. Their Princes had great Power and narrow Territories. The Gentry or Freeholders had indeed, as we have ſhewn, Inheritances, but theſe were encumbered with numerous Services [o]. The common People were in all Reſpects very little conſidered, which damped their Spirits and excluded Induſtry. No Regard was paid to the Change of Times and Alteration of Circumſtances, though ever ſo apparent. When the Saxons were united, and they had their whole Power to combat, the Britiſh Princes ſtill continued dividing their already too ſmall Dominions, and thereby rendered that Reſiſtance, which was before very difficult, altogether impracticable. If the fierceſt Courage, or the moſt obſtinate Intrepidity without the Aſſiſtance of milder Meaſures, or a more extenſive Plan of Policy could have preſerved them, they were certainly not deficient in either. Offa's Dike, a moſt ſtupendous Entrenchment, formed for the Defence of the Saxon Territory againſt the perpetual Incurſions of theſe martial People, is a direct and a full Proof of what we have advanced [p]. But in ſucceeding Times, as the Saxons grew in Power, they began to make Encroachments, the Britons in the

[n] This Matter is clearly and judiciouſly diſcuſſed in the valuable Preface to the Laws of Howell Dda. Speaking of the Condition of the Britiſh Nation when ſubject to the Romans, he ſays, "Legum ſuarum jacturam patienter ferre poterant, cum per hanc Antonini Conſtitutionem ad "ſummos Rœipublicæ Honores patuit jam perviam et honeſtum iter: Nec amplius eorum animis "ulla ineſſit veteres Diſciplinæ cupiditas, quando in ſenatu, in exercitu, non togati ſolum, ſed "trabeati et purpurati inciderent."

[o] The candid and inquiſitive Reader may find theſe enumerated and explained in Rowland's Mona Antiqua Reſtaurata, chap. x. where it is remarked that many of theſe had a cloſe reſemblance to the Cuſtoms of the old Iriſh, whence he concludes that they were Remnants of the old Britiſh Conſtitution. This agrees exactly with what Richard of Cirenceſter ſays, that when the Romans formed this Country into a Province, the Cangi and Brigantes went over to Ireland and ſettled themſelves there.

[p] Offa King of Mercia, who, as Selden ſays, made himſelf Maſter of the greateſt Part of England, to ſecure his Dominions from the Incurſions of that reſtleſs Nation, cut this Dike from Wye to Dee, which ſhews the Bounds of Wales, about the Middle of the Eighth Century. Two hundred Years after Harold, who gained great Victories over theſe People, made an Ordinance to keep them quiet, that if any Welch Man was found armed on this Side Offa's Dike, he ſhould loſe his Hand.

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mean Time declining daily in Strength, and weakened even by their Victories. Inſtead of teaching them Prudence, their Diſtreſſes only heightened their Reſentments, to gratify which they ſometimes ſided with the Danes; but they ſoon found to their Coſts that theſe were worſe Neighbours, and were like to prove worſe Maſters than the Saxons [q]. When their Affairs grew viſibly irretrievable, Numbers quitted their Country to ſeek Safety in ſome other. Amongſt theſe Princes Madoc, who, as we have already ſhewn, is ſuppoſed, not altogether without a Colour of Reaſon, to be in Fact the firſt Diſcoverer of America [r].

Into theſe Extremities they were apparently brought by the Means ſo often mentioned, the Diviſion of their Dominions under ſo many Princes and Lords, their inteſtine Quarrels which put them upon purſuing different, and of courſe neglecting their common Intereſt, and the little Regard ſhewn in their political Syſtem to the Welfare of the common People, who living dependent on the Will of their Chiefs, followed them in their predatory Expeditions. By this Mode of Life War became their great and almoſt their ſole Object, and they ſeem to have had no Idea that either Safety or Power could be otherwiſe obtained. This Contempt of the Arts of Peace was the Reaſon that they built few or no new Towns, but on the contrary ſuffered their old Ones to decay and fall to Ruin. In moſt Parts of their Country there were ſcattered Villages compoſed of ſmall Huts intermixed with many little Churches and Chapels, Convents and Hermitages, which were the Retreats of ſuch as were not diſpoſed to Military Exploits [s].

[q] It ſeems juſt to attribute this rather to Reſentment than Policy. If Wales had remained under One Sovereign, and his Subjects had been true to his Intereſts and their own, they might have maintained their own Independency, and have been courted by the Saxons for their Aſſiſtance. The Danes were Pagans, the moſt barbarous, and of all Invaders the moſt cruel, the Saxons Chriſtians and civilized, ſo that the Welſh, to revenge old Injuries, paved the Way to new; and their Paſſion to ſacrifice their Enemies was ſo ſtrong as to hinder them from perceiving that they were alſo ſacrificing themſelves. This is a capital Inſtance to ſhew how much this Iſland ſuffered by being divided into different States, and of courſe how much its Power is increaſed by having all its Parts directed by One Government, and comprized under One Legiſlature.

[r] Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 492. To the Authorities there mentioned, we will take this Opportunity of adding, that a Perſon of unqueſtioned Veracity found many Words (See Wafer's Voyages, p. 186.) in the Language of the Darien Indians which reſembled the Erſe or Iriſh, but which are plainly much nearer the Welſh, and he alſo aſſerts a Similarity in the Pronunciation, which is ſtill more remarkable. The ſame Obſervation hath been made in Reference to ſome other Indian Nations.

[s] Cæſaris de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 13. In omni Galliâ eorum Hominum, qui aliquo ſunt numero atque honore, genera ſunt duo: nam Plebi penè ſervorum habetur loco; quæ per ſe nihil audet, et nulli adhibetur concilio. In the ſame Chapter he aſſerts the ſame Cuſtoms prevailed in Britain and in Gaul, whence all Power centered in the Prieſts and in the Chiefs, to whom the Commons were ſubſervient. Thus we ſee this was an original Error in their Government, and as ſuch remained unaltered and indiſputed.

We may from hence discern, that though this Inattention to Labour was in some Measure balanced by the irresistible Influence of the Druids, yet being freed from this Superstition, and having little Relish for any other than a martial Life, they continued resisting as long as they were able, and brooked Subjection very ill, even when at last reduced [t]. It is therefore obvious, that to the Well-being of any Community it is absolutely requisite that due Respect be paid to all, and more especially to the lower Ranks of People, so as that Individuals may have the free Use of their Faculties for their own Emolument, by which an universal Spirit of Industry being diffused, Multitudes in pursuing their private Interests will most effectually promote the Power, Safety, and Prosperity of the Publick, upon the Stability of which their own must ever depend.

[t] It may be proper, for the Satisfaction of the learned and inquisitive Reader, and to convince him we have fairly and without Exaggeration stated Facts, and truly assigned the Causes of the Dissolution of this System, to refer to the Testimonies of Two celebrated British Antiquaries, One who flourished while his Countrymen were still free, the other living after they were become subject to the English, zealous, yet judicious Writers both. Girald. Cambrens. Cambriæ Descript. cap. viii. H. Lhuyd Fragment. Britan. Descript. fol. 49.

CHAP. II.

Of the State of this Country under the Saxons, and of their Constitution.

THE History of the Saxons, though clearer than that of the Britons, yet not altogether free from Obscurities. Some Particulars relative to this Nation before their coming over hither. Hengist and Horsa their principal Leaders at their arrival. The Title of Monarch of the Anglo Saxons, what it implied and whence it rose. The Settlement of the Kentish Kingdom, and the Conversion of its Inhabitants to Christianity. A short Account of the principal Events regarding it while in that State. The Situation, Size, and Boundaries of the Territories of the South Saxons. Their History very obscure to the Time of their being subdued. The Origin, Extent, and Limits of the West Saxon Kingdom. A succinct History thereof to the Accession of Egbert, who put an End to the Heptarchy. Origin, Size, and Situation of the Kingdom of the East Saxons. The History of this little State to its Extinction. Description of the spacious Kingdom of Northumberland. Several of its Monarchs the most potent in the Island. Often divided, weakened by Factions, and at length forced to submit to the West Saxons. Origin, Situation, and Boundaries of the East Angles.

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The Converſion of that Nation to Chriſtianity, and the Troubles enſuing thereon. Declenſion of their Power till they became a Province to Mercia. The Hiſtory of their laſt King St. Edmund martyred by the Danes. The Riſe, Extent, and Limits of the Kingdom of Mercia. The Military Exploits of its Firſt Sovereign Penda. Converſion of its Inhabitants to Chriſtianity, and their Hiſtory continued to the Extinction of that Kingdom. The ſeveral Periods of the Saxon Hiſtory, with ſome Remarks upon them. This Subject farther continued. The Probability of their having Manufactures and Commerce among them, even in theſe very early Times. The Reign of Egbert, reputed the Firſt Monarch of England. The Reigns of Ethelwulf and his Brethren. The diſmal Devaſtations committed by the Danes. The Acceſſion of Alfred the Great. Conſtrained by the Danes to take Shelter in the Fens of Somerſetſhire. He recovers his Kingdom by his Courage, and reſtores it by his Conduct. A ſuccinct Review of the Remainder of his Reign. Alfred is acknowledged by the ableſt Judges to have been the Author of the Engliſh Conſtitution. Arguments adduced in Support of this Aſſertion. The Pillars of his Syſtem, a proper Diſtribution of his Dominions, and a due Regulation of his Subjects. Juſtice every where adminiſtered with the utmoſt Punctuality. All poſſible Reſpect ſhewn to the Freedom of the Subject. Regulations relative to Cities, Commerce, and Navigation. Proviſion made for a ſtanding Militia, and a conſtant naval Force. His Care in reſpect to general Aſſemblies or great Councils. The peculiar Excellencies of this admirable Inſtitution. The Acceſſion and Character of his Son, and Succeſſor Edward the Elder. His Attention and Wiſdom in the building new Towns. A general View of the Remainder of his Reign. Ethelſtan ſucceeds his Father, and ſteadily proſecutes his Meaſures. A deep and dangerous Confederacy formed againſt him. Defeated, after which he reigns with equal Prudence and Splendour. His Brother Edmund ſucceeds him in the Throne. He after a glorious Reign is unfortunately murdered by a Ruffian. Edred his younger Brother ſucceeds, and after him his Nephew Edwy. The Acceſſion of Edgar ſurnamed the Peaceable. He proves the greateſt and moſt potent of all the Saxon Monarchs. His mild and moderate Maxims, and the happy Conſequences attending them. A brief Detail of the Remainder of his proſperous Reign. Succeeded by his Son Edward, ſurnamed the Martyr, who was cruelly murdered. His Brother Ethelred ſucceeds, and the Country miſerably deſtroyed by the Danes. He is obliged to abandon the Kingdom to Swaine. Returns upon his Death, and is equally unfortunate during the Remainder of his Reign. Succeeded by his Son Edmund, ſurnamed Ironſide. Canutus crowned King of England; acquires the Surname of Great from his Wiſdom and Succeſs. The ſhort oppreſſive Reign of his Son Harold. Hardiknute ſucceeds his Brother. Edward the Confeſſor advanced to the Throne upon his Demiſe. His Virtues too much magnified

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by the Monks. On his Death Harold the Son of Earl Godwin ſeats himſelf in the vacant Throne. Defeats his Brother Toſti, and Harold King of Norway. Loſes the fatal Battle of Haſtings, and with it his Life and Crown. The Concluſion and Application of this long Chapter.

AS the Saxon Story is later in Point of Time, it is of courſe more certain, and conſiderably clearer than what was the Subject of the former Chapter. For in reſpect to this we have ſurer and leſs ſuſpected Authorities, ſuch as the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Beda, the Saxon Chronicle, and many of our old Hiſtorians who are allowed to have drawn their Materials from contemporary Writers [a]. Add to theſe the Cities, Fortreſſes, Cathedrals, and other publick Edifices erected in thoſe Days, and remaining indiſputable Monuments of their Founders. The Charters and Records of thoſe Ages, whether exiſting or authentically proved to have once ſubſiſted, are further Evidences that ought undoubtedly to have their juſt Weight. But notwithſtanding all theſe, there want not ſome obſcure Points even in Reference to this Nation, more eſpecially in regard to their Entrance into this Iſland.

THE moſt learned of our Writers differ very much in their Sentiments as to the Part of the Continent from which they came hither [b]. They are

[a] The Work of venerable Beda, entituled, An Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation, hath been always very deſervedly eſteemed as One of the moſt ancient and authentick Monuments of the Deeds of our Saxon Anceſtors. He was a Saxon himſelf, a Man of very conſiderable Learning for thoſe Times, dedicated his Work to Ceonulph King of Northumberland, and had the Honour to have his Book tranſlated into Saxon by King Alfred. The Saxon Chronicle, of which Dr. Gibſon late Biſhop of London publiſhed an excellent Edition, is with good Reaſon ſuppoſed to have belonged to the Church of Peterborough, derives its Name from its being written in that Language, and is cited with great Reſpect by Florence of Worceſter, and other ancient Writers. In Eccleſiaſtical Affairs it agrees with Beda, but it does not follow that it was tranſcribed from his Book. On the contrary, from the Simplicity of the Stile, and the Orthography which agrees exactly with the ancient Coins, the former Part of it ſeems to be of an earlier Date. There is not any Doubt that it was written by various Hands, and the Stile plainly ſhews it; but this by no Means diminiſhes its Authority, which hath been always highly conſidered by our ableſt and moſt accurate Writers.

[b] We find ſome Writers fetching theſe Anceſtors of ours, not only out of the Heart of Germany, but even from the moſt diſtant Parts of the North. Olaus Rudbeck affirms, that the Saxons and Angles both came originally out of Sweden; many are for bringing them from Jutland and the Banks of the Elbe. Ubbo Emmius aſſigns very probable Reaſons to ſhew that wherever they came from originally, they paſſed over hither immediately from Frieſland, and that a great Part of Hengiſt's Recruits were compoſed of Friſians; in Support of which he hath One very ſtrong Argument, which is, that the Language ſpoke in that Country comes the neareſt to the Anglo Saxon, inſomuch that when Prieſts went from hence to convert the Natives to Chriſtianity, they preached to them without the Aſſiſtance of any Interpreter. There may be a Degree of Truth in theſe ſeemingly contradictory Notions, for theſe Northern Nations puſhed one another out of their ancient Seats, to which however they left their Names, till at length ſome of

are not much better agreed as to the preciſe Time of their coming, or whether it was at firſt by Accident or by Invitation. To ſay nothing of the Size of their Ships in which ſuch Multitudes of them were tranſported, or of the Tale of the fair ROUENA, whoſe Beauty was no leſs fatal to BRITAIN than that of HELEN to TROY. The cruel Maſſacre at Stonehenge is a Fact that has been controverted, as are ſome others relative to theſe early Times[c]; but theſe are little or nothing to our Purpoſe, and therefore to have mentioned them is ſufficient.

THE SAXONS were a numerous German Nation, well known, and not a little formidable to the Romans while they continued in Poſſeſſion of this Country; they were compoſed of many Tribes, and in different Periods were equally famous for their Incurſions by Land, and their Piracies by Sea. Their Neglect of Agriculture, and their ſuperabounding with People, obliged them to frequent Migrations, and theſe having gradually brought them down to the Sea Coaſts, induced them to undertake maritime Expeditions. Tacitus with equal Elegance and Exactneſs hath deſcribed their Manners and their Policy while they continued in their old Seats; and his Relations agree perfectly with their Conduct after their Arrival in this Iſle[d].

THE Characteriſtics of this potent and hardy People were their Love of Freedom and of Arms. Their whole Policy turned on theſe Two Points. In Time of Peace their Princes, who were all deſcended from their deified

of them came to the Mouth of the Rhine, and the Countries adjacent, from whence they had a ſhort Paſſage hither. If the inquiſitive Reader deſires to ſee this Matter further diſcuſſed, he may conſult the learned Biſhop Stillingfleet's Fifth Chapter of his Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches.

[c] The Saxon Chronicle fixes the Arrival of Hengiſt and Horſa A. D. 449, which is at leaſt as probable a Date as any. As to the Daughter of Hengiſt, who is called Rowena, Roxena, and Ronix by different Authors, we may have leave to doubt of her Exiſtence. Nennius is the Firſt who tells the Story, after him Jeffrey of Monmouth, from whom the Monkiſh Writers borrowed it. The Saxon Chronicle never mentions her. The Murder of Four hundred and Sixty Britiſh Noblemen at Stonehenge is almoſt as improbable as Merlin's bringing over that Monument for them by his magic Art from Ireland. Inigo Jones has very fully refuted that wild Relation. The Truth of the Matter is, that the Saxon Hiſtorian tells exactly the ſame Adventure between the Saxons and the Thuringians, from whence this was in all Probability copied. Whitikind de Geſt. Sax. lib. i.

[d] The Treatiſe of Tacitus referred to in the Text is his Diſcourſe of the Manners of the Germans, and the Saxons being a German Nation, were of courſe included therein. The very learned and judicious Selden in ſeveral of his Works, but particularly in the Third Chapter of what he entitles England's Epinomis, enters into this Matter, and by comparing ſeveral Paſſages in the Roman Author with the Uſages of our Saxon Anceſtors, ſhews very clearly their Conſiſtency, and from thence deduces the original Grounds of thoſe legal Inſtitutions that prevail and continue in Force even at this Day. In this he has been followed by many able Writers, who have illuſtrated this Matter by an Addition of Inſtances of the like Nature, by which the Truth of the Thing is rendered equally certain and clear.

Chieftain Wodin, had very limited Authority, whereas in War they were intruſted with full Powers. In their Military Expeditions ſeveral Tribes joined their Forces together under One Chief, but ſo long as theſe laſted there was no Diviſion of Command, though each Chief of the Confederates was at the Head of his own Troops, and particularly attentive to their Advantage. This was the more requiſite, as they were reſponſible for their Conduct in their General Aſſemblies, which, ſo long as they remained in Germany, were held annually at leaſt, and therein all their publick Concerns were openly diſcuſſed [e].

The Heptarchy, which was the Firſt Form of the Saxon Government here, was not either eſtabliſhed at once or by Deſign, but took Place gradually, and in a great Meaſure by Accident. Hengist and Horsa, who came over firſt, were employed, as we have already ſeen by the Britons, againſt the Scots and Picts, and left ſeveral ſmall Bodies behind them to keep thoſe Parts of the Country in Order which had been voluntarily abandoned to them, at ſuch Time as they returned to Kent to receive freſh Supplies, being now at Variance with the Britons; and in One of the Firſt Actions Horſa was ſlain. Upon this Hengiſt was obliged to call in other Saxon Chiefs to his Aſſiſtance, and upon the Report of his Succeſſes they very readily came. In theſe Circumſtances it may be eaſily conceived, that though in Proceſs of Time theſe Chiefs acquired Territories for the Auxiliaries they commanded, yet ſo long as he lived they acknowledged a Supremacy in Hengiſt, to whoſe great Courage, Military Skill, and long Experience they in a great Degree owed their Acquiſitions [f].

The

[e] As in their own Country the Saxons were almoſt continually in a State of War, ſo when a young Man was arrived at an Age fit for Service, he was brought into the Aſſembly, and having there received his Arms, had thence forward a Right to Admiſſion. To theſe Aſſemblies they came always armed; for with them a Citizen and a Soldier were ſynonimous Terms. It was not lawful to ſpeak of publick Affairs, but in theſe Councils, which for leſſer Matters were frequently held, at the New and Full Moons. But as they ſeldom reſided above a Year in One Place, ſo the Regulation of what was to be done during their Continuance, that is, the Quantity of Land that was to be cultivated, the Diviſion of its Produce, and the Direction of their next Removal, was regulated in a General Aſſembly held for that Purpoſe. Theſe Cuſtoms the Saxons brought with them hither, as was very natural, for theſe and their Arms were all they had to bring, and when their Circumſtances afterwards changed, they very rationally accommodated theſe Cuſtoms to the new State of their Affairs.

[f] It is requiſite to diſcuſs ſome Points here to prevent an Appearance of Contradiction. Hengiſt gained Three great Victories, though not without much Expence of Blood, over the Britons at Ailesford, Crayford, and Wippedsfleet, by which he acquired, ſecured, and ſettled his Kingdom of Kent, with which he ſeems to have been ſatisfied; and therefore it is improbable that he ſhould be killed, as ſome Writers ſay, by Aurelius Ambroſius near Doncaſter. He preſerved no Doubt a Correſpondence with the Chiefs of his own Nation, who were endeavouring to eſtabliſh themſelves in different Parts of the Iſle, and ſeems to have contributed to the Settling of

The Stream of our Hiſtorians ſpeak of this as a Meaſure thence forward adopted, ſo that One amongſt theſe Princes had always a Primacy, and was ſtiled Monarch of the Anglo-Saxons: But they do not tell us either how he was elected, what were the Functions of his Office, or what Utility reſulted from it. That venerable Code, intituled, The Saxon Chronicle, gives a very different Account of this Matter; for though it allows there were ſuch Monarchs, yet it neither aſſigns this Honour to Hengiſt, or admits a conſtant Succeſſion, but rather inſinuates that it was aſſumed by Princes when they became very powerful, and aſſerts that of theſe there were but Eight in all. It is however on all Hands agreed, that it did not interfere with the Sovereignty of the other Princes, each of whom was independent in his own Dominions, and with the Conſent of his Aſſembly or Great Council made Laws for his Subjects. The Nature of our Deſign obliges us to give a ſuccinct Account of theſe Kingdoms, in order to explain their Effects in Reference to the Improvement of the Country, and the Progreſs of the Conſtitution g.

Kent was the Firſt Kingdom founded by the Saxons in this Iſland, and this about A. D. 457. In regard to Extent it was the ſmalleſt of the Seven, but pleaſant, fertile, and well ſituated, having in thoſe Days many excellent Ports, which facilitated the receiving conſtant Supplies of freſh Adventurers from the Continent. Hengist, was the Firſt King, and ſeems to have fixed the Bounds of his Dominion with great Prudence. On the North it had the Thames; the Sea on the Eaſt; on the South and Weſt the Kingdom of the South Saxons. He reigned Eleven Years after aſſuming the Regal Dignity. In his own Territories he was ſucceeded by his Son Esc or Osc, but not in the Monarchy of the Anglo-Saxons, ſuppoſing that he ever enjoyed it. This Honour however was recovered by his Great Grandſon Ethelbert, who, according to the common Computation, was the Sixth who held that Title, and the moſt famous Prince of his Poſterity; for he was the Firſt King who embraced the Chriſtian Re-

Ella, for his own Conveniency in the Kingdom of the South Saxons. This might give him a Kind of Supremacy, but not in the Manner that the other Kings of the Anglo-Saxons are ſuppoſed to have exerciſed it; becauſe, except Ella, there was no other King but himſelf over whom he could exerciſe it.

g We have ſhewn, that before the Romans arrived this Country was not a Wilderneſs, or its Inhabitants Savages, and that under them the Land was better cultivated, and the People became more poliſhed. Upon their Retreat, and the Conſequences attending it, Devaſtation and Deſolation enſued. The ſeveral Nations that came hither from the Continent brought with them military Proweſs, and the Luſt of Conqueſt, but proceeded therein with great Ferocity, and ſcarce any Tincture of Civility. Yet to theſe People we owe the Recovery of this Country to a State of Improvement, and the Fundamentals of the beſt Conſtitution that perhaps the World hath ever ſeen. It is to give the Reader a juſt Idea of this, and of courſe the Obligations we are under to our Saxon Anceſtors, that we have dedicated this Chapter.

ligion, being baptized by Auguſtine the Monk A. D. 597 [h]. He was alſo the Firſt Legiſlator among the Saxon Princes, and his Laws are ſtill extant, which afford a ſtriking Picture of the Manners of thoſe Times. He was in all Reſpects a very extraordinary Perſon, but withal very ambitious, exerciſing his Authority over the other Princes in a Manner far from being ſatisfactory.

The Kingdom of Kent after his Deceaſe had an Honour which none of the Reſt could boaſt, that of having Two other Legiſlators amongſt their Princes. The Firſt of theſe was Lothaire, who made his Code about A. D. 676. The Second Withred, who, by the Advice of his Great Council, publiſhed his Conſtitutions, A. D. 696 [i]. This little Kingdom, after a Succeſſion of about Seventeen Princes, the laſt of whom was Baldred, was annexed to that of the Weſt Saxons A. D. 823, when it had remained an independent State for the Space of 366 Years [k]. It is however true, that it was long after this reputed a Kingdom, and Ethelſtane the

[h] Upon the Introduction of Chriſtianity, King Ethelbert erected an archiepiſcopal See at Canterbury, which was his Capital, and the See of Rocheſter in his own Dominions. He likewiſe prevailed upon his Nephew Sebert King of the Eaſt Saxons to liſten to the Inſtructions of his Clergy, and upon his Converſion dedicated and endowed the Church of St. Paul's, making it the Cathedral of the See of London, contributing alſo to the Building of St. Peter's Weſtminſter, beſides ſeveral Convents in his own Dominions. We mention theſe as very great publick Advantages, for the Clergy during the Saxon Times were very induſtrious in improving of Lands; and as after their Converſion there was a great Spirit of Piety among theſe Princes, ſo in all their Wars the Poſſeſſions of the Church were reſpected, and of conſequence Cultivation revived, and ſpread itſelf in a very high Degree. There was likewiſe even in thoſe Days a Proportion of foreign Commerce, otherwiſe this Monarch would not have married a French Princeſs, which ſhews a friendly Communication muſt have long ſubſiſted between their reſpective Subjects.

[i] Theſe Laws were ſhort, preciſe, written in the Saxon Language, and though they afford pregnant Proofs of the Rudeneſs of the Times, yet they very plainly appear calculated to reform and refine the Manners of the People; and this was another Advantage ſpringing from Chriſtianity, before the Introduction of which the People were governed according to their ancient Cuſtoms and the Will of the Prince and his Nobility. The Names of theſe Princes in the Titles of their Laws agree in Orthography with their Coins, and with the Saxon Chronicle, which confirms the Antiquity of thoſe valuable Annals. Æthelbirth's Conſtitutions were Eighty-nine in Number; thoſe of Hlothair and Eadric his Nephew, who reigned with him jointly, were Sixteen; thoſe of Wihtred are not numbered. Wilkins Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, p. 1—13.

[k] In the former Volume we have endeavoured to ſhew in ſome Meaſure the Beauty, the Advantages, and the Importance of this Country, to which, conſidered in the Light of a Kingdom, we ought to add ſomething here. The Power of Ethelred gave him an Influence over all the Country as far as the Humber; and this is ſufficient to ſhew, that his Dominions furniſhed him with Men and Money. Another Teſtimony ariſes from the People of Kent's being able many Years after to compromiſe their Quarrel with Ina King of Mercia, by paying him down Thirty thouſand Pounds of Silver, which they muſt have gained by Trade. Long after this the barbarous Danes deſtroyed Canterbury, and by the moſt cruel Decimation ſaved but One of the Inhabitants out of Ten; from which bloody Slaughter it appears that there were at that Time in the City near Fifty thouſand Souls. It was then a Province, and we may reaſonably conclude, that when it was the Capital of a Kingdom, its Citizens were not fewer.

Son of Ethelwulf and Grandſon of Ecbert, who put an End to the Heptarchy, had this, together with other Dominions, aſſigned him by his Father the better to protect them againſt the Devaſtation of the Danes, from whence this Prince is ſtiled by the Saxon Writers King of Kent, which Country however his Father again reſumed upon his Demiſe.

THE Kingdom of the SOUTH SAXONS was in Point of Time the Second, in regard to ſize the Sixth of the Heptarchy, being a little, and but a little larger than the former; it was compoſed of what are now called the Counties of Suſſex and Surry, and was founded by ELLA or ÆLLA, who, with his Three Sons and a numerous Band of Followers, came over at the Requeſt of Hengiſt, and fought gallantly againſt the Britons, who notwithſtanding defended themſelves for ſome Years with equal Courage until overpowered by Numbers. When Ella perceived that he had Space ſufficient to form an Eſtabliſhment for his People, he aſſumed the Title of King of the South Saxons, making the Thames his North Boundary; having the Kingdom of Kent on the Eaſt; the Sea on the South, and his Countrymen then fighting againſt the Britons, who not long after erected another new Kingdom on the Weſt. Ella was a Prince of ſuch Spirit and good Fortune, that all the other Saxon Chiefs then ſtriving to eſtabliſh themſelves in this Iſle owned his Supremacy, and hence he is uſually called the Second Monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, though the Saxon Chronicle aſſerts he was the Firſt [l].

HE was ſucceeded by his Son CISSA, and in Proceſs of Time EDILWACH, or rather ADELWALD, came to the Poſſeſſion of this Sovereignty, who being defeated was made Priſoner by Wulher King of the Mercians. He was during his Captivity baptized by Wilfrid Archbiſhop of York, Wulher being his Godfather, who afterwards reſtored him to his Dominions, and gave him the Iſle of Wight A. D. 661. Of all the Saxon Principalities we have the ſlighteſt Account of this, for except the Names of a very few Kings, and the Facts already mentioned, we know nothing more than that after having been long dependent upon the Kingdom of the

[l] Chron. Saxon. p. 71. A. D. 827, where the Reader will find a Liſt of theſe Anglo-Saxon Monarchs. This Kingdom of the South Saxons, as hath been obſerved in the Text, was of no great Extent, and yet ſo woody and wild a Country that it was but thinly inhabited. Ella and his younger Son Ciſſa, who ſucceeded him, are ſaid to have reigned about a Century; the latter diſtinguiſhed himſelf by building a City, and a royal Seat or Reſidence, to both of which he left his Name. The Firſt was Ciſſaceaſtre now Chicheſter, the latter Ciſbury; the Ruins of which, and the Marks of the Moat which ſurrounded it, are ſtill viſible. He was a Prince very ſtudious of Peace, and therefore choſe to pay an annual Subſidy or Tribute to his Neighbour the Monarch of the Weſt Saxons, by whoſe Power he was defended from the Inroads of the Britons.

Weſt Saxons, it was at length united thereto by their victorious King Ina A. D. 725[m]. It is true that the People afterwards made many Struggles for the Recovery of their Liberty, which however they were not able to effect.

The Kingdom of the West Saxons was the Third both in reſpect to Time and to Extent. It was conſidered in every Light a moſt noble, ſpacious, and well ſeated Country, more than twice as large as the Two before-mentioned Kingdoms taken together, bounded on the North by the River of Thames; on the Eaſt by the Kingdom of the South Saxons; on the South by the Sea; and on the Weſt by Cornwall, which, for a Reaſon we have already aſſigned, they ſtiled Weſt Wales, and when this fell under their Power, comprehended no leſs than Seven of our faireſt and fineſt Counties[n]. It was founded by Cerdic and his Son Cynric, uſually called Kenric, after ſpending about Fifteen Years in driving the poor Britons out of this Part of the Country. Cerdic aſſumed the Royal Title A. D. 519, and reigned afterwards Sixteen Years, was a very brave and fortunate Prince, and our Hiſtories make him the Third, and his Son Cynric the Fourth Monarch of the Anglo-Saxons; but the Saxon Chronicle owns neither of them, though it allows that Honour to Ceawlin his Grandſon, who was a very diſtinguiſhed and ſucceſsful Captain, but at the ſame Time of ſo turbulent a Diſpoſition, and ſo imperious in reſpect to his fellow Princes, that entering into a League they compelled him to abandon his Dominions.

[m] There is ſome Confuſion in the Hiſtory of this Converſion, which it is no Way neceſſary for us to diſcuſs. It may not however be amiſs to obſerve, that beſides the Iſle of Wight, the King of Mercia gave his Godſon the Peninſula of Selſey, that is, the Iſle of Seals. This the Monarch of the South Saxons beſtowed on Wilfrid Archbiſhop of York, then in Exile, who founded a Monaſtery and a little Town here, the Inhabitants of which were taught by him the Art of Fiſhing, and this Place became the See of the Biſhop of the South Saxons, which long after was transferred to Chicheſter. The Improvements made in this Country were after it became a Province, for as a Kingdom it ſeems to have been very inconſiderable.

[n] It may be eaſily conceived, that ſo great a Kingdom as this could not be ſo quickly formed and eſtabliſhed, as theſe ſmaller Ones of which we have ſpoken. It owed its Grandeur chiefly to the warlike Princes Ceawlin and Ceolwulf, the former had been victorious ſeparately againſt all his Neighbours, Britons, Saxons, and Scots, till they all united againſt and dethroned him, A. D. 591, and Two Years after he died in Exile. The latter was alſo a great Captain, and enlarged his Dominions, ſo that they comprehended the Counties of Berks, Wilts, Hants, Dorſet, Somerſet, and Devonſhire, which for thoſe Times was a very potent Sovereignty, equal in Extent to the Province of Munſter in Ireland, not inferior to the Duchy of Normandy, and very little leſs than the United Provinces, with the ſignal Advantage of having the Briſtol Channel on One Side, and the Britiſh Channel on the other, whence it is eaſy to diſcern how it grew to be ſuperior to the other Principalities, bringing firſt the South Saxons, then the Kingdom of Kent into Dependency, and ſwallowing up at length the Remainder of the Heptarchy.

THE Sixth King of the Weſt Saxons was CYNEGILS, who was baptized by Byrin Biſhop of Dorcheſter, A. D. 635 [o]. The Eleventh Prince who wore this Crown, and wore it with great Glory was INA, who, with the Advice of his Great Council, publiſhed a Body of Laws for the Uſe of his Subjects A. D. 696, which are ſtill extant. He was a ſucceſsful General, of a liberal and munificent Diſpoſition, and at the ſame Time an able Stateſman. After a long and proſperous Reign he thought fit in the Decline of Life, according to the Notions of Piety which prevailed in thoſe Times, to reſign his Crown, and when he had done ſo went to Rome, and becoming a Monk died there when he had ſwayed the Sceptre Thirty-ſeven Years [p]. After his Death much Confuſion happened in the Weſt Saxon Kingdom, till at length the Throne was filled by BITHRICK, who eſpouſed Eadburga the Daughter of Offa the potent King of Mercia, and the ſame Year, A. D. 787, Three Daniſh Ships entered One of the Ports in his Dominions, being the Firſt of that Nation which had ever infeſted this Iſland. Bithrick had great Suſpicions, whether well or ill founded, of a young Prince of the Royal Line, whoſe diſtinguiſhed Qualities made him the Delight of the People. His Name was Ecbert, and to avoid the Effects of this Monarch's Jealouſy, he retired for his own Safety into foreign Parts, remaining there till the Death of the King, A. D. 800, when he returned and ſucceeded him, becoming in Proceſs of Time the Eighth Monarch of

[o] Oſwald the potent King of Northumberland was Godfather to Cynegils at his Baptiſm, and both the Kings concurred in erecting Dorcheſter within Eight Miles of Oxford, which at that Time it ſeems was in the Hands of the Weſt Saxon Monarch, into a Biſhop's See, where Birinus was placed; and thus at once, as embracing the Whole of the Weſt Saxon Kingdom, it became the largeſt in England, but was afterwards transferred to Lincoln. Succeeding Monarchs however erected many others out of Zeal for the Chriſtian Faith. Cynegils himſelf, as ſome ſay, but as others aſſert his Son, raiſed the Cathedral at Wincheſter. Their Succeſſors proceeded in the ſame Track. Ina not only removed his own Reſidence from Congerſbyry in Somerſetſhire, but the Biſhop's See alſo from the ſame Place to Wells. Succeeding Princes eſtabliſhed Sees at Sherburne in Dorſetſhire, Crediton in Devonſhire, St. Germains in Cornwall, and Ramſbury, the Saxon Name is Ravenſbyrye, in Wilts; Crediton and St. Germains were afterwards united to Exeter, Sherburne abſorbed Ramſbury, and afterwards the See was transferred from Sherburne to Saliſbury. By this Means ſeveral new Towns were erected, and ſome old ones reſtored.

[p] This Monarch was in his Day the moſt potent in this Iſland, and equally diſtinguiſhed by his Valour and Succeſs in War, his Magnificence in his Foundations and Buildings, particularly the great Church at Glaſtonbury, which he furniſhed with Plate and other Ornaments at a vaſt Expence, and for his Love of Juſtice. In the General Aſſembly in which he made his Laws, he was aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Wincheſter and London, as well as the Nobility and Senators or Aldermen of his Kingdom. Theſe Laws, Seventy-ſeven in Number, are expreſſed more elegantly, and at large, than thoſe which we have formerly mentioned, and very evidently prove, as well as the many liberal Acts of this Prince, that the Saxons were grown more wealthy, as well as more polite, than at the Firſt Founding of their reſpective Kingdoms. In the Concluſion of theſe Laws there is a very diſtinct and particular Account of the Fire and Water Ordeal, or Mode of Purgation then in Uſe. Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, p. 14—27.

the

the Anglo-Saxons, and the Firſt who, after having extinguiſhed the Luſtre of the Heptarchy, aſſumed the Title of KING of ENGLAND.

THE Kingdom of the EAST SAXONS, though not very conſiderable from its Extent, being in that Reſpect the Fifth, as it was in Date the Fourth of the Saxon States, was however very remarkable from its having for the Seat of its Monarchy, that which is at this Day the Capital of the Britiſh Empire, and was then, as Beda informs us, diſtinguiſhed by its Trade, and the Reſort of Foreign Merchants. This little Kingdom was compoſed of Countries equally fertile and pleaſant; being bounded on the North by the River Stoure; by the Ocean on the Eaſt; on the South by the River of Thames; and on the Weſt by the Colne [q]. It was founded under the Protection of Eſc the Second King of Kent, by a Saxon Captain whoſe Name was ERCHENWINE, about A. D. 527.

HIS Son SLEDDA, and the ſucceeding Kings, were dependent on and cloſely allied to the Kentiſh Monarchs, ſo that, as we have already obſerved, ETHELBERT laboured the Converſion of his Siſter's Son Sebert, and was the joint Founder with him of the epiſcopal See of London, and the Abbey of St. Peter at Weſtminſter, A. D. 604. Mellitus was the Firſt Biſhop, who after the Deceaſe of Sebert, being expelled by his Three Sons, who reigned jointly, and apoſtatized from the Chriſtian Religion, he fled firſt into France, and then returning into Kent became the Third Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Afterwards the Chriſtian Religion was reſtored, and firmly eſtabliſhed by King SEBBA and Cedda Biſhop of London, both highly applauded for their Wiſdom and Virtues. The remaining Princes make no great Figure, and indeed the Hiſtory of this little State, which was almoſt always dependent either on the Kingdom of Kent or on that of Mercia, is equally obſcure and incertain even to its Period, under SUTHRED the laſt of Fifteen Kings, when it was annexed to the Dominions of the Weſt Saxons by the great ECBERT, when it had borne the Title of a Kingdom for the Space of about Three hundred Years [r].

THE

[q] This Kingdom contained only the Counties of Middleſex, Eſſex, and a Part of Hertfordſhire.—It ſeems to have been the Policy of the Kentiſh Monarchs Hengiſt and Eſc to cover their own Dominions, by ſettling other Chiefs between them and their Enemies, which gave riſe to the South Saxon and Eaſt Saxon Kingdoms. This laſt was however equal in Size to the Province of Holland, in which the grand Penſionary de Wit computed, that in his Time there were Two Millions and a Half of Inhabitants, which ſhews that Power and Wealth do not always depend upon Extent of Territory. The Eaſt Saxon Kings were in general of a peaceable Diſpoſition, and not at all inclined to encroach upon their Neighbours, to which their Want of Force and the Diſpoſition of their People to Commerce might probably contribute.

[r] In the Time of the Britons London was an Archbiſhoprick, and Biſhop Godwin aſſures us, that the Title was kept up even after the Saxons were in Poſſeſſion of the Country. When Sebert

THE Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND was in Point of Time the Fifth of the Heptarchy, but in regard to Size the Second. It was indeed a noble and ſpacious, and though in ſome Parts of it a rugged and mountainous, yet upon the Whole it might be juſtly ſtiled a fair, a fruitful, and a well ſeated Country. It was bounded on the North by the Territories of the Scots and Picts; on the Eaſt by the German Ocean; by the Iriſh Sea on the Weſt; and on the South by the Humber and the Merſey[s]. It hath been before obſerved, that Hengiſt left a conſiderable Body of his Troops, ſome ſay under the Command of his Brother Otho, and his Son in theſe Parts, and beſides them there were other Saxon Chieftains; but having many warlike Nations to deal with, and this in a Country very capable of Defence, the ſubduing them, and reducing it, took up a long Courſe of Years to accompliſh. But this being at length in a great Meaſure effected, Two noble Saxon Captains IDA and ELLA aſſumed the Regal Title. The former in BERNICIA, which was the Northern Part between the Tine and the Dominion of the Scots and Picts. The latter, ELLA, fixed himſelf in DEIRA, which lay between the Tine and the Humber.

THE Inhabitants of theſe Principalities were involved in continual Quarrels. Sometimes they were united and then ſeparated again. But the moſt powerful of theſe Monarchs, when either in abſolute Poſſeſſion of the Whole, or having the other Prince dependent upon him, always aſſumed the Title of King of NORTHUMBERLAND; and had it not been for theſe inteſtine Diviſions, they might have bid fair for the Poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdom of England. EDWIN King of Northumberland having eſpouſed the Siſter of the King of Kent, was converted to Chriſtianity

bert advanced Mellitus to the epiſcopal Dignity, he was ſtiled Biſhop of the Eaſt Saxons, and what was at that Time the Extent of the Kingdom, now forms the Dioceſe of London. Small as this Principality was, Sebba enjoyed originally only a Part of it; though he became afterwards Monarch of the Whole, and after a long and peaceable Reign reſigned his Crown, and lived ſome Time a Monk in St. Paul's, where was then a Convent, and at his Death was buried in the Cathedral. His Tomb remained to the great Fire, A. D. 1666, and the Print thereof and the Inſcription thereon are preſerved in Dugdale's Hiſtory of St. Paul's, p. 46--92, 93.

[s] This ample Sovereignty comprehended the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Durham, York, and Lancaſter, all of them Maritime, and beſides theſe ſome of the Southern Parts of Scotland. It was larger than Wales, or than any of the Provinces of Ireland, equal to all the Dominions of the States General, little inferior to all the Cantons of Switzerland, and to the full as big as the Iſland of Sicily. It was exceedingly well watered, with ſeveral good Ports on the Ocean, and on the Iriſh Sea, finely diverſified, and in all Reſpects a very pleaſing and plentiful Country. The Capital of the Northern Part called Bernicia, was a ſtrong Fortreſs now called Bamberrow Caſtle, ſaid to be built by King Ida, though ſome eſteem its Foundations Roman, at firſt ſurrounded, as the Saxon Chronicle tells us, with a Hedge, afterwards with ſtrong Walls. The chief City in the Southern Parts or Deira was York, then, what it might be made again, a Sea Port. The Frontiers were well ſecured, and the Country for thoſe Times remarkably populous.

by Paulinus, who attended that Princeſs into his Dominions, and who was by him made Archbiſhop of York, A. D. 626[t]. This King Edwin was ſo potent as to attain the Title of King of the Anglo-Saxons, which Diſtinction (a Thing that never happened in any of the other Kingdoms) was enjoyed by his immediate Succeſſors OSWALD and OSWY, both very great Princes in their Days. The laſt of theſe defeated and killed Penda the Pagan King of Mercia, by whom both Oſwald and Edwin had been ſlain.

IT may be truly ſaid, that with theſe Two great Monarchs who held all Northumberland, the Power of this Kingdom ended, though after them CEONULPH, to whom Beda dedicated his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and EGBERT were diſtinguiſhed by their Piety and Love of Peace, as well as by the Number of their publick Foundations[u]. The ſucceeding Kings, for in the Whole there were upwards of Twenty, did not either enjoy any Quiet themſelves, or were able to procure it for their Subjects; ſince as alternate Factions prevailed they were ſet up, depoſed, and ſometimes murthered, which kept Things in a continual Confuſion; ſo that at length the Strength of the Kingdom was ſo entirely exhauſted, as to fall at firſt under the Protection, and at laſt to become a Province to the Weſt Saxons, though not till the Reſt of the Heptarchy had been by them ſubdued.

[t] The Princeſs married by King Edwin was Ethelburga the Siſter of Eadbald King of Kent. Paulinus before his Departure was conſecrated Biſhop of the Northumbrians at Canterbury, and in his Favour Edwin revived the See of York, which had been an Archbiſhoprick in the Time of the Britons. After the Deceaſe of this Monarch, when Penda had made a Conqueſt of the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, Paulinus fled with the Queen back into Kent, where he was made Biſhop of Rocheſter, and there he died. Oſwald ſent for Aidan out of Scotland to preach the Goſpel to his Subjects, and he became Biſhop of Lindisfarn, now Holy Iſland. In ſucceeding Times there was a Biſhop at Hexham. The Danes deſtroying Holy Iſland, the Biſhop and his Clergy removed to Concheſter, now called Cheſter in Strete, and from thence the See was finally tranſferred to Durham, where it has ſince remained. Carliſle, an ancient Roman City, was given to the Church in the Time of the Saxons, though not erected into a Biſhop's See till after the Conqueſt.

[u] The Building of Churches and of Monaſteries, when Chriſtianity was firſt received in any of theſe Kingdoms, was a neceſſary Work, as the Converſion of the People could no otherwiſe be carried on, and the Hiſtories of thoſe Times ſhew us that they were very poor and mean Edifices. Afterwards when ſome Kings, and many Princeſſes retired into them, it is no Wonder that they were improved; and whoever conſiders the continual Wars and Confuſions in thoſe Days, will as little wonder that ſerious and religious Perſons choſe ſuch Retreats. They were uſually in deſart and ſolitary Places, and if in conſequence of theſe Foundations, and the Care and Attention of thoſe who dwelt in them, Towns grew up, as they uſually did, in their Neighbourhood, this only proves that ſuch Foundations had a good Effect. Indeed, whoever reads with Candour and Conſideration the Annals of theſe Ages, cannot fail of being convinced that they were the principal Cauſes of ſpreading, promoting, and preſerving Civility and Cultivation. A political Writer, like an Hiſtorian, ſhould be free from all religious Prejudices, and ſpeak his Mind with Freedom and Candour, which is the ſole Motive to theſe Remarks.

The Kingdom of the East Angles in Order of Time the Sixth, but in regard to Extent the Fourth, was a plentiful, and in many Parts of it a very pleaſant, and at the ſame Time well ſituated Country. It had the German Ocean on the North and on the Eaſt; the Kingdom of the South Saxons on the South, and the potent Kingdom of Mercia on the Weſt [w]. As this Country lay conveniently for receiving continual Supplies of new Adventurers from the Continent, ſo Numbers of Angles came over under many Chiefs, and ſettled themſelves therein. Theſe Captains, ſo long as they lived, would bear with no Superior; but on their Demiſe Uffa took the Title of King A. D. 575, and eſtabliſhing himſelf thoroughly in his new Dominions, left them to his Poſterity.

His Grandſon, Redwald, proved a wiſe and generous Prince, an Inſtance of which is his obtaining the envied Honour of being ſtiled King of the Anglo-Saxons. He it was who protected Edwin, and at length placed him on the Throne of Northumberland. He is ſaid to have been a Chriſtian, but kept ſuch Meaſures with his Pagan Subjects, as rendered it ſomewhat doubtful. His Son and Succeſſor Erpenwald, being ſupported by Edwin King of Northumberland, declared himſelf, and was baptized A. D. 632, and his Example was followed by ſome of the Nobility. The Bulk of the People however remained Pagans, and a Conſpiracy being formed againſt him by One of their Chiefs, he was deprived both of his Life and Crown. After the Troubles this occaſioned ſubſided, Sigibert his Couſin, who was Brother by the Mother's Side to Erpenwald, coming over from France ſeated himſelf on the vacant Throne [x]. He was a Prince of great Learning, and effectually reſtored and re-eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity, which that he might fix on a firmer Foundation, he erected Seminaries for the Education of

[w] This ſmall Territory was compoſed of what are now ſtiled the Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeſhire, and the Iſle of Ely, much inferior to ſome of the other States, but ſeparately conſidered by no Means inconſiderable, as being about Half the Size of Wales, equal to the Province of Picardy, and very little inferior to the Duchy of Savoy. It was naturally fortified on Three Sides by the Sea and the Fens; and on the Weſt, where it lay open, there were Three artificial Ramparts with Ditches, the moſt conſiderable of which is ſtill very conſpicuous near Newmarket called Rech Ditch, from the little Market Town of Rech where it begins, but better known by the vulgar Appellation of the *Devil's Ditch*, intended to ſtop the Incurſions of the Mercians. We have followed in the Text the Deſcription given by Abbo Floriacenſis, a very ancient Writer, who compoſed the Life of St. Edmund the Martyr.

[x] When King Sigibert returned out of France, he brought with him a Prieſt named Fœlix, who was conſecrated Biſhop of the Eaſt Angles. His See was fixed at Dommoc, now Dunwich, a Place formerly of great Extent and Conſideration, as we have ſhewn, vol. i. p. 277, 278. In Proceſs of Time this Dioceſe, being thought too large, was divided into Two, the other epiſcopal See being placed at Helman, the Uletum of Beda, now North Elmham, a very ſmall Place in Norfolk. It was from thence transferred to Thetford, once the Capital of this Kingdom, and a very large and ſtately Place. When this was ruined by the Danes, and Dunwich by the Sea, both Biſhopricks were again united and fixed at Norwich ſoon after the Conqueſt.

the rising Generation, whence we find him accounted by many for the Founder of the UNIVERSITY of CAMBRIDGE[y].

AFTER no very long Reign he resigned his Crown, and became a Monk. But when Penda the furious King of Mercia invaded the Country, the People compelled him to quit his Convent, and with them to take the Field, where with his Successor, ECRICK, he was slain. After these we find the Names, and very little else of Eight Kings of the East Angles, though their Power was much reduced. The last of these was EGILBERT, or as some call him Ethelbert, exceedingly distinguished by the Gifts of Nature, being very wise and prudent in his Conduct, as well as remarkably comely in his Person. He was invited to the Court of Offa King of Mercia, under Colour of concluding a Marriage with his Daughter, and was there treacherously seized and beheaded by the Orders of that ambitious Monarch, who thereupon seized his Dominions, and annexed them to his own A. D. 792. Yet, though in him the Monarchy was for the present extinguished, his Heir, whose Name was Offa, escaped to the Continent, where he was very kindly received by One Alkmund at Nurembergh, whose Son he adopted, and dying in his Return from Rome sent him his Ring.

THE Name of this young Adventurer was EDMUND, who with a small Force landed on the Coast of Norfolk A. D. 855, was joyfully received by the People, who owned him as King of the East Angles, and he proved a very wise and pious Prince. He governed with great Tranquillity till A. D. 870, when the Danes breaking in like an Inundation harrassed and destroyed his Country, and after deceiving him by various insidious Negotiations, attacked, routed his Forces, and having made him Prisoner, put him to Death with the most horrid Circumstances of Barbarity, whence he was honoured with the Title of a Martyr. The pleasant Town of St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk still preserving his Name, where a most sumptuous Monastery was erected to his Memory[z].

MERCIA,

[y] We are assured by Beda, that Sigibert built a School for the Instruction of Youth, but he does not say where. Some think it was at Thetford, and it is certain that there was in ancient Times a very great School there. But the general opinion is, that it was at Cambridge, and upon this a great Controversy has arisen, and several learned Works have been written to shew that he was the Founder of that famous University. But the Truth seems to be, that Sigibert erected his School in Imitation of what had been before done at Canterbury, and such we find also at other Places where there were either Cathedrals or Monasteries, as at Malmesbury in Wiltshire, and at Jarrow, where Beda resided; all which tends to shew that the Saxons to the utmost of their Power were Encouragers of Literature from the Time of their Conversion to the Christian Religion.

[z] We will take this Opportunity of shewing the Methods practised by the Saxons in preserving the Memory of great Events, by raising to them Monuments of different Kinds. The Promontory of

MERCIA, though the lateſt formed, was the largeſt of the Saxon Kingdoms. It grew by Degrees, by the Prudence and Proweſs of ſeveral independent Chiefs of that warlike Nation, who, from their Situation and Deſcent, were at firſt ſtiled Mid-Angles. The Bounds of their Acquiſitions were exceedingly enlarged by the Valour and Succeſs of CRIDA and his Son WIBBA, who laid the Foundations of this ſpacious and potent Sovereignty, which was at length ſo far ſpread as to be divided on the North by the Humber and the Merſey from the Kingdom of Northumberland. On the Eaſt it was bounded by the Sea, and by the Territories of the Eaſt Angles and Eaſt Saxons; on the South by the River of Thames; and on the Weſt by the River Severn and Dee; ſo that it was difficult to decide whether it was more conſiderable from Extent, or from the Fertility of the Country it comprehended [a].

PENDA is regarded as its Firſt Monarch, and the Kingdom is thought to derive its Name from the Saxon Word MERC, which ſignifies a March, Bound, or Limit, becauſe the other Kingdoms bordered upon it on every Side, and not from the River Merſey as ſome would perſuade us. Penda aſſumed the regal Title A. D. 626, and was of the Age of Fifty at the Time of his Acceſſion, after which he reigned near Thirty Years. He was of a moſt furious and turbulent Temper, breaking at different Times with almoſt all his Neighbours, calling in the Britons to his Aſſiſtance, and ſhedding more Saxon Blood than had been hitherto ſpilled in all their inteſtine Quarrels. He killed Two Kings of Northumberland, Three of the Eaſt Angles, and compelled Kenwall King of the Weſt Saxons to quit his Dominions. He was at length ſlain with moſt of the Princes of his Family, and a Multi-

of Norfolk, which was the firſt Land made by this Prince in his Voyage hither, took the Name of St. Edmund's Cape. Near it he built a Royal Tower at Hunſtanton. The Port into which his little Navy came was Maiden Bower, by many ſuppoſed to be Lynn. He was ſolemnly anointed and crowned at a little Place in Norfolk called Buers, by Biſhop Humbirctry or Hunibert. He was ſlain by the Danes at Hegilſden, now Hoxton, and his Body was removed to Bury, where a ſmall Monaſtery was firſt erected, which was deſtroyed by the Danes under King Swane, whoſe Son Canutus repaired that Injury, by building a much larger, in the great Church of which he ſolemnly offered his Crown.

[a] This ſplendid and opulent Kingdom comprehended well nigh Seventeen of our modern Counties, being equal in Size to the Province of Languedoc in France, very little, if at all leſs, than the Kingdom of Arragon in Spain, and ſuperior in Size to that of Bohemia in Germany. No Country could be more finely diverſified, or better watered, abounding with whatever could render it either rich or pleaſant, fine Woods, fair Downs, excellent Paſtures, Plenty of arable Land, and Mines of the moſt valuable Metals. Having ſeveral navigable Rivers, and beſides the Maritime Counties of Glouceſter and Somerſetſhire, all the Ports on the extended Coaſt of Lincolnſhire, which were then in a much better State than they are now, from the Conſideration of which the Reader will be induced to believe we have not at all exceeded the Truth in what is ſaid of it in the Text.

tude of his Subjects, in a Battle fought not far from Leeds, by Oſwy King of Northumberland [b].

His Son Peada, who married the Daughter of that Conqueror, became a Chriſtian, and was not long after murthered, as is ſaid, by the Malice of his Mother. His Brother Wulfher, becoming King of Mercia, embraced in Proceſs of Time the Faith of the Goſpel [c], and proved a very victorious and potent Monarch, and is with no fewer than Seven of his immediate Succeſſors commonly ſtiled Kings of the Anglo-Saxons, though none of them are owned in that Quality by the Saxon Chronicle. But though poſſibly none of them might enjoy this Honour, they were undoubtedly very puiſſant Princes, maintaining great Wars, and obtaining many Advantages over the Sovereigns of other Saxon States, and eſpecially the Eaſt Angles, whom they reduced, as hath been already mentioned. The Extent of the Mercian Territories was ſo ample as to admit, and ſo ſituated as to require, the conſtituting ſubordinate Rulers in ſeveral Provinces, to whom, eſpecially if they were of the Royal Line, they gave the Title of Kings, which occaſions ſome Confuſion in their Hiſtory [d].

At

[b] This Battle, which the Saxon Chronicle tells us was fought at Winwidfield A.D. 655, made a great Change in the Saxon Affairs, which the unbridled Fury of Penda had thrown into great Confuſion. He had the Year before killed Anna King of the Eaſt Angles in Battle, whoſe Brother Ethelred notwithſtanding took Part with Penda. On the other Hand, Peada the eldeſt Son of Penda, to whom his Father had given the ancient Kingdom of the Mid-Angles, had Two Years before married the natural Daughter of King Oſwy, and had been baptized at his Court. At that Time it ſhould ſeem that Oſwy and Penda were upon good Terms; but after the latter had conquered the Eaſt Angles, he reſolved to turn his Arms againſt the Kingdom of Northumberland. Oſwy by no Means had provoked this Rupture; on the contrary Beda tells us, that he offered large Sums of Money and Jewels of great Value to purchaſe Peace: Theſe Offers being rejected, he was reduced to the Neceſſity of deciding the Quarrel with the Sword. The River near which the Battle was fought overflowing, there was more drowned than killed. Amongſt theſe, as the Saxon Chronicle ſays, there were Thirty Princes of the Royal Line, ſome of whom bore the Title of Kings, and alſo Ethelred King of the Eaſt Angles, who, as hath been hinted in the Text, fought on the Side of Penda againſt his Family and Country.

[c] Oſwy King of Northumberland, after his Victory over Penda, affected the Rule over Mercia, yet without diſpoſſeſſing his Son-in-law Peada. On the contrary he joined with him in the Foundation of a noble Monaſtery at Peterborough, and cauſed Diuma to be conſecrated Biſhop of the Mercians, who had been hitherto under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of Dorcheſter. Wulfher, who ſucceeded his Brother Peada, when he became a Chriſtian finiſhed the fine Monaſtery at Peterborough, and fixed the epiſcopal See at Litchfield. His Brother Ethelred divided his Dominions into ſeveral Dioceſes. One See was at Sidnaceſtre, but where that was is very uncertain, ſome ſay at Stow, others near Gainſborough; but it was afterwards transferred to Lincoln. Another Biſhop was placed at Leiceſter, and another at Worceſter. Hereford became afterwards an Epiſcopal See. Offa, jealous of the Power of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, procured by the Pope's Authority, who ſent upon that Occaſion the Firſt Legates hither, Litchfield to be raiſed to an Archbiſhoprick, which Title continued but a few Years.

[d] Beſides the eſtabliſhing Epiſcopal Sees and Convents, the Saxon Monarchs took other Methods for improving and adorning their Dominions, and as Mercia was the largeſt, ſo theſe Methods

At length the Crown devolving ſometimes on Minors, and ſometimes on weak Princes, inteſtine Factions alſo prevailing, the Force of this hitherto mighty Kingdom began ſenſibly to decline. This falling out in the Days of Ecgbert, the moſt prudent as well as potent Monarch of the Weſt Saxons, he took Advantage of theſe Circumſtances, and having encouraged the Eaſt Angles to make an Attempt for the Recovery of their Independence, he, in a Conjuncture every way favourable to his Deſign, broke with the Mercians, and after a ſhort War obliged them to ſubmit; but this was not an abſolute Conqueſt, the Kings of Mercia being allowed by him and his Succeſſors to retain their Titles and Dominions till the Invaſion of the Danes put an End to their Rule, when this Kingdom had ſubſiſted above Two hundred and Fifty Years; and when the Danes were afterwards expelled by the Weſt Saxons, it ſunk into a Province, or rather was divided into many.

The Reader hath now ſeen a very ſuccinct Repreſentation of the Saxon Sovereignties, from whence it appears that from the Time of their Coming into this Iſland to the complete Eſtabliſhment of the Heptarchy, there elapſed about One hundred and Seventy Years. In this Period the War was carried on with very great Vivacity againſt the unhappy Britons, and but very ſmall Attention ſeems to have been paid to any Thing elſe. It does not indeed appear, that till after the Introduction of Chriſtianity, Laws, Civility, Cultivation, or any Arts, except ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary to Subſiſtence, had made any Progreſs. In the Space of about Sixty Years from the Time of its Firſt Entrance, the Faith of Chriſt prevailed throughout all theſe little States, and therewith a Spirit of Humanity and Regard to rational Policy, and the general Welfare of the People [e]. From the Settlement to the Subverſion of the Heptarchy we may reckon about Two hundred Years.

The

thods were moſt conſpicuous therein. Coventry, as being ſituated in the Center, was uſually, but not always the Royal Reſidence. Penda, who was almoſt continually in a State of War, lived as his Military Operations directed in ſome great Town on the Frontiers. Wulfher built a Caſtle or fortified Palace for his own Reſidence, which bore his Name. Offa kept his Court at Sutton Walls near Hereford. In each of the Provinces there reſided a chief Magiſtrate, and if he was of the Royal Blood had uſually the Title of King. Peada at the Time he married Oſwy's Daughter had the Title of King of Leiceſter. Ethelred made his Brother Merowald King of Hereford, who dying without Iſſue bequeathed it to his younger Brother Mercelm. The like Honours were ſometimes conferred upon the Princeſſes, and hence in Mercia eſpecially we occaſionally read of Vice-Queens. By this Means the Laws were better executed, the Obedience of the Subjects more effectually ſecured, and the Splendour of theſe Reſidences conſtantly kept up and augmented.

[e] It hath been generally thought that the Saxons had not the Uſe of Letters before the Time of Auguſtine's Arrival. But the learned Mr. Edward Lhuyd proves the contrary, and that thoſe which are uſually eſteemed Saxon were really Britiſh Characters; ſo that probably even before the

The Extent and Situation of each of these Kingdoms have been very briefly shewn, some Vestiges of which are still visible in our modern Divisions. We have compared them one with another, that their reciprocal Proportions in respect to Strength and Size might be rendered evident. We have adventured also to make a Comparison of them with some foreign Provinces and Principalities, the better to illustrate their Importance, which in those Ages, when other Countries were in a like Manner divided, was much more apparent than without some Reflection they can be to us. The capital Events in their History have been pointed out for the same Purpose. We have laboured also to trace out some at least of the several Modes of Policy by which they sought to improve and adorn their Country, and which, considered with an impartial Eye, will in the Sequel be found to have had far greater and more beneficial Consequences than have been commonly imagined[f].

We have given also some Instances in respect to the Commerce which they certainly had even in these early Times, the Reality of which evidently appears in the Riches employed in their religious Edifices, in the Pilgrimages of several of their Kings to Rome, and other Circumstances necessarily productive of Expence, which must have been defrayed from the Exportation and Sale of their native Commodities in foreign Parts, since

Arrival of that Monk, some Converts had been made to Christianity by the Britons. But after it became the established Religion in Kent, we find great Alterations made in the Manners of this Nation. The first Laws plainly shew the Rudeness of the Times, which they are chiefly calculated to repress, and in succeeding Ages there are visible Marks of their becoming more polished and better acquainted with useful Arts. All this was chiefly due to their Clergy, who took great Pains to instruct and improve them, of which from their own Learning and Abilities they were very capable, as appears from the Catalogue that Leland has given us of more than Fifty of their Writers. In Reference to the Progress of Humanity amongst them, we need only mention One of the Laws of King Ina, by which it is declared, that if a Briton, or as they called him, a Welshman, was slain, who possessed an Hide of Land, the Compensation should be One hundred and Twenty Shillings; if he had only Half a Hide, Fourscore Shillings; if he had none, Sixty Shillings. This shews that the Welsh were not only allowed to live, but to acquire Property amongst them. As to Cultivation, besides many Laws respecting Agriculture and Pasturage, we find One particularly for the Protection of Vineyards.

[f] After these People became civilized, they appear to have had a great Inclination to Building, and to have studied every Method of promoting it that was in their Power. At first by erecting Towers and Fortresses, Royal Houses, and repairing Roman Stations; afterwards by fixing Bishops Sees, erecting Monasteries and Nunneries: All these produced gradually other Buildings near them. Every Cathedral had a Number of Clergy, and many of them Schools. The Abbies had their Monks, together with Villages and Farms in their Neighbourhood. The Residences of the Princes of the Blood, of which there were many, attracted Numbers: These required the Cultivation of considerable Tracts of Land for their Subsistence; and thus by Degrees the Country was overspread with Towns and Villages, which however mean at first were continually increasing, and many of them became gradually large and populous Places. In the short Memoirs written by Asser of the Life of King Alfred, there are more then One hundred and Twenty Cities, Boroughs, and Villages occasionally mentioned from Occurrences relating to them therein recorded.

Bullion

Bullion could no otherwiſe be procured; in the Poſſeſſion of which, however, it inconteſtably appears they were not at all inferior to their Neighbours. We may in like Manner conclude from their Buildings after they began to repair the old and to erect new, from their Cloaths, their Arms, their Shipping of ſeveral Sorts, their Furniture and other Conveniencies, that they muſt have had a Variety of Manufactures. It muſt be confeſſed, that it would have been more ſatisfactory if we could have entered into a clearer Detail of theſe Matters; but this our Materials would not allow. The ancient and authentic Annals of theſe Times are very ſhort, the Acceſſions and Deaths of Princes, their Wars and their religious Foundations, are almoſt the only Things that are remembered in them: Yet notwithſtanding this, the Facts we have laid down, though leſs ſatisfactory, are not at all leſs certain g.

Ecgbert, or according to the Saxon Orthography Ecgbryht, from the Time of his Acceſſion to the Weſt Saxon Kingdom had the Conqueſt or the Coalition rather of all the other States conſtantly in View. At the beginning however he attacked none of them, but commenced his Military Operations by falling upon what they ſtiled Weſt Wales, the Inhabitants of which he reduced A. D. 813. Ten Years after this, when he had broke the Power of the Mercians, by inſtigating, as we have before hinted, the Eaſt Angles to aſſert their Independency, he openly invaded that great Kingdom and ſubdued it, though from a Mixture of Equity and Policy he reſtored Wilaf, who then governed it, as his Vaſſal. A. D. 827 he put an End to the Heptarchy by the Reduction of Northumberland.

g There were long and great Diſputes about the Sources of the River Nile, but the Overflowing of that River, as it produced thoſe Diſputes, ſo it left no Doubt that theſe Sources, whatever they were, muſt be adequate to their Effects. King Ina, as the ancient Records of Glaſtenbury affirm, employed Fifteen thouſand Nine hundred Eighty-four Pounds Weight of Gold in decorating the Church of that Monaſtery, in Veſſels for the Altar, in Images, &c. beſides Silver and precious Stones. Without Doubt other Princes were in like Manner liberal according to the Devotion of thoſe Times in other Places. We cannot nevertheleſs but incline to think, that however pious, their Magnificence was not wholly confined to religious Places, but that Gold and Silver were likewiſe to be found in their Palaces, and in the Purſes of their Subjects. The Lands of this Country in thoſe Days, as the Laws clearly ſhew, produced abundantly all the Neceſſaries of Life, and therefore we may well ſuppoſe, or rather affirm, that this Wealth aroſe from the Exportation of Corn, Wool, and other native Commodities, the rather, becauſe we find ſoon after this Period the Exportation of Horſes prohibited by Law, except for Preſents: Other Things therefore might be exported for Sale. King Ina likewiſe endowed Schools at Rome, and ſettled an annual Revenue for their Support, to be remitted from hence; other Princes made the like Journeys, and left Marks of their Munificence in foreign Countries, which they could not have done if there had not been Plenty at leaſt, if not Opulence, at Home. The Port of London, and no Doubt other Ports, were frequented by Merchants; and therefore taking all theſe Things together, though we have no diſtinct Memorials of our Traffic, yet it cannot poſſibly be denied, that the Poſſeſſion of what it produces is a ſufficient Proof that it actually exiſted.

The next Year he ſubdued the Britons ſtill remaining in the Northern Parts, and having thus accompliſhed his whole Deſign, it is probable he would have given a regular Form of Rule to his now extenſive Dominions. It was with this Intention, as is ſuppoſed, that he called a General Aſſembly at Wincheſter, and there directed that his Realm ſhould for the future be called ENGLAND, and his Subjects ENGLISHMEN. But before he could proceed farther his Deliberations were interrupted by the Danes invading different Parts of his Territories. A. D. 833 he fought their Army at Carrum, a Place not certainly known, but with great Loſs. A. D. 835 he totally defeated them and the Corniſh Britons who had revolted, and joined them at Hengſtone Hill. This Victory gave him ſome Hopes of Quiet, which however he enjoyed not long, for the next Year he fell ill, died, and was buried at Wincheſter [h].

HE was ſucceeded by his Son ETHELWULF, a Prince of a religious Turn of Mind, who notwithſtanding by the Aſſiſtance of his Son Ethelſtan, whom as we before-mentioned, he had declared King of Kent, repelled the Invaſions of the Danes, and ſo far reſtored Peace to his Kingdom, as to find an Opportunity for making Two Viſits to Rome, and being a Widower when he went thither laſt, in his Return from thence he eſpouſed Judith the Daughter of the Emperor CHARLES the BALD, and about Two Years after deceaſed. Ethelſtan his eldeſt being dead, he was ſucceeded by his Second Son ETHELBALD, who enjoyed the Regal Dignity but a ſhort Time, and was ſucceeded in their Turns by his younger Brothers ETHELBERT and ETHERED [i].

THE

[h] It may be ſatisfactory to the Reader to obſerve, that this great Prince paſſed his Three Years Exile in the Court of Charlemagne, who maintained a cloſe Correſpondence with many of the Princes in this Iſland. Ecgbert could not have been bred in a better School either with reſpect to Arms or Politics, and therefore we need not wonder that he was ſo much ſuperior in both to the Princes his Contemporaries, or that he ſhould have ſuch extenſive Ideas, and proſecute them with ſo great Propriety. He commenced his Reign over the Weſt Saxons the very ſame Year that Charles was crowned Emperor at Rome. Though his Edict for giving the Name of England to his Dominions is current in our beſt Hiſtories, yet it is not mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle. To ſay the Truth, the Title was of an older Date, and the Reaſon commonly aſſigned is, that the Angles were a greater People than either the Saxons or the Jutes, for the Eaſt Angles, the Northumbrians, and the Mercians were all of the ſame Stock. It may be the King choſe or continued this Title to conciliate the Affection of his new Subjects. But after all we do not find that it was either permanent or conſtant; for though Aſſer, who wrote the Memoirs of Alfred, and dedicated them to that great Prince, ſtiles him Monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, yet Alfred himſelf was content with the Title of King of the Weſt Saxons, as appears in many of his Writings, and moſt authentically in the Introduction to his Laws.

[i] The Intent of this Chapter is to give the Reader a competent Idea of this Country under the Saxons, and of the Progreſs of the Conſtitution in their Time. As this could not be done without entering into their Hiſtory, we have purſued that too as briefly as we could, and taken ſome

The Danes during the Government of these Princes ravaged all Parts of England, putting an End to the Northumbrian and Mercian Kingdoms, killing Two Monarchs of the former, and expelling Burherd, who was tributary to and had married Ethelswitha the Sister of these Kings, out of the latter, obliging both the King and Queen to fly into Italy, where they died. They likewise placed a King of their own in the Country of the East Angles, as they had done before in Northumberland, spreading Desolation and Destruction where-ever they came. For their Mode of making War was this, they seized upon some tenable Place, and issuing from thence compelled the People to furnish them with Horses, which enabled them to make Excursions on every Side, and when they had amassed all the Booty they could they decamped, and either took up some fresh Station or returned Home with their Plunder. These Events, by which the whole Country was in a Manner rendered desart, fell out in the Space of about Thirty-five Years [k].

At this Period, A. D. 871, Alfred, according to the Saxon Orthography, Ælfred, in Latin Writers called Aluredus, the youngest Son of Ethelwulf, came to the Crown, or rather the Cares of it, which he had hitherto only shared with his Brethren, devolved now solely upon him [l]. He proved One of the wisest, bravest, and best Princes that ever sat

some Pains to render it not unintelligible or unpleasant. This leads us to say something as to the Names of these Princes, which the Language of our Forefathers being now forgotten, sound not a little harsh in our Ears, though to them they were equally grateful and pleasing. Neither were they singular in this Respect, for in most ancient Nations proper Names were so framed as to express the Excellence of the Person to whom they were given. Thus in Hebrew Israel is the Prince of God. In the Persian Language, which is that of the Court in the Indies, Aurin Zebe is the Ornament of the Throne. In like Manner the Saxon Names were in their Language equally significant. Ecgbert, implied ever splendid; Ethelwulf, a noble Support; Ethelbald, princely Courage; Ethelbert, princely Lustre; and Ethelred, noble Counsel. Ethel was noble or princely, and in the superlative Degree, Ethelstan, most noble.

[k] The Danes, as we have often observed, were of all the Scourges this Country ever met with the most heavy and the most severe. We have succinctly represented this in the Text, but it seems necessary to be more explicit. They did not make a regular or constant War, but acted by repeated and sudden Descents. Wherever they came they proceeded with the utmost Cruelty, not sparing either Sex or Age, and being Pagans, respected neither Churches or Religious Houses, which in the Saxon Wars were accounted sacred, and this, considered in a political Light, was no small Advantage, as it preserved the most cultivated Parts of the Country from the Horrors of War. The Object of the Danes, at the Beginning, was not Conquest but Plunder; they carried away whatever was valuable, and destroyed the Rest. In a Course of Years, therefore, they not only impoverished the Inhabitants to the last Degree, but harrassed them also in such a Manner, as to break their Spirits and deprive them of Hope. They made Treaties, but with a View only to Extortion, and having sold a Peace, broke it as soon as they had received the Price.

[l] This great and good Monarch was born at Wantage in Berkshire, A. D. 849. His Father sent him at Five Years old to Rome, where he was honourably received by Pope Leo the Fourth.

ſat on this or any other Throne. The Country was then, as it had been for many Years before, over-run by the Pagan Danes, againſt whom, in the Courſe of that very Year, he fought Nine Battles with different Fortune. In the ſucceeding Seven Years his Forces were ſo miſerably exhauſted, and thoſe inhumane Invaders had made ſuch Progreſs, and brought over ſuch Multitudes of their Countrymen, that he was conſtrained for his own Safety to retire into the Fens of Somerſetſhire, and to take Shelter in the Iſle of ATHELNEY [m].

HERE he had Leiſure to plan thoſe wiſe Meaſures he afterwards purſued, and having at length found Means to aſſemble an Army with which he ſurprized and routed the Enemy at Ethandune, he, to ſpare the Effuſion of human Blood, made a Treaty with Gothrun the Daniſh King, who with Thirty of his principal Nobility were baptized, in conſequence of which he aſſigned them the Countries of the Northumbrians and Eaſt Angles, of which they were already in Poſſeſſion, that therein they might ſettle and procure a Subſiſtence for themſelves agreeable to the Conditions of that Convention [n].

He went thither a Second Time with his Father, and remained there a full Year. He derived from Nature a moſt extenſive Capacity, which was improved by the beſt Education that Age could give. He applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to Learning, and gradually acquired every Branch of uſeful Knowledge. He not only underſtood the Principles of the Art Military, Architecture, and other Branches of the Mathematicks, but ſtudied likewiſe Mechanicks. He had very free and liberal Notions, took great Delight in the Converſation of Men of Parts and Learning, at the ſame Time addicting himſelf to all manly Exerciſes, as well as to the Sports of the Field. It is indeed amazing, that in an Age like this there ſhould have been a Prince of ſuch Accompliſhments; but if he had not been a Prince of ſuch Accompliſhments, he could neither have performed what he did, or have furniſhed the Materials for thoſe Memoirs of his own Times, which were written in them by himſelf and others.

[m] The Name of this Iſland in Saxon is Æthelinga—yge, by Contraction Athelney, that is, the Iſle of Nobles. It lies in Somerſetſhire (ſee Vol. i. p. 333.) ſurrounded by the Waters of the Thone and Perrot, ſome Miles North-eaſt from Taunton, and South-eaſt from Bridgewater. It was a Place very ſtrong by Situation, being ſurrounded by Moraſſes. There had been before his Time a Monaſtery in it, where, for his own Security, he conſtructed a Caſtle, but in ſucceeding and better Times he again erected a Monaſtery there. In the Leiſure which this Retreat afforded him, it is believed that he framed not only the Project of attacking and diſperſing the Danes, but alſo that Syſtem of Government which he afterwards eſtabliſhed. He was a Prince of a moſt firm and undaunted Spirit, whom Succeſs never elated, and whom no Difficulties could depreſs.

[n] In the Saxon Laws we find Two Treaties with this Daniſh King Gothrun, and though the One is ſtiled a Treaty between him and King Edward, yet in Reality both were made with Alfred, who ſurvived the Daniſh Prince Ten Years. The Scope of theſe Treaties was to eſtabliſh the Chriſtian Religion amongſt the Danes, to conciliate as far as poſſible the Differences between both Nations, and to prevent their harraſſing and pillaging each other. The Firſt ſeems to be a ſhort Convention, and the Second a more elaborate Treaty, in which, for the greater Security of the Danes, Edward was joined with his Father, and hath alſo the Title of King given him, but the Danes were to remain Subjects to them both.

The King profecuted his Enterprizes afterwards with ſo much Diligence, and his Endeavours were attended with ſo great Succeſs, that having recovered London, and many other Places of Conſequence, out of the Hands of the Danes, he at length brought his Affairs into ſuch a ſettled Situation, that A. D. 893, he enacted a Body of Laws for the Uſe of his Subjects, and ſoon after executed ſeveral other arduous Undertakings for their Benefit. In this noble and publick ſpirited Courſe he perſiſted with unremitting Vigour, notwithſtanding the continual Interruptions he met with from repeated Invaſions, performing ſo many and ſo great Actions, as nothing but the moſt authentick Evidence could render credible [o].

Cities, Towns, and Fortreſſes he repaired, the Country ſacked and pillaged, he repeopled and reſettled. His perſonal Induſtry and Example animating and forming his Court and his People. He raiſed up wiſe Miniſters, able Generals, pious and learned Prelates, inſtituted publick Schools, founded Univerſity College and other Places of Learning in Oxford, ſent for the moſt famous Profeſſors from foreign Parts, and eſtabliſhed them in his own Dominions. He held a cloſe Correſpondence with, and was much admired by the greateſt Princes on the Continent, diſpatched frequent Meſſengers with Alms to Rome, and even to the Chriſtians of St. Thomas in the Eaſt Indies, from whom he received ſome Preſents in return. He ſhewed great Attention to Trade, revived and extended Navigation, and encouraged and rewarded every Species of Induſtry. In this glorious Career, unblemiſhed by any Kind of Vice or Weakneſs, he kept a ſteady Progreſs, beloved at Home, reſpected abroad, and having eſtabliſhed an immortal Reputation by his Actions, he deceaſed A. D. 901, after a Reign of Thirty-years, and in the Fifty-ſecond of his Age.

[o] This great Monarch wrote himſelf many Things, ſome of which are come down even to our Times, and theſe are inconteſtable Evidences of his Temper and Intentions, as well as of his Abilities. In his Preface to Gregory's Paſtoral, he hath given a very plain, but a very pathetic Account of the low State to which Learning was reduced by the Devaſtations of the Danes. In his Engliſh Tranſlation of Oroſius, we have a more full and perfect Account of the Voyage made by his Orders, by Other and Wolſtan into the North Seas, than that in Hakluyt's Collection. In a Word, we have abundant Teſtimony from himſelf, that he was really ſuch a Man and ſuch a Prince as we have repreſented him. The Memoirs of his Life by his Chaplain Aſſerius Menevenſis, written in his own Time, and addreſſed to himſelf, are of indiſputable Authority, and though they relate his great Actions, yet the Stile is plain and ſimple like the Manners of the Age in which he lived. The ſame may be ſaid of the Saxon Chronicle. Ethelwerdus, and Ingulphus Abbot of Croyland, lived at no great Diſtance from his Times, and agree perfectly well with theſe. Florence of Worceſter and William of Malmeſbury, though later in Point of Time, ſeem to have collected their Hiſtories from good Materials. Add to this, that the Laws of his Succeſſors bear Witneſs to his Wiſdom, Piety, and Juſtice, and we might likewiſe mention ancient Inſcriptions that corroborate the Truth of what we find recorded in our Hiſtories. It was neceſſary to apprize the Reader of the Certainty there is of the Facts delivered in the Text.

If we may place any Truſt in the general Opinion of our ableſt Writers, this famous Monarch was the great Legiſlator of this Country, and ought to be regarded as the Author of the Saxon, or rather of the Engliſh Conſtitution p. This Sentiment will ſeem to be the more juſtly founded, if we reflect that he was the ſole Ruler of the whole Nation, not only as the Grandſon and Succeſſor to Ecgbert, who put an End to the Heptarchy, but as the Defender of the Anglo-Saxons againſt the Danes, who were Maſters of a great Part of the Country, and had over-run and ruined the Reſt. What therefore he held he had recovered at leaſt, if not acquired, and had no Competitor or Rival to diſpute his Right. But as he tells us himſelf in the Introduction to his Laws, he diligently wrought the old into the new Syſtem, preſerving ſuch of his Anceſtor's Inſtitutions as were fit to remain, and adding and ſupplying by his own, what the Alteration of Times and Circumſtances rendered neceſſary, recommending the like Care and Conduct to his Succeſſors.

As his Situation made this requiſite, ſo it alſo made it practicable; for having none to controul him, and having likewiſe the entire Confidence of his Subjects, founded in the Superiority of his Abilities and the Purity of his Intentions, of both which they had equal Experience, his Inſtitutions of every Kind met with a willing and univerſal Obedience. That this is a true Repreſentation of Facts, the Conſequences will inconteſtably ſhew, for this Arrangement evidently prevailed in ſucceeding Times, though no Veſtiges appear of its Introduction, and it is no leſs plain that it could not be made before his Time q. Beſides there are many and expreſs Proofs,

p It is requiſite to apprehend theſe Matters clearly, that we ſhould explain in what Senſe he is to be underſtood to give Laws to this Country. It muſt be allowed he was not the Inventor of the Diviſion into Shires, or perhaps of Hundreds; the former, at leaſt, being certainly known before his Time, Aſſer having told us, that he was born in Berkſhire, and mentions ſeveral other Shires in the Courſe of his Work. It may be likewiſe ſaid, that he could not poſſibly compleat this Diviſion, the Countries North of Humber, and thoſe poſſeſſed by the Eaſt Angles, being in his Time in the Hands of the Danes. It is alſo true, that there were Earls before his Time. But all this does not derogate from what the Reader will find hereafter aſſerted in reſpect to him. For retaining the old Names, and in a great Meaſure perhaps the old Diviſions, he adapted them to new Purpoſes. Shires before his Time were only in the Weſt Saxon Kingdom and its Dependencies; but he introduced them, fixed their Limits, and ſubdivided them into Hundreds and Tithings through all his Dominions. He made the Earls or Aldermen civil Officers, and introduced other inferior Officers under them, upon which Model his Succeſſors proceeded; and it is in this Senſe that he is very truly ſaid to be the Author of theſe Inſtitutions.

q Though nothing can be more exact or more uniform than Alfred's Plan of Government, yet in reſpect thereto, it does not appear that he ever laid down an expreſs Syſtem or Code of Laws, or at leaſt there is none ſuch come down to us: Tradition indeed reports many Things that carry an Appearance of this, and there can be no Doubt that many of his Laws and legal Judgments are loſt, as it is likewiſe true, that in modern Times ſeveral Pieces relative to this great Monarch,

Proofs that ſeveral eſſential Parts of it were brought in by Alfred, to whom therefore we may rationally aſcribe the Whole, eſpecially as the Plan is ſimple, regular, and connected. It muſt however be acknowledged, that it was gradually carried into Execution by his Succeſſors, and of courſe the Effects of it were moſt conſpicuous in their Reigns, though the Out-line of the Syſtem was undoubtedly his. It is our Duty to give a Plan of this Conſtitution, to explain the Spirit of it, and to ſhew wherein the Excellency of it conſiſts.

This wiſe and judicious Monarch provided firſt for the complete Reſtitution of Religion, which was then far leſs tainted with the Errors of Popery than in ſucceeding Ages, looking upon it as the only ſolid Baſis of civil Obedience, and when he had accompliſhed this, he proceeded in like Manner to reſtore the State. He obſerved the numerous Miſchiefs that aroſe from Diſorder and the Want of a regular Diſtribution of the ſeveral Parts of his Dominions, and this induced him to divide the Realm into Counties or Shires, every County into Hundreds, and every Hundred into Tithings. By this Diviſion, and the Circumſtances attending it, he thoroughly provided for the publick Tranquillity. Every Houſeholder was anſwerable for his Family, and any Stranger who ſtaid with him more than Two Nights. The Towns were accountable for every Houſeholder reſiding in them; the Hundred, for every Town comprehended therein; and the County, for the Inhabitants in all the Hundreds it contained [r].

By

narch have been recovered, that were formerly buried in Oblivion. But ſtill this Difficulty is not removed, we have no ſufficient Authority to affirm, that he ever laid down or enacted any ſuch Syſtem. How then is he a Legiſlator? Why is any Syſtem attributed to him? Or how if he did frame, without publiſhing, came it to prevail? The Truth ſeems to be, that as he recovered his Dominions by Degrees, ſo in Proportion as he recovered them, he eſtabliſhed a certain and peculiar Mode of Government, the Model of which he had framed in his own Mind during the Time of his Retreat in the Iſle of Athelney. The Conveniencies ariſing from it, and the advantageous Conſequences with which it was attended, together with the Reverence that was long paid to his Memory, eſtabliſhed it effectually, and the Saxons by Habit grew to have a juſt Senſe of the Excellency, and from thence an unalterable Affection for this Conſtitution.

[r] The State of Things, and the Nature of his Inſtitutions duly conſidered, they will appear to any candid Judge, as well and as wiſely contrived as any of the boaſted Syſtems of Antiquity; yet it is by no Means probable, that Alfred derived much Help from conſulting and comparing ſuch Conſtitutions: Though this, to do him Honour, hath been aſſerted by ſome of our Hiſtorians. It is much more likely, that they were entirely of his own Conception; neither is his Sagacity in forming to be more admired, than his Dexterity in introducing them. When he firſt began to ſet Things in Order, he found, among many other Calamities, that the Saxons were frequently plundered by wicked Men of their own Nation, diſguiſed in the Habit of Danes. The Diviſion therefore of the Country, and the ſeveral Subdiviſions of its Inhabitants, was the only adequate Remedy that could be applied to this Evil. The People therefore readily ſubmitted to it from a Principle of Intereſt, and when once it was eſtabliſhed, the Convenience was ſo great, and ſo apparent, that they had no Temptation to alter or complain of it. Indeed the Conſe-

quences

By this ſimple Regulation every Individual became reſponſible for his Conduct, as, for their own Security, his Neighbours in caſe of Delinquency were bound to bring him to Juſtice. That this might be done ſpeedily, certainly, and with Facility, ſettled Courts and proper Judges were appointed in all theſe Diſtricts, ſo that Offences againſt the Publick, as well as private Wrongs, were quickly and effectually redreſſed, and this by the Conſent of the People themſelves, who compoſed the Juries in theſe Courts [s].

The Earl was the King's Lieutenant, the Shire Reeve, whom we by Contraction ſtile Sheriff, was the miniſterial Officer in every County. This Diviſion ſerved alſo for maintaining a conſtant Force for the Defence of the Country. The ſeveral Orders of People were in ſuch a Manner diſpoſed, as to anſwer moſt effectually the great Ends of Society. The Earls were to diſcharge their Duties in their reſpective Counties with Exactneſs and Fidelity, on Pain of Puniſhment, being deprived of their Offices, and loſing the Royal Favour. The King's Thanes, who were the next Claſs of Nobility, the Under, or as ſometimes called Middle Thanes, who were poſſeſſed of Manors, and the Cheorls or Yeomen, the loweſt Claſs of Freeholders, having all their legal Rights and Privileges; and as an Encouragement to Virtue and Induſtry, if any by Agriculture, Merchandize, or other honeſt Profeſſion, ſo improved his Property, as to be able to ſupport the Dignity, he came into the Rank of Thanes. Vaſſals or Servants, though not Freemen, were protected from ill Uſage, their Maſters being bound to regard them as God's People, and the King's Subjects [t].

Cities

quences were very extraordinary, for from the Roads being ſo infeſted, that it was dangerous to go from One Place to another, they became in a ſhort Space ſo ſafe, that Ingulphus tells us, Men might leave their Money in them at Night and find it in the Morning, or as others affirm, Gold Bracelets were hung upon Trees and Buſhes without any Body's offering to touch them.

[s] The Courts by him eſtabliſhed were conformable to and coëval with theſe Diviſions. In the County Court, both the Earl and the Biſhop ſat originally, till the latter was removed by Law, and the former gradually neglected it: This was the great Court in which Elections were made, all publick Buſineſs was tranſacted, as well as Cauſes heard, and Wrongs redreſſed. The Hundred Court reſembled that of the County. The Court Baron was more limited in Juriſdiction, and the Court Leet or View of Frankpledge was moſt frequently held, that the Freeholders might have a diſtinct Knowledge of each others Behaviour, and Once a Year the Sheriff preſided therein, which was thence ſtiled the Sheriff's Turn. In criminal Caſes, Juries preſented all Breaches of the Law, and thoſe charged with committing them were tried as to the Fact by a Jury; thus, as we have often remarked, Juſtice was brought to their own Doors, and every Man had Right done him, was acquitted or found Guilty by his Peers or Equals, Men of the Vicinity or Neighbourhood, who, of all others, were like to be beſt informed, and for their own Sakes would be moſt wary in their Deciſions: Yet, as Infallibility was not to be expected, theſe Judgments were expoſed to the Inſpection and Controul of the King's own Courts, which were then Itinerant, following his Perſon in his Progreſs through different Parts of his Dominions.

[t] The Saxons ſtiled thoſe who had Juriſdictions under the King Ealdormen, the Word Ealdorman meaning the ſame with Senator, or a grave Counſellor. In Proceſs of Time, the Daniſh

CITIES and Towns had their Magiſtrates, and proper Mode of managing their Concerns, as by the Saxon Terms for their ſeveral Councils and Aſſemblies ſtill remaining in Uſe, plainly appears. Publick Markets were aſſigned, Laws were made for preventing Frauds in Dealing, and other Steps were taken for a free and ſafe Intercourſe for the Benefit of Trade. In reſpect to foreign Commerce, Merchants were not only protected and honoured, but the King for their Encouragement lent them Ships. He ſaw the Neceſſity of having a Naval Force, and he ſaw that this was no Way attainable, but either by the Practice of Piracy, which was the Method taken by the Danes, or by the promoting Commerce, which was the Mode he choſe. He ſo much affected Navigation as to ſend experienced Seamen to examine the Northern Fiſheries, and to explore, as many believe, a Paſſage that Way to the Eaſt Indies; Things that would ſcarce meet with Credit, if the Reports of theſe Mariners in the Saxon Language were not ſtill extant [u].

IN regard to Military Affairs, he was equally prudent and methodical, for in every County there was a trained Militia, muſtered at ſtated Times, and ready for Service when Need required; ſo that where-ever an Enemy landed, Reſiſtance might be immediately made; and if the Power of One County was not ſufficient, they were aſſiſted by the Counties adjoining. The Naval Force was alſo properly regulated, ſtationed in convenient

Title of Eorle was adopted, from whence our modern Word Earl. In Alfred's Days they adminiſtred Juſtice in their reſpective Diſtricts, whence we find them ſtiled Shiremen. The Thanes, or King's Thanes, were his Officers who held Lands in Right of their Offices. The Middle or Under Thanes, were Men of Property, and thoſe of an inferior Rank who could acquire Five Hides of Land, had a Church or Chapel, a Manor Houſe for the Entertainment of their Tenants, and a Court in which they met to decide petty Cauſes, became from thence a Thane, and enjoyed all his Priviliges.

[u] The Cities and great Towns that had been ruined by the Danes, he very carefully repaired, directing them to be walled and fortified, to prevent ſuch Misfortunes for the future. He alſo built ſome new Places, particularly Shafteſbury, in the Eighth Year of his Reign, as appeared by an Inſcription on a Stone dug up there long after. The ſame Scheme of Government prevailed in his Cities as in the Country; for inſtead of Shires they were divided into Wards, with Magiſtrates in each; he eſtabliſhed in them publick Markets, to prevent the ſelling in them clandeſtinely Cattle or Horſes that were ſtolen. He encouraged the Reſort of Foreigners to his Court, which is a ſufficient Proof of the Intercourſe at that Time between this and other Nations. His Actions likewiſe demonſtrate, that he muſt have been diligent in his Enquiries, and have been very fortunate in his Intelligence; he could not otherwiſe have had any Reaſon to have directed an Expedition into the Northern Seas, the Journal of which, from his own Preface to Oroſius, is printed in Saxon and in Latin, in the Appendix to Walker's Tranſlation of Sir John Spelman's Life of this Monarch, and is a very curious Piece, as it ſhews that Whale and Seal Fiſhing were practiſed in thoſe Times, and that the Fins and Laplanders placed their chief Riches in Skins, Furs, and Rain Deer, as they do at this Day.

Ports,

Ports, and kept in conſtant Repair[w]. The King himſelf examined the Ships of the Daniſh Pirates, and finding them longer and better built than his own, he contrived and conſtructed Veſſels that were ſtill larger, ſtronger, and higher than theſe, which in a ſhort Space he ſtationed on both Sides the Iſland, by which the Danes were frequently attacked at Sea, and thoſe on Board having no Quarter given them, were ſo exceedingly intimidated, that they ventured ſeldom within their Reach.

But as the Changes of Circumſtances made a Change of Meaſures ſometimes requiſite, and that the State of publick Affairs might be better underſtood, it was ſettled that General Aſſemblies ſhould be held Twice a Year, in which the Monarch aſſiſted by the Advice of the Prelates, Earls, Thanes, and other Counſellors, ſtiled in general wiſe Men, decided on Matters of the higheſt Importance, and in which new Laws, when neceſſary, were enacted; which Aſſembly was the Repreſentative of the Anglo-Saxon Nation, and in which alone the ſupreme legiſlative Authority reſided[x].

The Excellency of this Syſtem might be ſhewn in a great Variety of Particulars, but a few Inſtances may ſuffice. In the Firſt Place, from the Diſtribution of the Inhabitants, no Man could be idle unſeen,

[w] It was the ſingular Prudence of this able Monarch to convert Miſeries into Mercies, and by making his Subjects ſenſible of the Cauſes of their Misfortunes, inſpiring them with Courage and Perſeverance in the Application of proper Remedies. The Saxons to his Time had built but ſlightly, and though their Towns were many of them great, yet the Houſes were moſt of them Timber. He convinced them of the Neceſſity of fortifying them, and taught them how to do it. He placed regular Garriſons, and fixed the Manner in which they were to be relieved. He firſt inſtituted a regular Squadron of armed Veſſels for the Protection of the Coaſts, and appointed Guardians of the maritime Parts of the Country, with extraordinary Powers for aſſembling Forces on the Firſt News of an Invaſion. He ſerved in Perſon as well on Board his Ships as in his Armies; and as to all theſe Regulations we have Accounts of them either in Writers of his own Time, or very near it, for whoſe Fidelity we have this ſingular Pledge, that though they might eaſily record theſe Facts, it would have been difficult, if not impoſſible, for them to have invented them.

[x] Theſe great Councils had various Names in the Saxon Language, but are commonly ſtiled *Witena Gemotes* or *Aſſemblies* of *Wiſemen*. In them ſat the Prelates, Earls, Thanes, and what in Saxon are ſtiled *Wites*, about which there hath been ſome Controverſy; but by comparing the Saxon Laws, it very clearly appears, that they were Men of approved Judgment and Knowledge in the Laws. The Members in theſe great Councils had a deliberative Voice in the making or repealing of Laws, and a judicial Voice in reſpect to the Cauſes Civil and Criminal, that were either heard or reviſed before them. (Selden's Works, vol. v. p. 666.) Alfred was exceedingly careful in this Particular, for his Hiſtorian Aſſer informs us, that he reprimanded very ſeverely his Earls and other Juſtices for their Errors in the Deciſion of Cauſes, telling them plainly, that if they were ignorant of the Laws they ought to reſign their Offices, and to prevent ſuch Evils in ſucceeding Times, he directed every Man who had a competent Eſtate to breed up his Sons in ſuch Learning, as might qualify them for the Service of their Country in theſe Offices.

or

or ſupply the Wants that his Idleneſs occaſioned by any Act of Violence or Wickedneſs unpuniſhed. In the next Place, though Puniſhments were ſettled by the Law, and declared by the Judge, yet this was in virtue of a Preſentment or Verdict by a Jury. Laſtly, the Wiſdom of the Laws, not the Will of the Magiſtrate, regulated the Subject's Actions, the Authority of the Prince and the Freedom of the People being ſo equally adjuſted, and ſo intimately interwoven, as to contribute alike to the Happineſs of Individuals, and to the publick Honour and Safety.

EDWARD, commonly ſtiled by our Hiſtorians EDWARD the ELDER, ſucceeded his Father in his Dominions, whom by his Military Talents he had long aſſiſted in the Field, and he ſucceeded him in the full Vigour of his Years. The Nation reaped from hence great Advantages, as the Danes who ſtood in Awe of Alfred, would not have failed to have tried their Strength afreſh againſt a Succeſſor of leſs Spirit. As it was, he had ſcarce entered on the regal Office before his Courage and his Prudence were put to the Trial by a Civil War raiſed againſt him by his Couſin, who, being obliged to fly, had Recourſe to the Danes for Aſſiſtance, who received him willingly, and this brought on a War which was attended with much Danger, Bloodſhed, and Trouble *y*.

EDWARD ſupported himſelf againſt all his Enemies with equal Firmneſs and Temper, purſuing ſteadily his Father's Maxims, which contributed not a little to make their Excellency better known and underſtood. He fought a great many Battles, and moſt of them with Succeſs; yet in the Midſt of his Victories he liſtened willingly to any Overtures for Peace, which, when concluded, he kept religiouſly, and employed to the beſt Purpoſes. He repaired many old and built not a few Cities and Towns, ſtudying carefully all the Advantages of Situation, and peopled them promiſcuouſly with Saxons and Danes, who being once brought to practiſe Induſtry,

y This Prince, when young, was bred up under his Brother-in-law, Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, who married his Siſter, Ethelfleda, both very extraordinary Perſons, to whom many of the Monks, without Ceremony, give the Title of King and Queen of Mercia, though the chief Place of their Reſidence was London. The Truth is, that Ethelred was a great Captain and a great Statesman, and Alfred, when he recovered London from the Danes, committed it to his Care, and afterwards gave him the Government of ſo much of Mercia as he had recovered. In his laſt Will he bequeathed him, by the Title of his Commander in Chief, Two thouſand Marks. Ethelred deceaſed A. D. 912, upon which Ethelfleda ſurrendered to her Brother London and Oxford, but retained Mercia, which ſhe governed with great Wiſdom and Spirit, commanding her Armies in Perſon, with which ſhe invaded Wales and took Brecknock. She afterwards turned her Arms againſt the Danes, from whom ſhe took Derby by Storm, in which ſhe loſt Four of her great Captains; ſhe likewiſe reduced Leiceſter, built and fortified Stamford, Towceſter, Cherbury, and other Places. She alſo repaired Warwick, and dying A. D. 920, was interred with her Lord in the Abby of Glouceſter, which was founded by them both.

as conducive to the Acquiſition of Property, became both uſeful and faithful Subjects [z].

By this Policy he not only repeopled and improved his Country, but by Degrees ſo won upon the Danes, who inhabited the Territory formerly belonging to the Eaſt Angles, that they voluntarily ſubmitted and owned him for their Monarch. Thoſe in Northumberland he rendered tributary by Force of Arms, treating them with great Gentleneſs and Humanity. He was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the Scots and Welch, whom he treated with like Moderation, ſo that he grew more to be eſteemed for the Uſe he made of it, than feared from the Increaſe of his Power. His conſtant Aim was the perfecting that regular Eſtabliſhment which his Father had ſo wiſely planned, and by the Execution of which he ſo evidently extended his own and diminiſhed the Strength of the Danes, who were more humbled by his judicious Conduct than they had been by his repeated Victories. By this Manner of Proceeding, though great Part of his Time was ſpent in the Field, he conſtantly cultivated the Arts of Peace, and rendered them known and acceptable to his Subjects [a]. He reigned with great Reputation Twenty-four Years, and left by Three Wives a numerous Poſterity, ſeveral of his Sons ſucceeding him in the Throne, and Three of his Daughters matched with the Emperor of Germany, the King of

[z] This Monarch, taught by the Examples of his Father and Brother-in-law, ſpent a great Part of his Time in repairing and fortifying old Cities and great Towns, ſuch as Hertford, Leiceſter, and other Places, and building new Ones where they might beſt ſerve to bridle his turbulent Neighbours. The Method he took was this: He cantoned his Army in the Summer in ſome convenient Quarters, ſo as to cover completely thoſe who were employed in building the new Town he marked out. Thus for Inſtance, he lay One Summer at Witham in Eſſex with his Forces, while he built and fortified Malden. He had not long retired from thence before it was inveſted by the Danes; but the People knowing the Strength of the Place, and that they ſhould be quickly relieved, defended it vigorouſly, and when the King with his Army attacked the Enemy, they fell furiouſly upon their Rear and deſtroyed Numbers. In the interior Part of the Country he peopled the Towns and Villages with Saxons and Danes, relying upon the Wiſdom of his Father's Laws, which, by rendering the Inhabitants of every Tithing reſponſible for the Conduct of each other, kept the new Subjects in good Order, till for the Security of the Subſtance they had attained, it became their own Intereſt to perſiſt in their Duty.

[a] This Monarch alſo made ſeveral good Laws, and particularly enjoined the holding Once within every Month the County Court. We find in theſe Mention made of the *Dombec*, but what that was Authors are by no means agreed. Some take it for a Regiſter of original Writs, others for a Collection of Judgments, and ſome for a Book of Statutes: Whatever it was, it plainly ſhews that the Judges in thoſe Times had a certain Rule of Action; which was known likewiſe to the People, according to which they were bound to act, and in caſe of Tranſgreſſion were liable to be puniſhed. He was very ſtrict in the Execution of Juſtice, though very tender of creating new Crimes. It appears from his Laws, that if Men were guilty of Offences for which they were unable themſelves to pay the Penalty, and their Relations would not do it for them, they loſt their Liberty, and this ſeems to be the Source, or at leaſt the principal Source of Bondage among the Saxons.

France,

France, and the Duke of Saxony, who was Son to the Emperor Henry the Third.

His eldeſt Son Ethelstan ſucceeded him, who was in the Flower of his Age in A. D. 925, and was with great Solemnity crowned at Kingſton upon Thames. Some Troubles are ſaid to have clouded the Dawn of his Reign, which were however compoſed without Bloodſhed. He held ſeveral Synods and General Aſſemblies, in which many excellent Laws were enacted for eſtabliſhing Peace and good Order, promoting the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice, preventing Frauds, and regulating the ſeveral Mints throughout the Kingdom, all of them agreeable to and in Support of Alfred's Plan [b].

He was diverted from his Attention to civil Affairs by the Incurſions of the Northumbrian Danes in Conjunction with the Scots, againſt whom, acting with great Vigour and Succeſs, he brought them to demand a Peace, which he granted upon very eaſy Terms. This was far from being attended with ſuch an Effect as he might reaſonably have expected. For perceiving that his Power was continually increaſing, the Welch, the Northumbrians, the Iriſh Danes under their King Anlaff, with the Scots, formed a general Confederacy againſt him, and aſſembled a numerous Army and a prodigious Fleet in the Northern Parts of the Iſland, from whence they intended to have invaded him in the Heart of his Dominions, and at the ſame Time to have made Deſcents on different Parts of the Coaſt.

But Ethelſtan prevented this by marching againſt them with a potent Army and a competent Naval Force, with which he gained, though not without great Bloodſhed and Difficulty, a moſt deciſive Victory, in which the Slaughter was greater than in any Battle before that Time fought in this Iſland. This ſignal Event happened A. D. 938, and we have a very pathetick, though poetical Account of it in the Saxon Annals, ſo much the more remarkable, as though delivered in a moſt pompous Stile, yet it is not intermixed with any of thoſe fabulous Miracles, that, to do Honour to

[b] The Laws of King Athelſtan breathe a true Spirit of Patriotiſm, and are calculated for the public Benefit of the whole Community. He ſhews himſelf particularly anxious for preſerving the public Peace, that is, an uniform and univerſal Submiſſion to the Laws. He is remarkably ſevere againſt Judges departing from their Duty. He ordains that all Pieces of Money of the ſame Value ſhould be of the ſame Weight and Fineneſs where-ever coined, and adjudges the Maſter of the Mint guilty of Fraud therein, to loſe his Hand. In his Statutes there are many Proviſions againſt Fraud and Oppoſition, and it is very eaſy to diſtinguiſh from the whole Tenor of them, that they were made when the Condition of the Subject was in reſpect to paſt Days become ſafe and eaſy, the Proviſions in them plainly declaring, that through the Operation of Alfred's Syſtem theſe were become thriving Times.

this great Prince, have been invented and inſerted in their Accounts by other Monkiſh Hiſtorians [c]. The King after this Succeſs turned his Arms, as in other Places we have already mentioned, againſt Weſt Wales, diſpoſſeſſing the Corniſh of the City of Exeter, driving them beyond the River Tamar, and ſeizing the Iſles of Scilly to prevent their becoming the Rendezvous of the Iriſh and Daniſh fleets. A. D. 941 he deceaſed in the Fifteenth Year of his Reign, unmarried, and of courſe without Iſſue.

He was ſucceeded by his Brother Edmund, a young Prince of a martial Spirit, and of a very active Temper. Againſt him the Danes began to ſtir on all Sides, which afforded him Ground to diſpoſſeſs them of ſeveral great Towns which they had hitherto held in Mercia, and which he now fortified and peopled with Saxons. Afterwards on freſh Provocation he entered into and ſubdued great Part of Northumberland, but on the humble Submiſſion of Two of their Kings he concluded a Peace on Condition that they embraced the Chriſtian Religion, in conſequence of which he became Sponſor at their Baptiſms. But they quickly apoſtatized and the War broke out afreſh, on which he attacked them with a numerous Army, and, by the Aſſiſtance of a Prince of South Wales, reduced the beſt Part of their Dominions. In this War alſo he made himſelf Maſter of Cumberland, then an independent Sovereignty, which he generouſly beſtowed on Malcolm King of Scots, upon Condition that he defended the Northern Parts of England againſt any future Attempts of the Danes, by which Tenure it was held by him and his Succeſſors [d].

This

[c] In the Chronicles written ſince the Conqueſt, we have ſome ſtrange, not to ſay incredible Stories of this Prince's Piety. In his March Northwards it is ſaid, that he went to pay his Devotions at the Shrine of St. John of Beverly, where he promiſed, that if he obtained Victory, by the Interceſſion of the Saint, he would make large Donations to his Church, in Token of which he pawned his Knife, which on his Return, with Victory, he redeemed by the full Performance of his Promiſe. It is alſo ſaid, that being near Dunbar, he prayed for ſome ſignal Proof that the Kingdom of Scotland ought to be dependent upon his, and thereupon ſtruck his Sword an Ell, or as ſome ſay Three Ells deep into a Rock. But the more ancient Chronicles, though they mention his Victories, are ſilent as to the Miracles. It is however true, that he reſtored Lands that had been taken from the See of Durham, and by his Charter granted largely to the Church of Beverly, as in reality he did to almoſt every great Monaſtery in the Kingdom. It may not be amiſs to add, that like his Grandfather he was a very learned and ſtudious Prince.

[d] It ſeems very certain, that at this Time Cumberland was an independent Kingdom, but perhaps it is not quite ſo certain, who were its Inhabitants. Camden inclines to think they were the Remains of the ancient Britons; but from Circumſtances it may admit of ſome Doubt whether they were not Danes. Whoever they were, Edmund by the Aſſiſtance of Leolin King of South Wales entirely ſubdued them, and beſtowed this Kingdom, as the Scots Chronicles admit, on a Prince of their Nation, whoſe Name was Malcolm, the Engliſh Hiſtorians make him King of Scotland. The Scots ſay he was their Prince and Heir apparent. It ſhould ſeem, that this was a very wiſe Conceſſion, for by this Means the Scots were intereſted in keeping out the Danes, with whom they had often leagued before. The Saxon Chronicle tells us, that Cumber-

This great Monarch was an able Stateſman as well as a gallant Captain, as from the Laws made by him evidently appears, affording the ſtrongeſt Proofs of his Zeal for the publick Good, his Affection for his Subjects, and his Regard to the Conſtitution. It may be truly ſaid, that to theſe Principles he ſacrificed his Life, for ſitting at Table on a Feaſt Day, and ſeeing One who had been outlawed for his Crimes enter the Hall, he roſe and ſeized him: A Struggle between them enſuing, they fell together, when the Villain drawing a Knife, thruſt it into the King's Bowels, and killed him on the Spot, to the general Grief of the People, in the Seventh Year of his Reign. He left his Dominions much enlarged, and his Subjects in great Proſperity [e].

But his Two Sons being Infants at the Time of his Deceaſe, he was ſucceeded in the Throne by his Brother Edred, a Prince of great Prudence, who reduced the Northumbrians, awed the Scots, and maintained his Kingdom in much Tranquillity during a Reign of between Nine and Ten Years. He was ſucceeded by the eldeſt of his Nephews Edwy, Edwic, or Edwin, the Son of King Edmond, a Youth of whom the Monkiſh Writers report many Things very diſhonourable in reſpect to his Manners, which however are hardly credible, ſince at the Time of his Acceſſion he was ſcarce Fourteen. The Truth ſeems to be their Proſperity had corrupted the Bulk of the Clergy, great Diſſenſions having ariſen between the Monks headed by Dunſtan, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom this King baniſhed, and the ſecular Prieſts whom he ſupported. In conſequence of the Animoſities which theſe Diſputes occaſioned, his Brother Edgar was inveſted with Regal Authority over the Countries of Mercia and Northumberland,

land was given to Malcolm to be Confederate with the King by Sea and by Land. This Conceſſion had its Effect; the Scots held Cumberland till the Norman Conqueſt, and the Heir of their Crown was ſtiled Lord of Cumberland, and often according to the Mode of thoſe Times King.

[e] The Reduction of Northumberland, which Term, according to the Acceptation of thoſe Times, comprehended, as hath been ſhewn, Two Kingdoms excluſive of that of Cumberland, was a very conſiderable Acquiſition, and having coſt much Blood and Trouble, we need not wonder that King Edmund laboured by every Method to preſerve it to his Succeſſors. It was with this Intent, that he endeavoured to eſtabliſh the Saxon Policy in thoſe Northern Countries, and with a View no Doubt to promote the general Tranquillity, he made thoſe Laws which are ſtill extant, and which are entirely calculated to promote that Harmony and regular Manner of Living, which Alfred made the Baſis of his Conſtitution. It was not however eaſy to ſubdue that fierce and quarrelſome Diſpoſition which ſtill prevailed, notwithſtanding the good Laws made to repreſs it. All we know of the Perſon who killed the King is his Name, which was Leof, and from his intruding himſelf into the Royal Preſence, as well as his being perſonally known to the King, we may conclude that he was not of the Dregs of the People.

which

which Edwy could not prevent, or with Patience endure; ſo that in the Space of Two Years he died in Diſcontent [f].

By his Demiſe Edgar became King of all England, A. D. 957, at the Age of Sixteen. He was a Prince of a firm, generous, and intrepid Temper, accompanied with an Attention and a Degree of Prudence far above his Years. He was equally active and vigilant, knew perfectly the Superiority of his own Strength to that of his Neighbours, ſtudied to maintain and increaſe it, but except the adjacent Iſlands and ſome Part of Ireland, he made no Conqueſts, contenting himſelf with that Submiſſion which, without extorting it, was readily paid to his Power. By this wiſe Conduct he acquired the glorious Surname of the Peaceable [g]. He converted the Tribute of Wales into the Delivery of a certain Number of the Heads of Wolves, and thereby in a great Meaſure extirpated them.

He treated all the other Princes of the Iſland with equal Kindneſs and Reſpect, encouraged a Reſort of Foreigners to his Court, and thereby extended his Reputation through all Chriſtendom. He kept his Garriſons complete, his Forces in good Order and in conſtant Motion, and all his Cities and great Towns in a State of Defence. His naval Force, which was very conſiderable, he divided into Eaſt, Weſt, and North Squadrons, and viſited them annually after Eaſter, by which the Coaſts were equally ſecured againſt Pirates and Invaſions. In the Winter he went in Progreſs through his Dominions, inſpecting the Behaviour of his Officers Civil and Military. He was much in the Intereſt of the Clergy, and eſpecially of

[f] The People on the other Side of the Humber being long uſed to another Kind of Life, and not at all reliſhing the Reſtraints impoſed by Edmund's Laws, as ſoon as he was dead, called back Anlaff a Daniſh Prince, who had formerly ruled them: But growing very ſoon weary of him, they drove him out and ſet up another, againſt whom Edred came with an Army, and in a ſhort Time diſpoſſeſſed him, reſtored the Saxon Polity, to which, tired with repeated Revolutions, the People now more willingly ſubmitted. It is not impoſſible that upon the Death of Edred the Saxon Nobility might think it good Policy to elect Prince Edgar to the Kingdoms of Mercia and Northumberland, as the moſt probable Means of keeping the People in the laſt mentioned Country in due Obedience, leaving Weſt Saxony, Kent, and the Eaſt Angles to King Edwy, who is ſaid to have baniſhed Dunſtan, for not rendering him an Account of the Treaſure which his Uncle Edred had committed to his Charge.

[g] As this Monarch was very young, his wiſe Conduct muſt be attributed to good Advice. This ſeems to have been given him by Dunſtan, whom he recalled, and who, whatever his Character in other Reſpects might be, was certainly a great Politician. He was a Man of Quality by Birth, had an excellent Education, came early into the Management of publick Affairs, and had conducted them with Succeſs. He fixed in his Maſter's Mind the Love of Peace, as moſt neceſſary to the Situation of his Affairs, the conciliating the Affections of his Subjects, and the Maintenance of his own Greatneſs and Glory. His Neighbours obſerving this Diſpoſition, were the leſs alarmed at his Power, and ſaw their own Intereſt in Living with him upon good Terms, as on the other Hand his People felt the good Effects of his Policy in their own Happineſs.

the

the Monks, building or repairing upwards of Forty religious Houſes in different Parts of the Kingdom [h].

He raiſed alſo ſeveral other Structures, and his Nobility imitating his Example, he contributed not a little to the Embelliſhment and Improvement of his Dominions, to which no Prince ever ſhewed more ſteady Attention. His Laws Eccleſiaſtic and Civil, as from the flouriſhing Condition of his Subjects, they were more numerous than any of his Predeceſſors, ſhewed plainly what good Effects had ariſen from Alfred's Syſtem, and as well as the whole Tenor of his Conduct, were plainly calculated to extend and carry it to the higheſt Perfection. He was A. D. 973 crowned with great Solemnity at Bath on Whitſunday [i].

He proceeded from thence to Cheſter, where he was attended by ſeveral of his tributary Princes. His uninterrupted Proſperity induced him to aſſume, as his Charters ſhew, the Name of Emperor, and other lofty Titles unclaimed by his Anceſtors [k]. Yet with all theſe ſhining Qualities, which rendered

[h] The Saxon Chronicle aſſerts, that never any Prince looked more attentively than he did to all the different Duties of his Station, and that he had a more potent Fleet than any of his Predeceſſors. Florence of Worceſter and Roger Hoveden ſpeak of Three Squadrons of Twelve hundred Veſſels each; John Brompton makes them Four thouſand, and others have gone ſtill higher. But the Saxon Chronicle is our beſt Guide, and it is impoſſible to conceive that he could man ſo great a Fleet, or provide for the Support of his Seamen, if his Subjects had not carried on a very extenſive and lucrative Commerce, of which the flouriſhing State of all Things in his Reign is another Argument not to be controverted.

[i] Some Writers ſay, that Edgar was crowned as uſual at Kingſton at the Entrance of his Reign, by Odo Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which it would be eaſy to ſhew, is improbable at leaſt. Others ſay his Coronation was deferred as a Penance enjoined by Dunſtan. The Saxon Chronicles differ in the Year, for ſome Copies make it Nine hundred Seventy-two, others Nine hundred Seventy-three; but ſpeak of it as done with extraordinary Solemnity, and with a great Reſort to Bath of the Nobility and Clergy. Leland in his Itinerary, vol ii. fol. 39, hath the following remarkable Paſſage. "King Eadgar was crounid with much Joy and Honor at St. Peter's "in Bath, wherapon he bare a gret Zeale to the Towne, and gave very great Frauncheſes and "Privilges onto it. In Knowlege wherof, they pray in al their Ceremonies for the Soule of "King Eadgar. And at Whitſunday-tyde, at the which Tyme Men ſay that Eadgar there was "crounid, ther is a King electid at Bath every Year of the Townеſmen in the joyful Remem-"braunce of King Edgar, and the Privileges gyven to the Toun by hym. This King is feſtid "and his Adherentes by the richeſt Menne of the Toun." The Saxon Chronicle ſays, that he went from hence to Cheſter, where he was met by Six Princes. Our other Chronicles tells us of Eight tributary Kings, viz. thoſe of Scotland, Cumberland, Man, and Five Sovereign of Wales, who rowed him in his Barge on the River Dee.

[k] As to the lofty Stile of this Prince, the Reader may find what is advanced in the Text proved in the learned Selden's Titles of Honour (in his Works) Vol. v. col. 141, 142, Inſtances might be alſo given from our ancient Hiſtorians. But the learned Writer we have mentioned hath produced (Mare Clauſum ſeu de Dominio Maris, lib. ii. cap. 12.) another Charter, the Beginning of which, though we have little Room, we muſt tranſcribe, becauſe authenticated by the Sentiments

rendered him the Delight of his People, he wanted not many, and ſome of theſe great Vices. His Lewdneſs was inexcuſable, and attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences. The Luxury of his Court was exceſſive. He was too laviſh of his Favours to Strangers, gave, as his Saxon Subjects thought, too great Encouragement to the Danes, and was very partial to the Monks from a Mixture of Superſtition and Policy, who in Return were very uſeful Inſtruments to him while Living, and in their Hiſtories after his Death magnified his Virtues and extenuated his Failings. After a Reign of Glory and Peace, he died at laſt in the Arms of Victory. For the Welſh having raiſed ſome Commotions on the Frontiers, he entered Glamorganſhire with a puiſſant Army, and triumphing over his Enemies, ſuffered his Forces to plunder the Country; but being ſtruck with the Miſery of the People, he ordered the greateſt Part of the Booty to be reſtored. In his Return from this Expedition, he died after a ſhort Illneſs in the Flower of his Age, and to the univerſal Sorrow of his Subjects, A. D. 975.

His eldeſt Son, Edward, was advanced to the Throne by the Credit of Dunſtan, who by his Father had been made ſucceſſively Biſhop of Worceſter and London, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Queen Dowager, Elfrida, endeavouring, though ineffectually, to place the Crown on the Head of her own Son, though an Infant. The young King himſelf was but Fourteen at his Acceſſion, and under the Tuition of Dunſtan, behaved very well during his ſhort Reign, affording great Hopes to his Subjects that he would reſemble his Father; but before he had enjoyed the regal Dignity Four Years, he was cruelly murthered, ſome ſay by the Command, others by the Hand of his Stepmother, and from an Opinion of his Innocence and Virtue, is ſtiled in our Hiſtories Edward the Martyr.

Sentiments of thoſe excellent Judges of our Hiſtory and Laws, Mr. Camden, Primate Uſher, and the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke; thus it runs, "By the abundant Goodneſs of Almighty God, who is the "King of Kings, I Edgar King of England, and of all the Kings of the Iſlands, and of the "Ocean lying round about Britain, and of all the Nations that are included within the Cir-"cuit thereof, Supreme Lord and Governor, do render Thanks to the ſame Almighty God my "King, who hath enlarged my Empire thus, and exalted it above the Royal Eſtate of my Pro-"genitors, who although they arrived to the Monarchy of all England, ever ſince the Time of "Athelſtan (who was the Firſt that by Force of Arms ſubdued the Engliſh and all the Nations that "inhabit Britain) yet none of them ever attempted to extend their Empire beyond the Bounds "thereof. But the Divine Goodneſs hath favoured me ſo far, as beſide the Engliſh Empire, to "enable me to ſubdue all the Kingdoms of the Iſlands in the Ocean, with their moſt ſtout "and mighty Kings even as far as Norway, and the greateſt Part of Ireland, together with "their moſt famous City of Dublin. All which (by God's Grace and Aſſiſtance) I have ſubdued, "and made their Necks to ſtoop under the Yoke of my Command." This ſurely is a clear Confirmation, and a deciſive Proof as to this Monarch's maritime Power.

His

His Brother Ethelred ſucceeded him A. D. 978, being at that Time about Twelve Years of Age, and proved One of the moſt unhappy Princes who ever wore a Diadem. His Kingdom at the Time of his Acceſſion enjoyed a profound Peace, and was in the moſt flouriſhing Condition [l]. But this State was quickly and diſmally altered, for the Danes renewed their Invaſions, from whence the moſt dreadful Conſequences enſued. Luxury prevailing through all Ranks of People, excited ſuch an Appetite for Riches, as corrupted the Morals and enervated the Minds of the whole Nation. The Nobility already become too powerful, grew equally profligate and ambitious; Avarice and a Deſire of Rule grew general among the Clergy, while the Commons became poor and oppreſſed, being expoſed to the Arts and Inſolence of both. The King was conſtantly and ſhamefully betrayed, ſo that his Armies and Fleets, though very great, were frequently diſſipated without coming to Action, or defeated when they did. The victorious Danes with their uſual Fury took and deſtroyed moſt of the Cities and great Towns except London, plundering the Villages and open Country without Mercy, and ſhedding the Blood of Multitudes without the ſmalleſt Reſpect to Age, Sex, or Condition, after exhauſting by repeated Subſidies, ſo well known by the Name of Dane-gelt, whatever the poor People had left [m].

[l] From the Time that the Northumbrians were totally ſubdued by King Edred to the firſt Depredations by the Danes in the Reign of Ethelred, there elapſed about Thirty Years, during which Space the Kingdom of England enjoyed uninterrupted Felicity. During this Period the Saxon Conſtitution was ſettled and perfected, ſo that the People enjoyed every Thing they could wiſh, ſtrict Juſtice, Trials by Juries, and equal Diſtribution of their Lands on the Demiſe of the Father of a Family, no Forfeitures but for Treaſon, great Encouragement given to Induſtry, in conſequence of which the Country was thoroughly cultivated, and, from the Export of its native Commodities, bleſſed with a lucrative Commerce. In order to form ſome Idea of the State and Circumſtances of the Saxons in their different Periods, the Reader may compare King Ælfred's Teſtament in the Edition of Aſſer's Annals by Wiſe, p. 73, with that of Prince Æthelſtan eldeſt Son to King Ethelred, in the Appendix to Somner's Treatiſe of Gavelkind, p. 197.

[m] The firſt Raiſing of this Tribute to procure a temporary Ceſſation of the Daniſh Depredations is fixed by our Chronicles to A. D. 991, and is ſaid to have been adviſed by Siricus Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Sum then given was Ten thouſand Pounds. In the Space of Twenty Years this Dane-geld, or Money for the Danes, was Five Times collected, and amounted in the Whole to One hundred Thirty-four thouſand Pounds, which would coin into about Four hundred thouſand of our Money. This Tribute was raiſed by the Conſent of General Councils, and muſt therefore have been levied according to certain Proportions through the Kingdom. This great and general Tax was excluſive of what Ranſoms the Danes extorted from particular Places. After their Cruelties and Oppreſſion at Canterbury, they carried away the then Archbiſhop Elphegus, and after keeping him Priſoner on board their Fleet for a Year, they put him on Shore at Greenwich, where, on his refuſing to levy Three thouſand Pounds upon his Tenants for his Ranſom, they put him to Death with moſt barbarous Cruelties, A. D. 1012.

These Miſeries occaſioned, though they could by no Means juſtify, the general Maſſacre of the Danes that were ſettled through the Kingdom, which was perpetrated A. D. 1002, a bloody Expedient! that did not in any Degree anſwer its Intention. Swaine King of Denmark revenged it by a freſh Invaſion, and though he met with much Reſiſtance and ſome Defeats, yet perſiſting ſteadily in proſecuting the War, and receiving continually freſh Supplies of his Countrymen, he at length drove Ethelred to ſuch Straits, that after ſending his Queen and her Children to her Brother the Duke of Normandy, he was conſtrained for his own Safety to follow them. Upon this Swaine was generally ſubmitted to, and is conſidered as the firſt Daniſh King ruling here [n].

But upon his ſudden Death Ethelred returned and reſumed the Government, though with no better Fortune than before, the Danes ſtill labouring to eſtabliſh their Conqueſt, and the Saxons to repel their Attacks; and thus the Strength of the Nation was daily exhauſted by unſucceſsful Struggles. The Current of our Hiſtories attributes all theſe Diſaſters to the Weakneſs and Inactivity of the Prince, whom they ſtile Ethelred the Unready, yet the Facts they relate point out plainly other Cauſes more adequate to the Effect, and that ſeem to exculpate him; but above all, his Laws, of which there are many, ſpeak quite another Diſpoſition, and as it alſo appears, that he acted generally by the Advice of his Great Council, he could not be eſteemed an arbitrary Prince, and therefore it ſeems unjuſt to throw the whole Blame upon him [o]. In this Manner, often in the Field expoſed to continual Dangers, and with very few Intervals of Reſt, Ethelred wore out a ſorrowful and diſtracted Reign of Thirty-ſeven Years,

[n] The Maſſacre of the Danes was on November the Thirteenth A. D. 1002, not long after the King's Marriage to Emma Daughter to the Duke of Normandy. The Carnage was no Doubt very great, though it might not be univerſal. Several Reaſons have been given for it, but the moſt probable is that in the Saxon Chronicle, that the King had Intelligence of their having formed a Deſign to murder him and all his Nobility. King Swaine, for the Space of about Ten Years, waſted almoſt all Parts of the Kingdom with Fire and Sword, deſtroying many Cities, Towns, and Villages, and plundering others, ſo that this is looked upon as the Second general Devaſtation by the Danes, and is atteſted not only by our own, but by foreign, and even by the Daniſh Chronicles.

[o] This King Ethelred came to the Crown, as we have ſhewn, when a Child, and was from the beginning hated by Archbiſhop Dunſtan and the Monks, who were now become rich, ſelf-intereſted, and in all Reſpects exceedingly degenerated. They forgot the Obligations they were under to his Father Edgar, and to himſelf, and their Lands being exempted by the Laws, they would contribute nothing voluntary, even in the Depth of their Diſtreſs, to the Support of their Sovereign or fellow Subjects. It appears plainly from the Saxon Chronicle, that the King frequently conſulted his Nobility and his Biſhops, whoſe Advice he followed, and it is alſo no leſs plainly ſaid, that he was as frequently deceived and betrayed by thoſe he conſulted; ſo that inſtead of being branded with the ignominious Epithet of *Unready*, he ought in Juſtice to have been ſtiled Ethelred the *Unfortunate*.

dying

dying poſſeſſed of but a ſmall Part of the Kingdom, which was inherited by the eldeſt of his ſurviving Sons.

EDMUND was a Prince, who, as our Hiſtories report, was of a very different Diſpoſition from his Father, inſomuch that from his Strength, his Courage, and indefatigable Activity in War, he had obtained the Surname of IRONSIDE. This gallant Monarch fought with different Succeſs Six ſeveral Battles againſt the Danes, and on the Point of fighting the Seventh, after, as ſome ſay, a ſingle Combat he came to an Agreement with his Competitor CANUTUS, by which the Kingdom was divided between them. Not long after this he deceaſed ſuddenly, or, as ſome affirm, was baſely murdered at Oxford by the Traitor Eadric, or at leaſt by his Procurement, who had ſo often betrayed both him and his Father [p], whom this King outlived only a few Months.

CANUTUS, CNUTE, or KNUT, the Son of Swaine, thereupon ſeized the whole Kingdom A. D. 1016, though Edmund left behind him both Brethren and Children; but the Nation, tired out with a Series of Calamities, terrified by a very numerous Daniſh Army, and deſirous of enjoying Peace, ſubmitted and ſuffered him to be crowned. He ſhewed himſelf in many Reſpects at leaſt worthy of this good Fortune, behaving with great Prudence and Moderation, adhering to the Conſtitution, by calling general Councils, acting by their Advice, making many good Laws, as appears by thoſe that are ſtill extant. He laboured diligently to incorporate the Two Nations, and with this View eſpouſed Emma the Dowager of Ethelred. By her Advice he ſent back a large Body of his Daniſh Troops into their own Country, rewarding them liberally for their Services with Engliſh Money [q].

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[p] This Eadric was a Man of great Quality by Birth, nobly allied, and very potent, ſo that the King was obliged to uſe him in his Councils and in his Armies. He was, as all our Hiſtorians agree, an artful, intriguing, inſidious Man, and withal very avaricious, whence he was ſtiled in Saxon *Eadric Streona*, that is *Eadric* the *Gatherer*, from the great Eſtates he acquired, and the immenſe Wealth he amaſſed. Ethelred to render him faithful made him Earl of Mercia, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage. In Edmund's ſhort Reign, he Twice hindered him from gaining complete Victories, and is ſaid by moſt Hiſtorians to have procured his Death, and to have boaſted of this Service to Canute, who cauſed him to be ſlain. This is very ſimply told by the Saxon Chronicle, Twice by Ingulphus (Hiſt. p. 57, 58) and with the Addition of a Variety of Circumſtances by other Hiſtorians.

[q] The Daniſh Troops were ſent back A. D. 1018, and the Saxon Chronicle ſays they had a Subſidy given them of Seventy-two thouſand Pounds, and beſides this Eleven thouſand from the City of London. Some other Writers ſay Eighty thouſand from the Kingdom, and Fifteen thouſand from the City, which, conſidering the vaſt Sums that had been formerly levied, ſufficiently demonſtrates the Wealth of the Kingdom, and in Proportion thereto the Wealth of the City.

He made ſeveral Voyages into his Northern Dominions, where, on more than One Occaſion he employed very ſucceſsfully his Saxon Troops againſt his Enemies. It is not clear from what Motive, except that of diſplaying his Grandeur, he made a Journey to Rome, where he appeared with great Splendour, was received there with great Reſpect, and had very high Honours paid him by foreign Princes in his Paſſage. At his Return he acted ſucceſsfully againſt the Scots. He had the Title of Great beſtowed on him, as well on account of his Juſtice, Magnanimity, and Love of his Subjects, as for the many Victories he gained, and the wide Extent of his Dominions[r]. He ſpent the laſt Years of his Life in Peace, and in performing many Works of Piety, deceaſing A. D. 1036 at Shaftſbury in the Twentieth Year of his Reign.

His Son Harold ſurnamed Harefoot, as is ſaid from his Swiftneſs, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of England, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Weſt Saxons, headed by their powerful Earl Godwin, and the Intrigues of the Queen Dowager, whom he afterwards baniſhed. This Prince made no very great Figure either in War or in Peace, though he raiſed ſeveral heavy Impoſitions on his Subjects during his ſhort Reign of Four Years.

Hardacknute or Hardiknute, the Son of Canutus by Queen Emma, aſcended the Throne upon his Demiſe, recalled his mother, and invited over his Brother Edward, which were the beſt Actions of his Life. His Reign, like that of his Brother, was rendered odious by the heavy Taxes that he levied upon his People, and the Inhabitants of Worceſter killing Two of the Collectors, he cauſed that City to be ſacked and deſtroyed. In other Reſpects he was an indolent and a luxurious Prince, whence it is no great Wonder that he

Soon after the King held a General Aſſembly at Oxford, where it was agreed his Subjects ſhould enjoy the Laws made by King Edgar. Afterwards he publiſhed a very full and excellent Code of Laws Eccleſiaſtical and Civil at Wincheſter, which were to be obeyed alike by his Daniſh and Saxon Subjects.

[r] It muſt be allowed, that with all his good Qualities, Canute, either from Diſpoſition or Policy, exerciſed ſome Acts of great Severity. For beſides the Traitor Eadric, he put to Death ſome, and baniſhed others of the Engliſh Nobility, and this early in his Reign (Chron. de Mailros, A. D. 1018.) and ſoon after he had advanced them, perhaps for their Perfidy, to great Employments. He likewiſe ſent Abroad the Princes of the Royal Blood with an Intention, as ſome ſay, to have them deſtroyed, which however is far from being certain. Edward and Edmund, Sons of King Edmund Ironſide, went into Hungary, where Edmund died, but Edward returned into England under the Reign of his Father's Brother, Edward the Confeſſor, yet did not ſurvive long, but left behind him an only Son Edgar Atheling, the laſt Prince of the Saxon Line. After his Return from Rome, A. D. 1031, Canute ſeemed intent on effacing from the Minds of his People the Memory of paſt Calamities, and to contribute to the utmoſt of his Power to the reſtoring Tranquillity and good Order throughout his Dominions.

was

was not either esteemed or beloved by his Subjects, or his Death, which happened suddenly at a Banquet in Lambeth, at all regretted: He scarce reigned Two Years. It does not appear that either of these Princes attempted any Thing to the Prejudice of the Constitution, the great Excellence of which made it no less acceptable to the Danes long settled here than to the Saxons themselves [s], and some Amends had been made for the great Sums levied by the Dissipation of their Father's Treasures.

He was succeeded by his Brother Edward, who is stiled usually, it being the Custom of the Saxons to distinguish their Kings of the same Appellation by the Addition of Surnames, The Confessor. He proved a weak superstitious Prince, whom the Monks represent as a Saint, though his Usage of his Mother and his Queen seem not to entitle him to any such Distinction. His Dominions were sometimes insulted by, but oftener threatened with foreign Invasions, yet suffered much more through the predatory Depredations of his rebellious Subjects; so that these Calamities, joined to inclement Seasons, prevented in a great Measure the Repair of those Places that had been in the preceding Troubles either injured or destroyed [t].

[s] It appears very strange, especially to modern Historians, that the Danes should make no Efforts on the Demise of Hardiknute, to set up some One of their own Nation, considering their great Power; yet the Wonder will be much lessened, if we consider that Canutus laboured incessantly to conciliate the Minds of his Subjects, and as fast as was possible to incorporate them into One Nation, which it would be easy to shew from the most ancient and authentick Histories of those Times, he in a great Measure effected by Intermarriages, especially amongst the great Families. Besides this, Edward was on the Spot, and the Danes had no Prince of their own, whose Title they could support. We must also remember that the Danish Fleets and Armies were gone. There is therefore no Reason to credit what Pontanus (in vit. Magn. Boni lib v.) reports, that Harold, under Pretence of celebrating the late King's Funeral, drew out the Danish Forces, and caused them in One Night to be all massacred. As little Credit is to be given to John Bromton's Story, ap. decem Script. col. 934, that at this Period the English expelled the Danes and then raised Edward to the Throne. The Truth is, he owed his Advancement to Earl Godwin. Hist. Ingulphi, p. 62, who had constantly adhered to his Mother Queen Emma, the Widow of Canute.

[t] We have already shewn the Methods taken by the Saxons to found new Towns, and to enlarge old Ones, which is sufficient to explain the Alterations that must have happened in many of them, from the Change of the Heptarchy into a Monarchy. In the Wars before the Time of Alfred and during his Reign and after, great Devastations happened, and though from the Time of Edgar the Saxon Princes were very assiduous in restoring and rebuilding, yet from the Beginning of Ethelbert's Reign to the Close of it there was a new Scene of Confusion, Desolation, and Bloodshed. We may therefore very easily conceive that a great Change was made in the Face of the Country, and in the Condition of the People, and of this we have Two very strong Proofs, viz. the Famines that prevailed in the Beginning of the Reign of Edward the Confessor through the Want of Cultivation, and the Exhortation of the Pope soon after the Norman Conquest, to remove episcopal Sees out of mean and decayed Towns into those that were more flourishing and fitter to become Cities.

However

HOWEVER he is said to have remitted the galling Tax of DANE-GELT [u], and to have framed a Code of Laws with a View to the bringing the ſeveral Cuſtoms prevailing in different Parts of the Kingdom into One general Syſtem, which in Part had been attempted, but never accompliſhed by any of his Predeceſſors. His long Reſidence in their Country filled him with ſtrong Prepoſſeſſions in favour of the Normans, which was a Circumſtance highly diſpleaſing to the Nation; ſo that, notwithſtanding what is written by the Bulk of our Hiſtorians ſince the Conqueſt, he was far from being ſo highly or ſo generally reverenced and eſteemed as they would repreſent him. He ſpent a large Sum of Money in building the ſtately Structure of Weſtminſter Abbey, which was hardly compleated and conſecrated before it became the Place of his Sepulture. He died on the Eve of the Epiphany, A. D. 1066 [w].

HAROLD the Son of Earl Godwin, who had during the Reign of Edward the chief Conduct of his Affairs, ſtepped into the vacant Throne, was acknowledged for their King by the Nobility, and crowned by the Archbiſhop of York, though Edgar Atheling the Grandſon of Edmund Ironſide, and Grand Nephew to the deceaſed Edward, was in the Court, and had been conſidered by the Clergy and People as his Heir. Harold had ſcarce aſſumed the regal Title before he found himſelf threatened with an Invaſion from Normandy, and while he was making Preparations for repelling this, his own Brother Toſty, who had been baniſhed by King Ed-

[u] Mr. Selden very judiciouſly diſtinguiſhes two different Kinds of Dane-gelt: The One was a Tribute which was paid to procure a Reſpite from their Depredations, the latter was a conſtant annual Tax to protect the Country and the Coaſts from their Invaſions, which was raiſed in the Nature of a Land Tax, and was employed in fitting out Ships of War, and in the Maintenance of Seamen. This was alſo very frequently paid to the Danes, both before and after the Acceſſion of Canute, as they were ready to hire themſelves for this Purpoſe, and it was this laſt Tax, which, as ſome of our Hiſtorians ſay, amounted to about Thirty-eight thouſand Pounds per Annum, that was remitted by Edward the Confeſſor when it had ſubſiſted for Thirty-eight Years, and in that Space, if their Accounts be right, amounted to about Four Millions of our Money.

[w] It is aſſerted by John Bromton in his Chronicle, ap. decem Script. col. 956, 957. Henr. de Knyghton, col. 2338, that Edward the Confeſſor made ſuch a Code as is mentioned in the Text, and he gives us ſome Saxon Terms from it, which he explains in Latin and in French. In the Saxon Laws there are theſe of Edward the Confeſſor, ſaid to be confirmed by the Conqueror; but they are a ſtrange perplexed Compilation, and even in theſe it is ſaid, that they were not called his Laws, becauſe he made them, but becauſe he obſerved them. It is likewiſe inſinuated, that from the Acceſſion of Canutus the Saxon Laws had been buried in Oblivion, and that the great Merit of Edward lay in his reviving thoſe of King Edgar, which, as the Reader hath already ſeen, is not conformable to Truth, though well calculated for the Purpoſes of thoſe Times when all Inquiries into Saxon Learning was diſcouraged. As to the Laws of King Edward, inſerted by Ingulphus in his Hiſtory, p. 88, to which ſome Additions were made from MSS. by the learned Selden in his Notes and Obſervations upon Eadmerus, p. 173—194. theſe are publiſhed in Wilkins's Collection, p. 211, with a Latin Tranſlation, for the Conqueror publiſhed them in French, though under the Name, and as the Laws of Edward the Confeſſor.

ward, came with a piratical Squadron, harraſſed the Coaſts on the Weſt and South Sides of the Iſland, and at length ſailed to the North, landed his Forces, and endeavoured to repoſſeſs himſelf of Northumberland, of which he had been Earl; but Morcar, then in Poſſeſſion of the County, aſſiſted by the Earl of Cheſter, gave him Battle, beat his Forces, and obliged him to fly with a few Ships into the Ports of Scotland.

As he met with no Aſſiſtance there, he was compelled to put to Sea again, and arriving in Norway, perſuaded the King to join him with a Fleet of ſome Hundred Sail, with which they entered the Humber, and landed a numerous Army. The Two Earls before-mentioned ventured to fight them with an inferior Force, but were beat with conſiderable Loſs. The News of this Misfortune obliged Harold to march Northward, and meeting his Enemies at Strangford Bridge, he gained a complete, though a very bloody Victory, in which Toſty, and ſome ſay Harold Harfager the Monarch of Norway was alſo ſlain, their whole Force deſtroyed, and only a few Veſſels of their numerous Fleet eſcaped. At this very critical Juncture William Duke of Normandy landed in Suſſex.

HAROLD, who was returned to London, and had diſmiſſed Part of his Army, marched immediately to oppoſe him, and after performing all that could be expected from a brave Man, and a very experienced Officer, was ſlain in that fatal and deciſive Battle fought on Heathfield near Haſtings on the Fourteenth of October, when he had reigned Forty Weeks and One Day. With him fell the Saxon Power, and with it the Spirit of the Saxon Conſtitution was well nigh extinguiſhed, after that Nation's flouriſhing in this Iſland about the Space of Six hundred Years [x].

IT is hoped that upon Reflection the Reader will ſee no juſt Cauſe to complain of the Trouble given him in going briefly through the Saxon Hiſtory, which at the ſame Time it exhibits and explains the memorable and laudable Actions of our Anceſtors, ſhews alſo the Grounds, the Growth,

[x] It hath been by ſome thought ſtrange, that the Fate of ſo great a Nation ſhould be decided by a ſingle Battle: A little Conſideration will diminiſh at leaſt, if not take away the Wonder. The People had been long harraſſed by Wars, and thereby their Numbers leſſened. In this very Year there were no leſs than Three very bloody and hard fought Battles, in which, as ſome compute, there fell not leſs than One hundred thouſand Men. In the next Place, the Norman gave them no Time to breathe, but marched directly with his victorious Army to London. Add to this, that he immediately compromiſed Matters with the Clergy, who being very attentive to their own Intereſts, and being allowed their own Terms, acknowledged William for their King, and the Archbiſhop of York crowned him at Chriſtmas, Ten Weeks and Two Days after the Battle of Haſtings, and when there were Eleven Days wanting to complete the Year in which Edward the Confeſſor died.

and

and the Changes of our Conſtitution, as well as the different Faces this Country hath worn in different Periods. The Saxons brought with them from Germany a rational Love of Liberty, and a juſt Senſe of the propereſt Means of preſerving it in the fundamental Principles of their political Syſtem. The Ferocity ſhewn at their Arrival, and which ſubſiſted alſo for ſome Time after, flowed from the Errors of Paganiſm. The native Rectitude of their Minds appeared in that Docility with which they embraced the Chriſtian Religion.

The ſettling themſelves in ſmall Principalities was likewiſe conformable to their ancient Cuſtoms, and as we have obſerved, contributed not a little to the Territories which compoſed theſe Principalities being thoroughly and quickly peopled. But though their Sovereignties were ſeparate and independent, yet the Spirit of their Laws was every where the ſame, which ſhewed an inflexible Attachment to their original Notions. Alfred diſcovered his great Wiſdom in working theſe into his own Syſtem, and by retaining and eſtabliſhing thoſe Forms of adminiſtering Juſtice to which they had been ever accuſtomed, when divided into ſmall States, through every County, Hundred, and even Tything, preſerved the ſame Order and Harmony through the whole Monarchy that ſubſiſted in thoſe ſmaller Principalities. The Inſtitution of the View of Frank-pledge, which he ſuperinduced from the Circumſtances of the Times, was a wonderful Proof of his Sagacity, as it eſtabliſhed Peace, encouraged Induſtry, and became a Principle of national Probity[y]. He with equal Prudence formed a regular and ſtanding Militia, and wiſely diſtributed the maritime Force he created in ſeparate Squadrons on the different Coaſts of his Dominions.

His Succeſſors invariably adhering to his wiſe Maxims, gradually compleated his great Deſign, which appeared in its full Luſtre under the peaceable and propitious Reign of Edgar, when the Power, the Riches, and the Superiority of this Nation over all its Neighbours, was in every

[y] It is judiciouſly obſerved by Mr. Selden, that it is only by pieceing together Fragments, and comparing them with our ancient Cuſtoms, that we gain any Idea of the Saxon Conſtitution, which notwithſtanding appears to have been wonderfully complete. The Diviſion of the Kingdom was perfectly regular. The Rights of the ſeveral Orders of People exactly ſettled from the Crown to the Clown, and none deprived of their Freedom, but ſuch as had ſhewn themſelves unworthy and incapable of it. There was a due Diſtribution of Juſtice, quick, eaſy, and equal through all Parts of the Realm, by which the King's Peace, which was their Phraſe for a perfect Submiſſion to Government, was conſtantly maintained: A ſtanding Proviſion made both for a Military and Naval Force, Idleneſs prevented, and as for the real Poor, who were proper Objects of Compaſſion, Care was taken of them by the religious Houſes, who by their apparent Charity in this Reſpect, gave ſuch Eaſe to the Publick, as certainly procured, and in ſome Meaſure ſeemed to juſtify the Donations they received.

Circumſtance carried to Demonſtration. This ſeems to be a Thing not hitherto ſufficiently conſidered, otherwiſe no Doubt could have ever ariſen, whether this regular and connected Scheme of Government was as well ſuited to an extenſive Empire, as to a new Eſtabliſhment of a moderate Extent[z].

It was not through any Defect in the Syſtem, but from the Neglect thereof, and the Breaches therein, that the Saxon Monarchy declined. On the contrary, the Firmneſs of its Materials, and Excellency of its Conſtruction became more viſible from thence, and rendered it more worthy of Reſpect and Veneration. The Perſian Empire was overthrown merely by ſuperior Force of Arms. That of the Romans by inteſtine Diviſions, and the Inroads of barbarous People, without any Veſtiges remaining of their priſtine Form. The Saxons experienced like Calamities, torn by domeſtic Factions, invaded by numerous Swarms of ſavage Nations from Abroad, they were not conquered, but diſpoſed to Submiſſion: They incorporated with the Danes, and acknowledged Daniſh Princes for their Kings, but they preſerved in a great Meaſure their religious and civil Conſtitution, and in Proceſs of Time recovered the Monarchy. The Danes ceded that to preſerve their Intereſt in this Country and in the Protection afforded by its Laws.

The Normans, though their Duke pretended a Claim of Right, gave us in this Reſpect a far harſher Shock: But the Foundation was too deeply laid to be ſubverted. The People ſhewed not only an Attachment to, but alſo a paſſionate Love for their Laws, by continually demanding them, they were often promiſed, and in ſome Meaſure were at laſt, indeed, gradually and partially reſtored. At this very Day they are the Baſis of the moſt valuable Parts of our Conſtitution, in the ſame Manner that the German Maxims were of the Saxon Form of Rule, and the ableſt Judges have declared it their Opinion, that we very eſſentially ſuffer through the Want of

[z] The Contents of this Chapter being maturely conſidered, it will not certainly appear ſurprizing, and much leſs incredible, that under ſuch a Conſtitution, the Country ſhould be thoroughly peopled, and conſequently every where improved. But we do not barely lay this down as an Opinion, but aſſert it alſo as a Fact. R. Higden the Monk of Cheſter affirms, that in virtue of a Commiſſion granted in the Fourth of William the Conqueror, that is preciſely Seven hundred Years ago, there were then found in this Kingdom Fifty-two thouſand Towns and Villages, and Forty-five thouſand and Two Pariſhes. A Thing looked upon as very certain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, as appears by the Teſtimony of Mr. Harriſon, who wrote the Deſcription of Britain, and that learned Antiquary Mr. Joſeph Holland (Hearne's Collection of curious Diſcourſes, p. 62.) though at that Time the Number of Towns and Villages were ſunk to Seventeen thouſand. Now if we conſider the Number of Inhabitants that theſe Cities, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Pariſhes muſt have contained, we cannot doubt that England at the Time of the Conqueſt was very well, though before the Daniſh War it muſt have been better peopled, and as the Number of People infer Subſiſtence, ſo muſt that have ariſen from Cultivation.

ſome of thoſe Parts of their Syſtem that we have loſt. Theſe are Points that certainly deſerve to be univerſally known, to be maturely conſidered, and to be had in perpetual Remembrance.

CHAP. III.

The Nature, Progreſs, and Improvement of the Norman Conſtitution.

THE Reaſons that induced the Continuance of this Enquiry. The Objects thereof, and the Manner of treating it in this Chapter briefly ſtated. WILLIAM *the* Conqueror *transferred in a great Meaſure both Power and Property in this Country to the* Normans. *Other Innovations made by this Monarch. The wretched State to which the Natives, and more eſpecially the midling and meaner Sort were reduced by theſe Meaſures.* WILLIAM *ſurnamed* RUFUS *governed with leſs Policy and equal Severity.* HENRY *the Firſt made a Shew of Mildneſs, and an Intention of redreſſing Grievances. The ſeeming Benignity and Moderation of his Laws. Theſe, though never formally abrogated, were hardly, if at all obſerved. The turbulent and diſtracted Adminiſtration of* STEPHEN. *Inſurrections and foreign Wars brought heavy and repeated Diſtreſſes on the People. Theſe Miſeries, notwithſtanding ſome fair Promiſes, inſtead of diminiſhing are increaſed. The Face of the Country changed, and its Value impaired. Facts that evince the Reality of theſe Aſſertions. The* Normans *labour to efface all Memory of the* Saxon *Policy. The Second Period, beginning with the Reign of* HENRY PLANTAGENET. *His laudable Endeavours to ſet Bounds to the exorbitant Power of the Clergy. Many wiſe and good Laws and Regulations made by this Monarch. Succeeded by his Son* RICHARD *the Firſt. His Expedition to the Holy Land, and the Conſequences thereof in reſpect to this Country. King* JOHN *by his ill Conduct plunged the Nation into a civil War. He is compelled by his Barons to grant* MAGNA CHARTA, *or the Great Charter of Liberties. The Remainder of his diſturbed and unſettled Reign.* HENRY *the Third ſucceeded his Father in his Nonage. The Miſeries and Confuſions of his long Reign, which were however compoſed before his Deceaſe. The Condition of the Commons ſtill very low and indifferent during this Period. Yet ſome Sparks of Induſtry and Commerce began therein to appear, but were unſettled and confined while Cultivation in general remained in a very low State.* EDWARD *the Firſt ſucceeded his Father with the univerſal Applauſe of his Subjects. His entire Conqueſt of Wales and frequent Diſputes*

putes with France. He claimed the Superiority over Scotland, reduced it thrice, and died in his Fourth Expedition againſt that Country. As a Stateſman he acted with very great Sagacity and Penetration. Shewed wonderful Abilities in managing the Tempers of all Ranks of his Subjects. Provided Remedies for the internal Diſorders of the Nation. His ſingular Attention to the proper Adminiſtration of Juſtice. Confirmed the great Charter, and the Charter of the Foreſts with very ſalutary Additions and Improvements. Succeeded by EDWARD *the Second, who proſecutes the War againſt the Scots without Succeſs. The Remainder of his unfortunate Reign to his Depoſition.* EDWARD *the Third with different Fortune renews the War againſt the Scots. His Claim to their Crown, and repeated Succeſſes againſt the French. The principal Events of his long Reign. The Condition and Circumſtances of the People during this Third Period conſidered. The Progreſs of Induſtry and the Cauſes of the Want of Cultivation. A curſory Review of the Four ſucceeding Reigns. The like in reſpect to thoſe of* EDWARD *the Fourth and* RICHARD *the Third. A ſuccinct Account of the Devaſtation and Depopulation of this Country. The State of Trade and Agriculture at the Concluſion of this Fourth Period. The Acceſſion of* HENRY *the Seventh, and a brief Detail of his Reign. The good Conſequences attending the wiſe Meaſures and ſettled Syſtem of Policy which he introduced and maintained. Gradual Recovery and Improvements of every Kind from his Time. Remarks and Reflections on the Contents of this Chapter.*

IT ſeemed neceſſary to go through the Britiſh and the Saxon Hiſtories more diſtinctly and at large, as they had not been very fully conſidered before in that Point of View in which we have endeavoured to place them. But from the Entry of the Normans, our publick Tranſactions have been, eſpecially of late, more amply related, and more critically examined, as being ſuppoſed, from their being nearer in point of Time, to have a ſtronger Operation upon and a cloſer Connection with the immediate Cauſes of ſubſequent Events. For theſe Reaſons, and becauſe our Antiquaries, Lawyers, and political Writers, as well as our Hiſtorians, have diſcuſſed many of theſe Matters very fully, we are by no Means tied to ſo regular and circumſtantial a Detail in this as in the former Chapters[a]. Beſides we have

[a] It is a Point perfectly well known to all who have attentively conſidered our publick Concerns, that they have been much aſſiſted by the ſedulous and indefatigable Reſearches of our ableſt Antiquaries. For this the Names of Leland, Talbot, Camden, Sir Henry and Sir John Spelman, Somner, Lambard, and Burton will be ever held in grateful Remembrance. Much hath been likewiſe done by ſome eminent Sages in the Law, particularly Glanville, Bracton, Forteſcue, Sir William Fleetwood, Selden, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Matthew Hale, and many others. Our Clergy have likewiſe contributed their Labours in a Manner that will ever do them the greateſt Honour, ſuch as the Archbiſhops Parker and Uſher, Biſhops Fell, Stillingfleet, Fleetwood, and

have already in many Places, and in the laſt Book more eſpecially, been obliged to enter in ſome Reſpects on this Subject, which Particulars we ſhall be careful not to repeat.

YET to preſerve the neceſſary Connection, and to give a greater Perſpicuity to various Aſſertions already incidentally delivered, we ſhall, as ſuccinctly as may be, proſecute the ſame Method, ſo as to mark the moſt ſignal Changes in the Conſtitution, and endeavour to trace their Effects on the State of the People, and the Condition of the Country. Circumſtances not always attended to in general Hiſtories, but which are the proper Subjects of the Political State of Britain. In order to execute this arduous Taſk intelligibly, it will be requiſite to range theſe Facts and Obſervations in diſtinct Periods, by which they will be more naturally digeſted, and their Correſpondence better diſcerned [b].

WE have at the Cloſe of the laſt Chapter remarked, that the Normans, when they became Maſters here, gave a great Shock to the Saxon Syſtem, whereby many Alterations were wrought, and it will be the Buſineſs of our Firſt Section ſo to explain that Matter, as to make this Aſſertion good. WILLIAM the FIRST, or as we are accuſtomed to call him, WILLIAM the CONQUEROR, was a very penetrating, reſolute, and auſtere Prince, much attached to his own Subjects, and ſtrongly addicted to their Cuſtoms. He provided moſt nobly for thoſe who came over with him, by making large Grants to them of Lands taken from the Natives under feudal Tenures, accordi g to the Manner of their own Country, by which a numerous, potent, and permanent Military Force became eſtabliſhed, not only without any Expence, but incidentally with very conſiderable Profit to the Crown [c].

The

Gibſon, Dr. Gale, Batteley, Stukeley, and very many others. Some of our great Hiſtorians have thrown Light upon them in many Reſpects, ſuch as the Viſcount St. Albans, Lord Herbert, Biſhops Godwin, Kennet, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Savile, Sir Roger Twyſden, &c. To theſe we may add our learned hiſtorical Poet Michael Drayton. It would have been unpardonable not to have paid this Tribute of Reſpect to theſe great Names, ſince from them, if any Merit ſhall be allowed to this Work, it was derived.

[b] The candid Reader will, it is hoped, not conſider the Want of Dates, or of a Multitude of material Facts, as Omiſſions or Defects in this Chapter, ſince our Intention therein is by no Means to compoſe, but to apply Hiſtory. A regular Deduction was neceſſary to render this intelligible and perſpicuous; but the Whole is directed to a ſingle Point, that of ſhewing how the Circumſtances of the People have been altered by the Changes in our Government, keeping alſo always this Poſition in View, that the beſt Conſtitution is that which hath the Subject's Happineſs for its Object, and that this is beſt adminiſtered when the greateſt Number of People of all Ranks are made happy.

[c] At the very Beginning of his Reign he made Fitz Oſborn Earl of Arundel and Hereford, and gave him vaſt Poſſeſſions. In like Manner Alan Earl of Bretagne he made Earl of Richmond, beſtowing on him Four hundred Forty-two Manors. To Robert Earl of Morton in Normandy he

The more effectually to ſecure the Clergy in his Intereſt, he indulged them in a Kind of Independency on the Civil Power, by permitting the Prelates to withdraw from the County Courts in which hitherto they had preſided with the Earls, and at the ſame Time ſuffered them to connect themſelves cloſely with the Papal See, by the Authority of which his Title was ſupported, and to finiſh the Whole filled every Engliſh Biſhoprick as it became vacant, either with his own Countrymen or foreign Prelates[d]. By taking theſe Steps he had in a very ſhort Space the ſpiritual as well as the Temporal Proprietors of Lands entirely at his Devotion.

Instead of the ſimple and plain Mode of the Saxons in diſtributing Juſtice, he introduced Appeals to the King's Court, where, as they were to be determined by a Norman Magiſtrate ſtiled Juſticiar or Chief Juſtice, the Laws and the Pleadings were neceſſarily in French, and this brought in all that Refinement and Chicane for which the Normans were ever famous. He alſo directed the judicial Deciſion by Combat[e], in Addition to the Modes of Ordeal and Juries, which had been till then in uſe. Foreſts, and the ſanguinary Laws reſpecting them, came in with him alſo, and

he gave the County of Cornwall here with Seven hundred Ninety-three Manors, and was equally liberal to many others. The Truth is he came in, and was to be kept in by their Aſſiſtance, which was the Reaſon that he parcelled out moſt of the Lands of the Kingdom to his own Countrymen, and to the French, Flemings, Anjouvins, Bretons, and Poitouvins. All theſe held by the Norman Tenures, which were attended with doing Homage at their Entrance, paying Reliefs when they came in by Succeſſion, becoming Wards while under Age; and if the Fief deſcended to a Female, he gave her in Marriage. Beſides which they were ſubject to Eſcuage, Aids, &c. and yet with all theſe Burthens, theſe, and theſe Tenures only were reputed free, becauſe thoſe who held them were tied only to Military Services.

[d] He was always jealous of the Saxons, and on his Firſt Return to Normandy carried ſeveral of the principal Nobility with him as Hoſtages. His Severities provoked many to rebel, and this afforded a freſh Opportunity of giving away their Lands. Stigand Archbiſhop of Canterbury he cauſed to be deprived to make Way for Lanfrane a Norman. Alfred Archbiſhop of York, who ſet the Crown upon his Head, died in Diſgrace for reproaching him with the Breach of his Promiſes, and Thomas a Monk of Bayonne ſucceeded him. This was the uniform Tenor of his Policy, ſo that as his Secretary Ingulphus tells us, by the End of his Reign there was hardly any Engliſhman, an Earl, Baron, Biſhop, or in ſhort truſted with any Office of Dignity or Power throughout the Realm.

[e] The Duel, conſidered as a judicial Deciſion, is ſaid to have taken its riſe among the Burgundi; but it was practiſed alſo by the Lombards, and amongſt the Northern Nations. Some incline to think it was in uſe among the Saxons, but Lambard and Selden are clearly of another Opinion, and that it was introduced by the Normans. In the Reign of William Rufus, William de Owe was accuſed of Treaſon, and being overcome in Combat, he, according to the Conqueror's Law, was deprived of his Eye Sight and of his Teſticles. Malmeſb. de reb. geſt. R. Angl. lib. iv. Flor. Wigornienſis, p. 647. The referring both civil and criminal Caſes to the Trial by Combat continued long to be Law. Yet the Caſes wherein it was practiſed are but rare in our Books, though there are Inſtances enough to ſhew, that it was as uncertain and barbarous as it was inhuman and irreligious. The learned Selden hath an expreſs Treatiſe on this Subject at the Beginning of the Fifth Volume of his Works.

were intolerably grievous. Thus the Sword, the Land, and the Law were transferred excluſively into the Hands of theſe Strangers, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he acquired his Power; and Labour and Submiſſion only were the Lot of the Engliſh[f]. As theſe Hardſhips muſt neceſſarily exaſperate any People, ſo to prevent their meeting and caballing in Cities and great Towns, they were obliged on the Ringing the Curfeu, that is Couvre Feu Bell at Eight in the Evening, to put out their Lights, and rake out their Fires. A Plan of Subjection this, of which it is very difficult to ſay, whether it was more ſubtile in its Contrivance, or oppreſſive in its Operations.

WILLIAM the SECOND, uſually ſtiled WILLIAM RUFUS, was of a violent, cruel, and rapacious Diſpoſition. He came to the Crown under Colour of his Father's Will, and by the Aſſiſtance and Influence of Lanfranc Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had been his Tutor. As his Title was none of the cleareſt, and as he was rather feared than beloved by moſt of the great Men, he was obliged to have Recourſe to fair Promiſes, which had a great Effect in raiſing the Hopes and reviving the Spirits of an oppreſſed People. Theſe he ſometimes renewed when dangerouſly ill, or in deep Diſtreſs, but never performed; on the contrary, in reſpect to the Foreſts, he acted with even more Rigour than his Father[g].

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[f] We might well infer from the Conqueror's Generoſity to the Normans, that the Engliſh, and more eſpecially the common People, ſunk into a miſerable and diſtreſſed Condition. But we likewiſe know this from the beſt Authority. Such as had been in Arms under Harold, or at any Time afterwards, let their Condition be what it would, loſt thereby all Claim and Title to their Eſtates, and they were thought to be merciſully dealt with if they eſcaped with their Lives. Thoſe who had been neuter were employed in the Drudgery of farming, or cultivating their own Eſtates for the Benefit, and at the Will of their Lords. In this Situation they found themſelves ſo much oppreſſed as to repreſent, that if they were not relieved, they muſt, as others had done, leave their Country and go and ſeek Subſiſtence elſe-where. Upon this it was declared, that whatever Conditions they could by their Submiſſion and Services obtain from their Lords, they ſhould ſafely and ſecurely enjoy. Dialog. de Scaccario, cap. x. We call this the beſt Authority, whether written by Gervaſe of Tilbury, as is commonly ſaid, or Richard Fitz Neal Biſhop of London, who was Treaſurer in the Reign of Henry the Second.

[g] Foreſts, though common in other, and eſpecially in Northern Countries, were here the Works of Art and Power. For the making New Foreſt in Hampſhire, which was the Firſt, many Villages, and not a few Churches were deſtroyed. The King only could make them, and this was doe with many Ceremonies, in virtue of a Commiſſion, the Lands thus converted, were, though not incloſed, exactly limited, and the Bounds proclaimed, and this was ſtiled Afforeſting; and numerous Officers were appointed for their Preſervation. All the Game in the Kingdom belonged to the Prince, and none had the Liberty of killing even on his own Lands, to whom he did not grant Chace and free Warren. The Puniſhments inflicted on Offenders were terrible; for killing a Deer or a Boar a Man had his Eyes put out, or loſt his Privities. The Saxon Chronicle ſays of William the Conqueror, that he was rather a Parent to the wild Beaſts than a Father to his People. Yet his Son, contrary to all his Promiſes, was more ſevere in this Reſpect than

He impoſed heavy Taxes, levied them with great Severity, and under Colour of Neceſſity prevailed on a great Council to extend theſe Impoſitions to the Lands of the Clergy, from whom, as well as from the Laity upon other Occaſions, he exacted immenſe Sums by downright Violence.

HENRY the FIRST, ſurnamed BEAUCLERCK, had no better Title to the Crown than his Predeceſſor, however, being upon the Spot, being born here after his Father's Acceſſion, ſhewing much ſeeming Attention to the Engliſh, being ſupported by ſome of the Norman Barons, and ſtanding well with the Clergy, Maurice Biſhop of London ventured to crown him on the Sunday following the Thurſday, on which his Brother was ſhot in the New Foreſt. His Situation made it requiſite to make a Shew of a better Temper than he really poſſeſſed, and therefore he not only promiſed great Things at his Coronation, but was alſo induced to publiſh with much Solemnity a Charter of Liberties, and ſome ſay with the Advice of a Great Council, a Body of Statutes, in Hopes of conciliating the Affections of all his Subjects, upon which he could not help ſeeing that his Sovereignty muſt depend [h].

THIS is by far the moſt complete Code of Laws hitherto given by any of our Norman Kings, milder in many Reſpects than thoſe of his Father; the Military Tenures in Favour of the Normans were in many Inſtances ſoftened, and the Services rendered more certain. Some Regulations there are in reference to Succeſſions. Theft during his Reign was for the firſt Time made Capital, and he likewiſe fixed the Puniſhments that were to be inflicted for other Crimes. The Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Courts were alſo by him rejoined, which however did not continue long. He left the Election of Biſhops free, and in other Matters ſhewed plainly, that the whole was contrived to give as far as poſſible univerſal Satisfaction, which very probably would have followed, if theſe Laws had been ſteadily adhered to.

than he, putting Fifty of the better Sort of Engliſh at One Time, on Suſpicion of killing Deer, to the Ordeal of Fire, that is the handling red-hot Irons, from which when they had eſcaped, the King was not ſatisfied. In Proceſs of Time Foreſts became Sixty-eight in Number.

[h] The Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of England, either from the natural Fierceneſs of their Temper, or being ſtirred up by their Nobility, made ſeveral vigorous Attempts to ſhake off the Norman Yoke. In order to this Edgar Atheling procured them the Aſſiſtance of the Scots, and a Fleet of Three hundred Sail of Daniſh Ships came with the like View into the Humber. The Conqueror judging the moſt violent Remedies requiſite to defeat theſe repeated Revolts, deſtroyed all the Country between the Humber and the Tees, waſted all the Sea Coaſt, drove away the Cattle, burned all Inſtruments of Huſbandry, and ſo effectually depopulated this great Region, that for the Space of Nine Years it lay totally wild and without Culture, Multitudes of People periſhing through Want, and the wretched Remains of the Inhabitants were obliged to ſubſiſt on Dogs, Cats, and other Vermin.

But Henry was in fact, though more ſpecious in his Behaviour, yet as arbitrary and ambitious in his Nature as his Brother; and therefore, ſo ſoon as the State of Things permitted, though he never pretended to abrogate his Laws, he ſhewed not the leaſt Regard to them, but acted as if they had never been made, One Inſtance only excepted, which was taking away that odious and moſt glaring Badge of Slavery the Corfeu [i].

Henry dying in Normandy, his Nephew Stephen Earl of Blois, making all poſſible Haſte hither, ſtepped into the vacant Throne by the Aſſiſtance of William Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his own Brother Henry de Blois Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Chancellor Roger Biſhop of Saliſbury, though they had all of them ſolemnly ſworn to maintain the Succeſſion of the Empreſs Maud, the only Child of King Henry. At his Coronation, Stephen promiſed upon Oath to maintain the Liberties of the Church, to mitigate the Severities of the Foreſt Laws, and abſolutely to aboliſh Dane-gelt, which had been levied annually as the ordinary Revenue of the Crown; with not One of which Promiſes he complied [k].

Yet he granted Charters from time to time full of very gracious Conceſſions, which had very little if any Effect, as indeed his Power was never

[i] Hereward a noble Saxon took Shelter with his Followers in the Iſle of Ely, and ſoon after a Daniſh Fleet landed a Number of Forces to ſupport them. Theſe Men plundered moſt of the Monaſteries in the low and fen Country of immenſe Riches, and the Conqueror is ſaid to have diſpoſed them to retire, by giving them large Sums of Engliſh Money. Githa, the Mother of Harold, excited the People of Exeter to ſhut their Gates againſt the Normans, which brought an Army into Devonſhire, by which that rich Country was harraſſed and deſtroyed. The like Fate befell Cornwall and Somerſetſhire, and at length the ſevereſt Puniſhments being found ineffectual, to prevent the Killing of Normans, when it could be done ſecretly or by ſurprize, a Law was made to puniſh the Hundred wherein ſuch a Murther was committed by a heavy Fine from Thirty to Forty Pounds, which was attended with Succeſs. As to the Domeſday Book it was made about the Twentieth Year of the Conqueror's Reign, and obtained that Name, as the Author of the Dialogue of the Exchequer ſays, from its deciſive Authority in all Caſes. If we credit the Saxon Chronicle, the Annals of Waverly, and other Authors of that Age, we muſt believe, that not only the Land was ſurveyed and regiſtered, but the Subſtance alſo, and even the Cattle that every Man poſſeſſed. See upon this Head the Concluſion of the Firſt Volume of Dr. Gale's Collection of Engliſh Hiſtorians.

[k] William Rufus was equally prodigal and rapacious. His Wars on the Continent required continual Supplies, ſometimes obtained by heavy Taxes, ſometimes extorted by Violence. By theſe grievous Impoſitions the Nation was doubly impoveriſhed: Firſt by depriving the Induſtrious of the Fruits of their Labour, and next by carrying all this Wealth out of the Kingdom to be ſpent amongſt Foreigners. The Truth of theſe Obſervations may be verified from a ſingle Fact. This King, though according to his Father's Example he levied Taxes equally on the Lands of the Clergy and Laity, by which his Revenues ſhould have much ſurpaſſed thoſe of the Saxon Monarchs, found it ſo difficult to raiſe the Sum of Ten thouſand Marks, for which his Brother Robert mortgaged, and in Effect ſold to him the Dutchy of Normandy, that he deſpoiled the Churches of their Plate, and reduced Multitudes of the middle Sort of People to downright Beggary.

great,

great, or his Government well eſtabliſhed. He held likewiſe many General Councils, chiefly in reſpect to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. At this Time the Clergy began to introduce the Civil and Canon Law into their Courts, though the King oppoſed it, and at this Time likewiſe we firſt hear of Appeals to the Court of Rome. The Confuſion ariſing from a long Civil War had the moſt pernicious Effects, and of theſe One of the worſt was, that ſo long as this unſtable Reign laſted there could be no Hope of a Reformation[l].

The People of England under theſe Norman Kings, during upwards of Fourſcore Years, were brought into a State much eaſier to be conceived than to be deſcribed. It is true, as we obſerved at the Cloſe of the laſt Chapter, that they made no Stand after the unhappy Battle of Haſtings, yet were they ſo impatient under the immediate Conſequences of ſo great and univerſal a Change, as to break out into many and ſharp Inſurrections, which ineffectual Riſings proved equally fatal to the Nobles who excited, and to the unhappy Commons who were by them ſeduced into theſe unavailing Revolts. In the Northern Parts of the Kingdom the Danes and the Scots interpoſed in theſe Quarrels, which occaſioned infinite Bloodſhed and Deſolation [m]. In the Iſle of Ely, and through the Fens, the like Events brought on the ſame Miſeries, and in other Places; indeed whereever Woods, Mountains, and Marſhes afforded them Shelter, many of the deſperate Saxons endeavoured, as Opportunities offered, to leſſen the Number of their Oppreſſors, which ſerved only to increaſe the Severities of the

[l] In the Time of Henry, not only his foreign Wars but his Alliances and Negotiations on the Continent, of which he had many, were very expenſive. The Wars with Scotland hindered the Northern Parts of the Kingdom from recovering, as their ruined Condition had prevented their being inſerted in the Conqueror's Survey. It is true, that in the latter Part of his Reign the Regulations which have been before mentioned gave ſome Eaſe to the People. But in the Days of his Succeſſor, Stephen, when this Country was ſplit into more than a Thouſand Principalities under ſo many petty Tyrants, the Diſtreſs brought on the People was exceſſive, as authentically appears in the Articles of Accommodation between him and his Competitor Henry.

[m] The Claim of Robert Duke of Normandy found Favour in the Eyes of many of his Countrymen who had great Eſtates in England, and to pleaſe them the King made ſome Conceſſions, ſuch as that Reliefs which ſeem to be the ſame, or nearly the ſame with Herriots, ſhould be reaſonable and certain, that Relations ſhould have the Wardſhips of Minors, that Marriages ſhould be left free, and that perſonal Eſtates might be left by Will. His Charter is inſerted in the Textus Roffenſis, there are Two in the Red Book of the Exchequer, and it was likewiſe ſent into every County. It ſtands as a Preface alſo to his Laws, in which there are many equitable Regulations in favour of the common People. The Whole is in a great Meaſure a Compilation from the Saxon Laws, though intermixed with ſome Norman Cuſtoms, which, according to the Mode of his Anceſtors, he ſtiled the Laws of Edward the Confeſſor, and the better to colour this, an Opinion was vented, that the Norman Laws were framed by St. Edward, and given by him to William when Duke of Normandy, who cauſed them to be obſerved in that Country before he came to the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of England.

Laws, and at length brought on that indelible Record of their Subjection the Doomsday Book [n].

In the succeeding Reign of Rufus, though sometimes caressed in Words, their Condition was not at all better, for here at Home Numbers fell in the Field against the Norman Lords who sought to raise Duke Robert to the Throne; and they suffered no less when these hostile Disputes were transferred into Normandy. When these were compromised by Money, it came out of their Purses, so that those who escaped the Sword were impoverished to the last Degree [o]. In the Time of Henry his Wars with the Normans, the French and the Scots exhausted their Blood and Treasure. The same may be said in regard to the civil Wars in the Time of King Stephen, in a Word they were continually diminished and distressed by all without deriving the smallest Benefit from the Termination of any of these Quarrels [p].

It

[n] We have not only the Authority of contemporary Writers to prove that the King shewed little Regard either to his Charter or Laws; but we have also the strongest of all Proofs, Facts, since these Grievances still continued during his Reign, and those of his Successors which he promised to redress. His Interest dictated those Promises, and it seems he thought it his Interest afterwards to break through them. In some Cases he shewed another Spirit. He granted many Immunities by Charter to the City of London, as also the Farm of the County of Middlesex for Three hundred Pounds per Annum. The Produce of the Manors in the Hands of the Crown was often levied in so oppressive a Manner as to ruin the Farmers. He applied a Remedy to this by converting those Rents into a certain Sum of Money. He likewise gave a Check to the Grievance of Purveyance, which however revived again in the Reigns of his Successors. The Curfew once removed could not easily be again imposed; and though it is certain he had no great Love for his English Subjects, yet in a Point of this Nature he was too prudent to excite their Aversion.

[o] At the same Time he seized the Crown he seized the Treasures also of the deceased King, and by the Distribution of these, and his fair Promises procured for some Time a quiet Submission, more especially after he had ratified King Henry's Charter, and bound himself to fulfil its Contents. It was within this Period that he violated the Conditions stipulated at his Coronation. When therefore his Troubles began by the Revolt of the Nobles, they justified their own Conduct, by alledging that they had sworn to him as King so long as he kept his Faith, and that he by breaking his Engagements had freed them from the Obligation of their own Oaths.

[p] The great Lords having by their own Power seated Stephen upon the Throne, drew from him such Concessions as enabled them to become little less than Kings. For they fortified their Castles, laid the Country near them under Contributions, coined Money, and acted in all other Respects with the utmost Contempt for Law and Justice. The King unwittingly increased these Mischiefs, by creating many new Earls, who very soon acted like the Rest. The Churchmen too, in these Times of publick Confusion, assumed unwarrantable Powers, and the King's Brother Henry Bishop of Winchester, presiding as the Pope's Legate in a Synod held Anno Domini 1139, summoned that Monarch before him, who condescended to send Aubrey de Vere to plead his Cause. In this dreadful State of Things all Ranks of People were brought into the most perilous Situation, the Greatest living in continual Danger, and the Poor exposed to the utmost Misery. Such were the Effects of Aristocracy, which was then the Government, if indeed there

was

It may be juſtly inferred from this true Picture of the State of the Nation, that the Appearance of this Country muſt be much altered, and the Value of it exceedingly leſſened by ſuch a Series of ſiniſter Events. The Introduction of new and harſh Tenures, frequent Forfeitures, and continual ſhifting of Property could not but be attended with the moſt diſmal Effects. Theſe were rendered manifeſt by inconteſtible Inſtances. Several Parts of the Kingdom were at different Times, and on different Occaſions, harraſſed, diſtreſſed, and laid totally Waſte. Several great Cities and large Towns were ruined or reduced to Aſhes, and the Lands round them depopulated; a Thing ſometimes purpoſely practiſed for the Sake of converting wide Tracts into Chaces and Foreſts [q].

These Calamities, deſtructive of all Principles of Induſtry and publick Spirit, were attended, as might reaſonably be expected, with frequent Famines, and theſe, as is commonly the Caſe, followed by dangerous epidemic Diſeaſes, produced the Flight of many, and the Loſs in different Ways of ſuch Multitudes, as made it neceſſary to bring over Numbers of Foreigners to ſupply their Places, and more eſpecially to ſecure the Frontiers againſt the Inroads of the Scots and Welch, who, from a Variety of Motives, were by no Means diſpoſed to live upon good Terms with theſe Intruders [r].

The

was any Government, and very natural Effects they were, if we conſider the Nature of Men when free from the Reſtraint of Laws.

[q] The cruel Puniſhments inflicted by theſe Princes muſt have filled the Engliſh with Horror, who under the Saxon Government atoned for their Offences by the Loſs of Money, or at moſt of Freedom, not of Blood. Earl Waltheof beheaded at Wincheſter A. D. 1076, was the Firſt Perſon who ſuffered for Treaſon. But for much leſs Offences the Normans puniſhed Men by diſmembering, putting out their Eyes, or depriving them of their Teſticles. The Saxon Chronicle under the Year 1124, tells us with Horror of Forty-four Perſons hanged at One Time at Huncot in Leiceſterſhire, adding that the Nobility (Normans) acted cruelly by the poor People, deſpoiling them of what they had for Taxes, and when ſo ſtripped leaving them to ſtarve. In A. D. 1125, by Command of King Henry, almoſt all the Mint Maſters in England loſt their Right Hands and their Teſticles. The ſame Monarch made the Firſt Park at Woodſtock, Seven Miles in Extent, and walled round, for which many Villages were deſtroyed, and in his and in ſucceeding Reigns many of the great Nobility followed this Example. J. Roſſi Hiſt. Reg. Angl. fol. 122 b.

[r] The Saxon Chronicle mentions no leſs than Five general Famines in the Space of Fifty-five Years, moſt of which were ſucceeded by grievous Mortalities of Men and Beaſts. A ſignal Inſtance is recorded in the Annals of Margan A. D. 1094. It is therefore no Wonder that Numbers fled from ſuch a Scene of Bloodſhed, Horror, and Devaſtation, ſome to Norway, ſome to Denmark, ſome to Ireland, but the greateſt Part, and thoſe of the higheſt Quality, to Scotland, by which, ſays an old Author, and the Fact is very true, that Country was bepurpled, that is his Expreſſion, with the Blood of the primitive Nobility of England. To re-people Places thus deſerted, Recruits were drawn from different Parts of the Continent, and William Rufus ſettled Numbers of Flemings in the deſolate Parts of the North, eſpecially about Carliſle. Many of theſe were again transferred by Henry the Firſt to the Borders of Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Roſs

The Contemplation of theſe melancholy Circumſtances particularly affected thoſe who remembred the Saxon Government, of which there muſt have continued many, in Convents more eſpecially, through the greateſt Part of this Period. Theſe Facts were recorded at the Time they happened, by living Witneſſes, though not ſo fully by ſome as by others, and as Facts were tranſmitted by them to Poſterity. The Apprehenſion of this, amongſt other Cauſes, induced theſe Princes to labour by every poſſible Method to bury all the Monuments of Saxon Polity in Oblivion, and by obliging all Children to be taught French in Schools, they manifeſted a Deſire to obliterate the very Language, in which however they might flatter themſelves, from their Succeſs at the Beginning, they were very far from ſucceeding [s].

We come now to the Second Period, beginning with the Reign of Henry the Second, the Son of the Empreſs Maud, and the Firſt of the Houſe of Plantagenet. He was a Prince who came to the Throne with very great Advantages, and from whoſe Conduct his People had very high Expectations. He availed himſelf of the former in fulfilling the latter. At his Coronation he promiſed, as was uſual with his Predeceſſors, that he would do many good Things for his Subjects, and which was not very common with them, he in a great Meaſure kept his Word. He revived and confirmed his Grandfather's Charter of Liberties by One of his own. He diſmiſſed the foreign Mercenaries brought over by King Stephen, he reſumed many of that King's Grants, by which he had impoveriſhed the Crown. He deprived the new Earls he had created, and

and Denbigh, the Welch Inhabitants, as ſome ſay, being tranſported in their Stead to the North. Certain it is that theſe Flemings introduced new Manufactures of Wool in both Places.

[s] The Humour of ſending Children over to Monaſteries in France for Education is of a very ancient Date. But in the Time of Edward the Confeſſor it became exceedingly common, as he laboured in all Things to recommend the Norman Manners and Language. Immediately after the Conqueſt the Saxon Writing was diſcountenanced for the French, under Pretence that it was fairer and more legible. There ſeems therefore to have been no great Occaſion for Force, and yet we are aſſured that Children were enjoined to be taught nothing but French in Schools, and having acquired this they were taught Latin. Rob. Holcot. Lect. 2. ſuper ſapient. This and other Practices of a like Nature filled the Breaſts of the Saxons with the moſt diſmal Apprehenſions, as we are informed by Ingulphus, who was himſelf Secretary to William Duke of Normandy before he came hither. Hiſt. p. 62, 71, 85, 98. This put him, and no Doubt others, upon tranſlating their old Saxon Charters into Latin, in which, that they might be better underſtood by the Normans, they made Uſe of their Law Terms, from which they have been ſometimes very falſely ſuppoſed to be forged. But to preſerve the Knowledge of the Saxon, we know, that in the Abbeys of Crowland and Taviſtock there were Lectures inſtituted. When therefore we ſay in the Text, that theſe Princes did not ſucceed in extinguiſhing the Language, we only mean, that they were not able to render French the popular Tongue; but that the People continued to uſe that Sort of Dialect which ſucceeded the pure Saxon, and from their Uſage of it is ſtiled *Engliſh*.

cauſed

caused a Multitude of the new erected, stiled in those Days adulterine Castles, to be demolished [t].

The Peace of the Kingdom thus restored and secured, he held it expedient to settle the Bounds between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers in order to repress the Encroachments the Clergy had made in the late unsettled Times. This he with great Prudence and Firmness performed by the Constitutions made in the Great Council held at Clarendon, to which the Clergy were not only obliged to submit, but to the Observance of which they were sworn. They were not long after absolved from their Oaths by the Pope, on which very high Disputes arose, and though in this Quarrel Archbishop Becket, the First Englishman advanced to the See of Canterbury since the Conquest, lost his Life, for which the King suffered a most humiliating Punishment; yet those Constitutions still remained Law [u].

When his foreign Wars allowed him any Respite, he endeavoured by prudent and beneficial Regulations to give Ease and Security to his Sub-

[t] King Stephen died at Canterbury on the 25th of October 1154. Henry, who was then in Normandy, made all the Haste he could into England by Advice of the Empress his Mother; but being detained by contrary Winds did not arrive till the 7th of September, and Ten Days after was crowned at Westminster by Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury. It was thought extraordinary in those Days, that no Troubles arose even in this short Time; for according to the Notion that then prevailed, a Monarch was scarce esteemed such till after his Coronation. He was in respect to his foreign Dominions more powerful than any of his Predecessors, for he inherited Anjou from his Father, Normandy by the Resignation of his Mother, Poitou and other Countries in Right of his Queen Eleanor. Yet these Dominions were so far from being advantageous that they were a Burthen upon England, the greater Part of the Taxes raised in his Reign being on their Account, and of course the Produce of them spent out of that Country in which they were raised.

[u] Henry assigned various Reasons for enacting these Laws, the Scope of which was to subject the Clergy in civil and criminal Cases, where they had Disputes with the Laity to have their Causes heard in the King's Courts; to restrain them from going out of the Kingdom without Licence; to prevent Appeals without Licence; to hinder the wanton Use of Excommunications, and other Things of a like Kind: Because, as he said, these were no new Restrictions, but *Avitæ Leges*, agreeable to the Laws of his Grandfather; that they were become absolutely necessary, no less than a Hundred Murthers having been committed by the Clergy in his own Reign, for which none of them had suffered; and that without them he was in effect no King, as not being able to protect One Part of his Subjects against another. After much Altercation and a long Exile Becket was reconciled to the King in France. The Monarch performed his Promises to the Archbishop, but he upon his Return to England excommunicated the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, and others, the News of which put the King into a violent Passion, in which some harsh Words escaping him, Four Knights came over and cruelly murthered Becket at the Altar, December 29th 1171. The King with great Address avoided Excommunication, purged himself before the Pope's Legates, of having any Hand in the Assassination, submitted to be whipped by the Monks of Canterbury, but never rescinded his Laws.

jects.

jects. He eſtabliſhed in civil Caſes another Method of Trial than that by Combat [w]. He inſtituted Juſtices in Eyre, that is, itinerant Judges who paſſed through the ſeveral Counties to hear and determine Cauſes according to the Cuſtoms and Laws of the Realm, and they were ſworn to do Right in their Proceedings. This was recurring to the old Saxon Principle of carrying Juſtice home to the People's Doors. The State of the Engliſh Juriſprudence in his Reign is more clearly and fully repreſented than in former Times, ſo as to afford much Light into the Principles of our legal Proceedings even at this Day [x]. In his Time the Mode of commuting perſonal Service by a pecuniary Equivalent was introduced, which was of conſiderable Eaſe and Advantage to thoſe who held by Military Service, and in his Time alſo the odious Tax of DANE-GELT, which, as we have already obſerved, had been revived after the Conqueſt, fell into Diſuſe [y]. He likewiſe obtained from Pope Adrian the Fourth, an Engliſhman, a Donation by his Bull of the Iſland of Ireland, which was after-

[w] Glanvil lib. ii. cap. 7. where ſpeaking of this he tells us, that it was an Act of Royal Beneficence, flowing from the Clemency of the Prince, with the Advice of his Nobility, by which the DUEL was avoided in certain civil Caſes, and a legal Proceſs ſubſtituted in its Stead. But the Trial by Combat ſtill remained in reference to criminal Points, but more eſpecially in Caſes of Treaſon, and was held for Law even ſo late, as the Reign of Charles the Firſt.

[x] In A. D. 1176, the King in a Great Council at Nottingham divided the Realm into Six Circuits, when Ranulphus de Glanville was appointed One of the Juſtices Itinerant, as he was again 1179, when there were Four Circuits only. In the ſucceeding Year he was made Juſticiary or Chief Juſtice of England. Under his Name we have a Collection of the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, divided into Fourteen Books. It hath however been diſputed, whether this belonged to him or not. Selden ſays that ſome of the Manuſcripts aſcribed it to E. de N. i. e. Edward de Narbrough, and there is a Manuſcript extant in which it is attributed to Henry the Second. Some Queſtions have been moved, whether it was penned before or after his Time, and whether the *Regia Majeſtas*, a Book of great Authority in the Scots Law, be not taken from it. It paſſes however commonly under the Name of Glanville, and contains a clear, regular, and diſtinct Account of the Principles and Practice of the Law in his Time. It was firſt printed by the Care of Sir William Stanford A. D. 1557, Duodecimo.

[y] It is very difficult to underſtand clearly the Mode of raiſing Money in theſe Days, our ableſt Lawyers and moſt penetrating Antiquaries differing with each other upon the Subject. All our Aim here is to ſhew what Change was made by this Monarch, and how it operated. The Danegelt was levied at the Beginning of his Reign, but never afterwards; from whence it ſhould ſeem that the Eſcuage or Scutage came in its Room. This alſo had probably been levied before his Time, but not with that Exactneſs which it was afterwards. He cauſed a very ſtrict Account to be taken of the Knight's Fees in his Realm, which amounted to Sixty thouſand Two hundred and Sixteen; ſo that as Sir Robert Cotton ſays the Tax was certain as to the Method, though incertain as to the Sum, for ſometimes it was Ten Shillings, ſometimes One Mark, ſometimes Two Marks; but in Truth it was not in any-wiſe certain, ſince if the Knights ſerved in Perſon they did not pay, and beſides there were certain Tenures, ſuch as Cornage and Caſtle-guard, which were exempted from Scutage. The Uſe made of the Money thus levied, was to hire Mercenaries, which were more ſerviceable, and could be kept longer on Foot than an Army raiſed on the Principle of the Feudal Tenure.

wards conquered by his Subjects, and hath continued ever ſince a Part of he Dominions of his Succeſſors [z].

On the Demiſe of this wiſe and great Prince, his Son Richard, his elder Brother Henry, who had been crowned in the Life-time of his Father, dying before him without Iſſue, ſucceeded to the Crown, was inaugurated with much Solemnity and with univerſal Approbation, promiſing to obſerve all the good, and to annul all the oppreſſive Laws made by his Fredeceſſors, as they likewiſe had done. He was a Monarch of a high and martial Spirit, and was from thence ſurnamed Coeur de Lion. From the Turn of his own Temper, as much as from the Mode of the Times, he undertook an Expedition into the Holy Land, for the Expence of which he put Honours, Offices, his Royal Demeſnes, and whatever elſe would produce any Thing to open Sale, and thereby equally impoveriſhed himſelf and his Kingdom [a].

Before his Departure he removed Ranulph de Glanvil from the Office of Juſticiary, and made Hugh Puſar Biſhop of Durham, and William Longchamp Biſhop of Ely, Juſticiaries, appointing them to govern the Kingdom in his Abſence. They were both of them Normans, but the

[z] Pope Adrian's Grant of the Iſland of Ireland hath in it ſome Particulars worthy of Notice. In the Firſt Place his own Title is ſomewhat ſingular. He ſays it was well known, that all the Iſlands on which the Sun of Righteouſneſs had riſen were undoubtedly the Patrimony of St. Peter. The Motive of granting is no leſs ſtrange, which was, that the King had a pious Deſire of introducing and ſpreading the Chriſtian Faith in a Country, the Inhabitants of which were already Chriſtians. But the Rent which was to ariſe to the Holy Father was very intelligible, the King was to pay a Penny for every Houſe, and to preſerve the Rights of the Holy Church throughout the Iſland. It is wonderful that ſo wiſe a Prince ſhould deſire ſuch a Bull as this, by which he was to gain nothing. Giraldi Cambrenſis ſays, he had a better Claim derived to him from the Conqueſt made of ſome Parts of it by the Saxons. Certain it is, that by recognizing ſuch Powers as theſe in the Pope, Princes raiſed Opinions in the Minds of their Subjects, that were frequently attended with very troubleſome Conſequences.

[a] This Monarch was born at Newhall in the City of Oxford, and being of very quick Parts, knew perfectly well how to manage the Tempers of Men, ſo as to bring them to his Purpoſes. His Expedition to the Holy Land was One of the moſt expenſive that was ever undertaken by an Engliſh King, and our Deſign requires that we ſhould point out ſome Inſtances of this. He took out of his Father's Treaſury at Wincheſter Nine hundred thouſand Pounds in Silver. He ſold many of the Crown Lands cheap enough; but many of theſe at his Return he reſumed. To Hugh Puſar, Biſhop of Durham, he ſold the Earldom of Northumberland for his Life, and the Earldom of Sedbergh, which Lambard thinks ſhould be wrote Sacbeorh, which comprehended the beſt Part of what is now called the Biſhoprick of Durham, to him and his Succeſſors for Eleven thouſand Pounds. The Firſt of theſe he reſumed at his Return, and forced the Biſhop to pay him thirteen thouſand Pounds more for the latter. The Taxes in his Reign were numerous and heavy, levied on all Sorts of People, and ſome under Denominations that were never heard before Archbiſhop Hubert aſſerted, that in the Space of Two Years he drew out of his Kingdom Eleven hundred thouſand Marks. It is to be obſerved, that though the raiſing theſe immenſe Sums muſt have been very grievous, yet the Nation ſuffered much more from the Money being ſpent Abroad, which ſufficiently proves the Truth of what is aſſerted in the Text.

latter

latter immediately ſeized all the Authority, and made himſelf ſo odious through his Oppreſſions, that he was glad to leave the Kingdom clandeſtinely to ſave his Life. In his Return through Germany the King was inſidiouſly made Priſoner by the Duke of Auſtria, delivered to and barbarouſly treated by the Emperor Henry the Fourth, who extorted One hundred and Fifty thouſand Marks for his Ranſom, the Raiſing of which brought great Diſtreſs upon the Nation. After he came back from Captivity his Neceſſities compelled him to employ many harſh Methods to obtain Money. He appointed Juſtices in Eyre, as his Father had done, and directed the Points of their Procedure in regard to Pleas of the Crown and of the Foreſts [b]. He alſo made ſome Regulations in reference to the Jews, who were then very numerous here. In his Voyage to the Levant he inſtituted Rules and Orders, afterwards modelled into thoſe famous Marine Laws, which from the Iſland wherein they were made, are ſtiled the LAWS of OLERON [c]. He was certainly a Prince who had many good as well as great Qualities, had a ſincere Love for the Engliſh, who repaid it by a ſtrong Affection, as well as an high Eſteem for him, though of

[b] The Laws of the Foreſts were in themſelves ſo harſh and ſevere, and were often executed with ſuch Strictneſs, as to excite much Diſcontent in the Minds of People of all Ranks, for all felt and ſuffered by them in their Turns. Moſt of the Kings promiſed at their Acceſſion to mitigate their Severity, and this they ſometimes did; but it was only when the Situation of their Affairs required it. King Stephen was a particular Inſtance of this. He gave great Indulgences for ſome time after he came to the Crown, when no ill Humours appeared. It was this Calm, though of no long Continuance, which tempted him to break his Word, and proved One of the firſt Sources of his Troubles. King Richard was a great Lover of Hunting, and the Inſtructions he gave for the Preſervations of his Foreſts are preſerved in R. Hoveden. Yet if we may credit a Writer of great Authority, Mat. Paris, A. D. 1232, p. 373. he was the Firſt of the Norman Princes who aboliſhed the cruel Puniſhments of putting out the Eyes, depriving Men of their Teſticles, or cutting off their Hands or Feet for their Offences againſt theſe Laws. His Motive was worthy of ſo great a Prince; he thought it impious to deface the Image of his Maker for the Preſervation of Beaſts naturally wild, and as ſuch every Man's Property by the Law of Nature. He ſtill puniſhed, but it was by Fine, Impriſonment, or Baniſhment, with an expreſs Prohibition of any Man's loſing either Life or Limb.

[c] Theſe Laws received their Name from a little Iſland at the Mouth of the River Charente, belonging to the Dutchy of Aquitain. It was anciently called Uliarus, afterwards Oliario, at length Oleron; Three Leagues long and Two broad, very plentiful in Corn and Paſture, and ſo pleaſant, that Queen Eleanor cauſed a Caſtle to be built there, in which ſhe often reſided. At her Return from the Voyage ſhe made with her Son to the Holy Land, ſhe came hither, and by the Advice of ſuch as were ſkilled in theſe Matters, cauſed the Firſt Draught of theſe Laws to be made from the Regulations her Son cauſed to be obſerved, which were afterwards enlarged and publiſhed by the Authority of King Richard. They were chiefly formed on the Model of the old Rhodian Laws, and gradually grew into Eſteem and Authority with all who frequented the Sea. From theſe in Proceſs of Time ſprung the Laws of Wiſby and the Hanſe Towns. The French Lawyers have publiſhed ſome uſeful Commentaries upon them, and becauſe they are written in French, and becauſe there is no Mention in them of England or Ireland, would arrogate them to themſelves; but that they belong to us, and not to them, is proved by Selden, Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 24.

the Ten Years that he reigned he did not ſpend ſo many Months in this Kingdom.

JOHN ſucceeded his Brother, and was crowned by Hubert Walter Archbiſhop of Canterbury with great Solemnity, when he ſwore, as uſual, to govern his Subjects with Juſtice and Equity. His Firſt Actions ſuited well enough with theſe Promiſes; but the Monks of Canterbury, by a clandeſtine Election on the Demiſe of Archbiſhop Hubert, gave a Beginning to thoſe Diſorders, which, in a ſhort Space, threw all Things into Confuſion. The boundleſs Ambition of Pope Innocent the Third, the Intrigues of the Clergy, the Diſcontents of the Nobility, the Diſtreſſes of the People; but above all theſe, the King's perſonal ill Conduct kindled and rekindled a civil War, through the Fury of which the greateſt Part of the Kingdom was almoſt ruined [d].

IT was notwithſtanding in the Midſt of the Tumults and Troubles of this diſturbed and diſtracted Reign, that the Ground-work was laid of what may be with Propriety enough ſtiled our Norman Conſtitution. The Barons by the Advice of Stephen Langton Archbiſhop of Canterbury aſſembled ſuddenly great Forces, and obliged the King to grant them at RUNEMEDE, a Place near Stanes, that is, in the Saxon Language, the MEADOW of COUNCIL, what hath been ever ſince ſtiled from its Importance the GREAT CHARTER. By this the Clergy gained all they could deſire, the Nobility obtained Security for their Honours and Poſſeſſions, their Undertenants were likewiſe relieved, and the People in general defended

[d] What is aſſerted in the Text, as to the Source of King John's Troubles, is exactly true. The King had Reaſon enough to be diſpleaſed with Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and he was ſo to ſuch a Degree, that when he heard of his Death he ſaid, Now I begin to feel myſelf a King. The Monks of Canterbury with great Secrecy, and without the King's Leave, choſe their Sub Prior Reginald, Archbiſhop, and ſent him to Rome with Inſtructions not to divulge his Election till he obtained the Conſent of the Pope, which he did not obſerve, but as ſoon as he was beyond the Seas took the Title of Archbiſhop Elect, which expoſed his Brethren to the Reſentment of the King. To pacify him they choſe on his Recommendation John Gray Biſhop of Norwich, and moſt of them went to Rome to ſupport one or other of theſe Elections. Innocent the Third was at this Time Pope, a Man of ſtrong Parts and boundleſs Ambition. He quaſhed both Elections, and terrified the Monks, who were totally in his Power, into a Third in favour of Stephen Langton an Engliſhman born, but who had been brought up and paſſed all his Life in France, and was at that Time Chancellor of the Univerſity of Paris, and alſo Cardinal of the Roman See. The King was exceedingly exaſperated, refuſed to acknowledge the Archbiſhop, and ſeized his Temporalities. The Pope as obſtinate as he, interdicted the Kingdom, and raiſed up ſo many Enemies at Home and Abroad, that the unhappy King was forced, not only to acknowledge the Archbiſhop, but meanly to reſign his Crown to the Pope, and to accept it again under a yearly Tribute.

from Oppreſſion [e]. For the full Performance of its Contents, as the Character of the King was ſaid to require, he was forced by the Surrender of ſeveral ſtrong Caſtles, and other Means, to evince the Sincerity of his Intentions, to which on other Terms they would not truſt.

He very ſoon by his own Conduct juſtified theirs, for having before this reſigned his Crown to the Pope, and received it again from him as his Vaſſal, he now complained to the Pontiff as his ſuperior Lord of the Charter he had been conſtrained to grant. The Pope upon his Repreſentation abſolved him from his Oath, and he bringing over a numerous Army of foreign Mercenaries made a cruel War upon his Barons, whom he diſtreſſed to ſuch a Degree, that they invited over Lewis, Son to the King of France, and after ſtipulating certain Conditions with him, ſwore Fealty to and owned him for their Monarch. The foreign Mercenaries, or at leaſt the greateſt Part of them, very quickly revolted to Lewis, ſo that in a ſhort Time the King was reduced to the utmoſt Diſtreſs, when happily for the Nation and for his Family, which ſurely is an unuſual Caſe, he was removed by Death, and thereby made Way for his Son, then a Child [f].

[e] This famous Charter, of which we have now an accurate, learned, and ſatisfactory Hiſtory, bears Date the Fifteenth of June, A. D. 1215, and the Seventeenth of the Reign of King John; in the Preface to it the King ſays, that he granted it by the Advice, and with the Concurrence of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and Dublin, and the Biſhops and Barons of his own Party. The Liberties of the Church are therein granted firſt in very full but in very general Terms, which no Doubt was acceptable to the Clergy, who knew well how to explain them. All Things relating to Baronies and Tenures in Capite, Reliefs, Wards, Marriages, are therein ſettled with Plainneſs and Preciſion. The Liberties and Privileges of London, and of other Cities and Boroughs, are ſecured to them; and the Perſons and Properties of Freemen are protected from being ſeized or diſtrained otherwiſe than by the Verdict of a Jury and the Law of the Land. The Manner of calling great Councils is alſo regulated therein, and by their Conſent only, Taxes are to be raiſed, the Three feudal Aids excepted, viz. for the Redemption of the King's Perſon, the Knighting of his eldeſt Son, and the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter. The King and the Barons both ſwore to the due Obſervance of this Charter, and the King conſents, in caſe of its being infringed by him, that he may be compelled thereto by Twenty-five Barons.

[f] It is certainly a very difficult Thing to gain a clear or diſtinct Knowledge of the Reigns of theſe Norman Princes ariſing from their Tranſactions with reſpect to their foreign Dominions, their Diſputes with the Clergy here at Home, and their Altercations with the Roman See, by which it becomes neceſſary to be acquainted with the Conduct of the French Monarchs, the Temper of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, and other leading Eccleſiaſticks, and the Diſpoſitions and Policy of the Popes in their Time. If this be true of them in general, it is particularly ſo with regard to King John, who had the Misfortune to be alike under the Diſpleaſure of almoſt all of thoſe from whom the Hiſtory of his Reign is to be expected, which is the Reaſon that no entire Dependance can be placed on their Accounts. The only Method of coming at Truth, which is the Soul of Hiſtory, is by comparing Facts, as related by different Writers, looking into the State Papers and Letters that are ſtill preſerved, and paying a due Attention to the Characters of the principal Actors in theſe buſy Times, a Taſk very arduous, and which is thought to have been beſt performed by Dean Barcham and the laborious William Prynne.

HENRY the THIRD was very little more than Nine Years of Age when crowned at Glouceſter, and was very happy in having for his Protector William Earl of Pembroke, by whoſe Advice he twice renewed the Great Charter, and brought to a Concluſion a moſt dangerous Civil War [g]. In the Ninth Year of his Reign, he again renewed the GRAND CHARTER, and at the ſame Time granted the CHARTER of the FORESTS, which hath been uſually attributed to his Father King John, which wiſe Meaſure had many great and good Effects [h]. But after the King diſgraced his Juſticiary Hubert de Burgh Earl of Kent, he was ſeduced by foreign Flatterers and and Favourites to ſquander away the Revenues of the Crown; and by this and other Acts of equal Imprudence brought himſelf and his Subjects to the loweſt Ebb of Miſery and Diſtreſs [i].

THE

[g] King John died 19th October A. D. 1216. His Son Henry was crowned on the 28th of the ſame Month in the Preſence of Walo the Pope's Legate, by the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Bath, and the Concurrence of ſuch of the Nobility as had remained faithful to his Father. Whatever the common People might be, the Princes and great Men of theſe Times were many of them ſo far from being ſuperſtitious Bigots, that they ſeem rather to have been ſelf-intereſted Politicians without regard to Morals or any Tincture of Religion. Philip of France, though he had ſolicited and obtained from the Pope the Gift of the Kingdom of England, when John was in Diſgrace with him, now maintained that John had no Right to reſign his Crown to the Pope, or the Pope to accept it, and yet held it clear, that his Son Lewis might take it from the Barons in ſpite of the Pope. Cardinal Langton, ever devoted to France, though he had prevailed upon the Pope to lay the King and Kingdom under an Interdict for many Years in his Quarrel, yet contemned the Papal Excommunication when threatened with it for taking Part againſt the King, doing Homage to Lewis, and becoming his Chancellor. He failed however in his Attempt to make his Brother Simon Langton Archbiſhop of York, and was obliged to ſubmit to the Pope's Suſpenſion from his Archiepiſcopal Dignity, and after all, when reſtored to it, made no ſcruple of crowning King Henry a Second Time. Lewis of France, whom the Barons owned for their King, never expected that they would prove his loyal Subjects, and therefore put all the ſtrong Places which he took by their Aſſiſtance into the Hands of French Captains, upon whom he thought he might more ſafely depend, which diſguſting them ſent them gradually back to their Duty.

[h] The very learned and accurate Author of the Hiſtory of theſe Charters, ſeems to have fully proved, that the Charter dated at Weſtminſter the 11th of February 1224, the Ninth of Henry the Third, is that very Charter of the Foreſts which had been heretofore unanimouſly aſcribed to King John. It is indeed a full and ample Detail of what from this Time was to be the Law of the Foreſt, and ſhews clearly in a great Variety of Inſtances the Grievances that were to be removed, and the Security that was to be given by it. The Penalty of ſtealing Veniſon is however ſufficiently ſevere, though the Offender, according to the Law of King Richard formerly mentioned, is exempted from the Loſs of Life or Limb, ſince, if able, he was to pay a heavy Fine, if unable, to ſuffer Impriſonment for a Year and a Day, and to put in Pledges, or if he could not do that, to abjure the Realm. The Charter itſelf contains internal Marks of its belonging to Henry and not to John, as in his Magna Charta there are Clauſes relative to the Foreſts, which would have been equally needleſs and improper, if he had alſo made this Charter, and which Clauſes, for this very Reaſon, are omitted in the Magna Charta of Henry. A Copy of this Charter was ſent to every County in which there were Foreſts, and the Great Charter into every Dioceſe.

[i] This, as it was the longeſt, ſo it may be truly ſtiled One of the moſt unfortunate Reigns in the Engliſh Annals, not from any Malignity in his Nature, but from the Eaſineſs and Inſtabi-

The Rage of Civil War, under a Variety of Pretences, roſe in conſequence of this general Poverty and Diſtraction, even higher than in the Time of King Stephen, ſo that King Henry himſelf and his gallant Son Prince Edward, being made Priſoners by the Barons in the fatal Battle of Lewes, were long detained and treated with great Severity. At length however theſe Troubles ſubſided, and what is truly wonderful, the Conſtitution which had been in a Manner overturned, not only recovered, but became alſo more regular, ſtable, and uniform, than it ſeems to have been before by the occaſional, and at length conſtant Admiſſion of the Repreſentatives of the Commons into Parliament[k]. In the latter Part of his long Reign, the King enjoyed Quiet, and his People their juſt Rights in

lity of the King's Temper, prone to gratify his Favourites rather than to ſupport his Miniſters. His foreign Dominions, from which he received little or no Benefit, kept him always craving from his Subjects. His Attachment to his foreign Relations, Courtiers, and Clergy, excited to and kept them in ill Humour. His liſtening to papal Councils, and his permitting their Extortions, continually drained the Kingdom. Through the greater Part of his Time he drew no Advantage from the Experience of his Father's Sufferings and his own. His Meaſures were ſometimes timid, always feeble, and yet on particular Occaſions he was drawn to act with too much Rigour. The Diſorders ariſing from this ill Management produced univerſal Poverty and Diſcontent, and as for the King himſelf, after waſting his Demeſnes, pawning his Plate, taking unworthy Methods to obtain temporary Supplies, he was driven to break up his Court, to live upon Abbies, to ſolicit private Perſons for Support, and even to alledge that it was greater Charity to relieve him and his Family, than to give Alms to a Beggar in the Street.

[k] The Affairs of the Kingdom being in great Diſtraction, and the King having called a Parliament at Midſummer 1258 at Oxford, the Barons came thither with their Retinues well armed, and ſettled there what were called the PROVISIONS of OXFORD, by which the Government of the Kingdom was devolved upon Twenty-four Perſons, who were impowered to chuſe the great Officers of State, and all Aliens were to be baniſhed, except ſuch as the Barons choſe ſhould remain. Amongſt theſe was Simon Montfort Earl of Leiceſter, once the King's Favourite, married to his Siſter the Widow of the Earl of Pembroke, and now their Chief. To the Obſervance of theſe Proviſions the King and his Son Prince Edward were compelled to ſwear. Many of the Nobility ſeeing juſt Reaſon to diſlike this ſtrange Settlement, reconciled themſelves to the King, who endeavoured by their Aſſiſtance to recover his Power; but being defeated in the Battle of Lewes, 19th of May, A. D. 1264, himſelf and his Family taken Priſoners, Simon Montfort made ſome new Alterations, by which the whole Power was devolved upon him, the Earl of Glouceſter, and the Biſhop of Chiceſter. Richard King of the Romans the King's Brother he kept Priſoner in the Tower of London, his Son Henry, and Prince Edward he put into the Caſtle of Dover; carrying the King about with him in Triumph. In this State of Things he obliged the Prince to reſign to him the Earldom of Cheſter; the Earl of Glouceſter obtained the Eſtates of John de Warrene Earl of Surry, who had been always faithful to the King; and Peter de Montfort ſecured in like Manner a good Eſtate. Theſe Proceedings, and the Haughtineſs of the numerous Family of Montfort, diſguſted many of the Nobility; ſo that being apprehenſive that what had happened to the King in the Parliament of Oxford, might poſſibly happen to himſelf in the Parliament, he obliged the King to call on the 20th of January 49 Henry III. at London, he directed Writs to a great Number of the Clergy, Deans, Abbots, and Priors, as well as Biſhops, to a very few of the Nobles, and thoſe only of his own Faction, and likewiſe commanded the Sheriffs to ſend Two Knights out of their reſpective Counties, and Citizens and Burgeſſes from the Cities and Boroughs, in order to make himſelf popular; which Mode, though thus introduced, being apparently juſt and reaſonable in itſelf, was afterwards purſued, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew.

conſequence of many wiſe and good Laws, and of a new Confirmation of both Charters by Statute in the Fifty-ſecond Year of his Reign[l].

This Period comprehends near Six Score Years, during the greateſt Part of which, Multitudes were deſtroyed in foreign and in Civil Wars, and the People were alſo grievouſly harraſſed by heavy and repeated Impoſitions, the better Part of what they produced being ſent to other Countries, and there ſpent without procuring any national Advantage. It is true, that in ſo long a Space, there was ſuch a blending by Marriages, as at length made them in ſome Degree but one People, and beſides moſt even of the great Barons being born here began to diſlike Foreigners, and to conſider themſelves as Anglo-Normans[m].

Yet the Bulk of the old original Engliſh remained ſtill but in a low and ſervile State, occupied in cultivating the Grounds for their Lords, or working at Trades in Towns or Cities under theirs or the King's Protection. However if leſs conſidered, they were alſo ſomewhat leſs expoſed, and conſequently grew more numerous in the Villages, and by their Induſtry of every Kind, and more eſpecially by their Woollen Manufactures, ſuch as we then had, and muſt have long had, began to thrive in other Places. The conſtant Intercourſe with the Continent could not but introduce new Arts, and by the Knowledge neceſſarily acquired from the Expeditions into the Holy Land, in which Numbers were employed, Navigation muſt have been enlarged and Commerce revived and extended[n].

This

[l] Statutum de Marleberge, cap. v. This Parliament, we may affirm, on the Authority of that great Antiquary Lambard, was held at Marlborough, A. D. 1267. In this the old King diſcovered his true Diſpoſition, by paſſing many wiſe and good Laws. Indeed through the Courſe of his Reign, as often as it was in his Power, he ſhewed a Zeal for Juſtice, and an earneſt Deſire to prevent the People from being oppreſſed by the Barons, which it is not impoſſible might be in Part the Cauſe of his Misfortunes. He had before this Five Times confirmed the Great Charter, and now he directed that both Charters ſhould be held for Law in his Courts, and that ſuch as tranſgreſſed them ſhould be puniſhed. The introducing the Clauſe of Non Obſtante in his Charters, after the Mode of the Court of Rome, was very bad in itſelf, and of moſt pernicious Tendency in its Conſequences, by eſtabliſhing a diſpenſing Power in the Crown. We have a Syſtem of the Laws, as they ſtood in his Time by One of his Juſtices Itinerant Henry Bracton, which was firſt printed at London, A. D. 1569 Fol. and again at the ſame Place, A. D. 1640. 4to. it was abridged by Gilbert de Thornton, Chief Juſtice in the ſucceeding Reign.

[m] The great Owners of Land, as appears by the Record of Domeſday, in Number were about Seven hundred, but every great Baron had under him his Friends and Clients, to whom he diſtributed Knight's Fees, to be held from him by the uſual Services. In Proceſs of Time theſe Knight's Fees were ſplit and divided, without altering the Nature of the Tenure, ſo that even he who held a Twentieth Part was conſidered as *Liber Homo*, a Freeholder or a Gentleman. It is eaſily to be conceived from hence, that many of the native Engliſh, more eſpecially the Brothers, Nephews, and near Relations of Biſhops, Abbots, and other rich Clergymen, roſe gradually into theſe Ranks, as appears from the Dialogue concerning the Exchequer and other Authorities.

[n] It was in the Villages, and among the common Sort of People, that the Engliſh Language was preſerved; for in thoſe Days all who affected Preferment, or affected to ſhine in ſuperior Spheres

This is to be underſtood only of certain Times, as during the former and middle Part of the Reign of Henry the Second, and at the Cloſe of that of Henry the Third, and alſo of certain Places, as London, Briſtol, Boſton, and Lynn, then the moſt frequented Ports in the Kingdom. But in general the greateſt Part of the Country remained very ill cultivated for the Reaſons formerly aſſigned, and the frequent Civil Diſturbances, by which, at different Times, all Parts of the Realm ſuffered exceedingly. To this we may add, that Spirit of Licentiouſneſs incident to weak Governments, and which more eſpecially diſcourages Agriculture, from whence, as our Annals ſhew, proceeded a great Fluctuation of Prices, frequent Scarcities, and ſometimes Famines [o].

Beſides, hitherto the Importance was not diſcerned of thoſe from the Labour of whoſe Hands the Earth was made to produce, and by whoſe Diligence and Skill the Value of its Productions were enhanced; but they were left unheeded in a Kind of ſlaviſh Subjection, even in thoſe Times when Liberty, as our Hiſtories report, ſeemed to be the great national Object. But gradually, and as Experience opened Men's Minds, it was found expedient for the common Benefit to cheriſh Induſtry, that noble Principle of Virtue and ſocial Happineſs [p].

Come

Spheres of Life made uſe of French. In regard to Induſtry and Trade, we have already frequently vindicated the Antiquity of the Woollen Manufacture in England. The Statute of the Ninth of Hen. III. cap. 25. which enjoins that certain Cloths ſhould be Two Yards Broad within the Liſts, fully juſtifies our Sentiment, as the Art could be by no Means in its Infancy when Cloths of this Breadth were made. In reſpect to Commerce, Henry II. made Laws for preventing the Plundering of Wrecks. The Laws of Oleron we have already mentioned. In Magna Charta we find Proviſion made for the ſafe going and coming of foreign Merchants; a Circumſtance very juſtly applauded by foreign Writers. Theſe Precautions muſt undoubtedly have produced great Effects, ſince King John was enabled to employ a Fleet of no leſs than Five hundred Sail againſt the French, over whom he gained a great Victory.

[o] The Hiſtory of theſe Times ſufficiently points out the Cauſes of theſe Diſaſters. The Barons in Time of Peace were very ſevere Landlords, in Times of Civil War ſpoiled each others Lands, without any Tenderneſs for the Inhabitants: Robberies alſo were ſo frequent, that we are told Henry the Third adjudged ſome of his own Servants upon Detection to be hanged. No Wonder therefore that Agriculture was neglected when there was not either Security or Encouragement for thoſe who ſhould have exerciſed it. The Ciſtercians, an Order of Monks eſtabliſhed here in the Reign of William the Second, turned their Views to the Feeding of Sheep, and we find that all their Wool was ſeized towards the Payment of King Richard's Ranſom. Matthew Paris tells us of a dreadful Famine and Mortality from thence in A. D. 1258, when Multitudes did, and more would have periſhed, if the King's Brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, and King of the Romans, had not ſent Fifty Veſſels laden with Corn to London, when the King by an Edict prevented the Citizens from buying it up (as had been formerly practiſed) and retailing it at extravagant Rates. Chron. Johan. Abbatis S. Petri de Burgo, p. 113.

[p] It is exceedingly difficult to diſcover with abſolute Certainty, how Things of the greateſt Moment were conducted in theſe Times, and therefore the beſt Judges ever ſpeak of them diffidently, and with a Degree of Caution. It has been thought that Kings in theſe Times ſum-

COME we now to the Third Period.

EDWARD ſucceeded his Father with all the Advantages a Prince could well poſſeſs. In the Flower of his Age, with high Reputation and much Experience. The great Expectations theſe Circumſtances excited, were by his ſucceeding Conduct amply fulfilled. In the Courſe of his Reign his Actions juſtly gained him the Character of an able and ſucceſsful General, a wiſe Stateſman, and a prudent Legiſlator. His Country deriving from him many ſignal Benefits in all theſe Qualities, hath deſervedly rendered his One of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Reigns in our Hiſtory [q]. His perſonal Valour and his Military Skill he diſplayed during his Father's Reign in the Civil War, in the noble Exploits he atchieved in the Eaſt, and in the Feats of Arms he performed in his Return Home [r].

AFTER

moned ſuch Barons, and ſuch only to Parliament as they thought fit; and there is a great Appearance of this being true. Yet Mr. Elſynge, Clerk of the Parliaments, in his learned Treatiſe, p. 41, advances another Doctrine: He ſays the Barons were always ſummoned in right of their Nobility, but that others were capable of being ſummoned in virtue of their Tenures, who were ſometimes ſummoned and ſometimes omitted, and that theſe were not *Barons* but *Peers*, that is, Barons Peers. In like Manner the Mode of Summoning the Commons was not exactly the ſame from the Beginning. Nay, even in reſpect to Juries, Doubts have been raiſed when they commenced, and very learned Perſons have been of different Opinions, ſome having affirmed, that they were not eſtabliſhed till the Reign of Henry the Second. Yet theſe Opinions may be reconciled by conſidering Juries in different Lights, for they might be more or fewer in ſeveral Periods, and impannelled in a different Manner. Upon the Whole, we want ſufficient Authorities to fix any of theſe Points abſolutely, and all that can be affirmed is, that Power followed Property then as it does now, and that in Proportion as Men acquired the latter, they aſpired to and gradually attained the former.

[q] This great Prince was born at Weſtminſter the 28th of June, A. D. 1239. Chron. Thomæ Wikes. He married Eleonora Daughter to Alphonſo the Tenth King of Caſtile, from whom he received the Honour of Knighthood, A. D. 1254. Henry the Third died 16th November 1272, having firſt ſworn Gilbert Earl of Glouceſter to ſecure his Son's peaceable Poſſeſſion. He accordingly, with the Advice of the Queen Mother and ſome of the principal Nobility and Prelates, cauſed Prince Edward to be ſolemnly proclaimed, and kept his Dominions in perfect Quiet, till upon his Return he was with his Queen crowned at Weſtminſter 19th Auguſt 1274, by Robert Kilwardby Archbiſhop of Canterbury, amidſt the joyful Acclamations of the People. Annales Waverlienſes, p. 227, 229.

[r] His great Ability in the Art of War was acknowledged by Simon de Montfort Earl of Leiceſter, who ſeeing his Order of Battle at Eveſham, Auguſt 6th 1265, when he was juſt entered into the Twenty-ſeventh Year of his Age, ſaid, God receive our Souls, for our Bodies will be at their Mercy. Sir Adam Gurdon, who was reputed the ſtouteſt and moſt accompliſhed of the Malecontents, and remained after that Defeat in Arms about Farnham in Surry, Prince Edward engaged in ſingle Combat, and having obliged him to yield, gave him his Life and Fortune. Triveti Annals, vol. i. p. 227. In Syria he was equally beloved by the Chriſtians, and admired by the Saracens. As he was coming Home the Count de Chalons in Burgundy invited him and his Retinue to a Tournament, and being perſonally worſted by the King, his Knights attacked the Engliſh, who repulſed them with ſuch Slaughter, that this was called the little Battle of Chalons. He viſited the Pope at Lyons, and prevailed upon him to excommunicate Guy Montfort the Son of Simon, who had baſely murthered his Couſin the Son of the King of the Romans at the Altar. He ſettled his own Affairs in Guienne, went to Paris, and did Homage to Philip the Hardy,

After he came into his own Dominions he looked circumſpectly into the State of the Nation, and made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for its Settlement inſtead of entering immediately into a War, which he choſe rather to have in Appearance forced upon him by Lewellyn the laſt Britiſh Prince in Wales, whom he more than once defeated, and who in the Courſe of the War being killed, he reduced, though not without repeated and obſtinate Struggles, the whole Country and its Inhabitants under his Obedience[s]. He was frequently involved in Diſputes with France on account of his foreign Dominions, which coſt him very dear in Reference both to Men and Money, producing many Difficulties, much Vexation, little Honour, and no Profit[t].

Hardy in theſe remarkable Words, I do you Homage, Sir, for the Lands I hold and ought to hold of you. After this he returned with great Reputation to England. We have given ſo great a Character of this King in the Text, that it impoſes a Kind of Obligation to make it good for the Reader's Satisfaction.

[s] At his Coronation the King ſummoned Prince Lewellin to do him Homage, who refuſed to come unleſs he had Hoſtages given him for his Security. He had certainly Grounds for his Apprehenſions, as he had been, during the Courſe of the Civil War, the principal Support of Simon Montfort. His Widow about this Time ſent over her Daughter, accompanied by her Brother a Prieſt, who was to marry the Prince. They were taken at Sea and carried into England. Lewellin on this broke out into a War, to which, finding his Forces unequal, he, A. D. 1277, ſubmitted to a Peace on very hard Conditions. His intended Wife however was reſtored, and the Marriage ſolemnized with great Magnificence in the King's Preſence, and at his Expence; but ſhe did not ſurvive long. A. D. 1281, at the Perſuaſion of his Brother David, whom after many Kindneſſes received, and reſiding long in his Court, the King had reconciled to him; he renewed the War, in which he was the next Year ſlain. David then aſſumed the Title of Prince of Wales, but in 1283 was taken and executed. A. D. 1295 the Welch broke out into Rebellion under ſeveral Princes, againſt whom the King went in Perſon, reduced them effectually, and to bridle them built ſeveral Fortreſſes on the Sea-coaſt, which were laſting Monuments of his Skill in Military Architecture, as well as of his Policy. Camdeni Britan. p. 553. He alſo declared his Son Edward, who was born at Carnarvon, Prince of Wales. Triveti Annal. W. Heming. Walſingham. Powell's Hiſtory of Wales. Selden.

[t] Philip the Fair, who ſucceeded his Father Philip the Hardy in the Kingdom of France, though a very young, was a very artful and deſigning Prince. He ſuffered a War to be kindled A D. 1293 on account of ſome Diſputes between Engliſh and Norman Seamen, which gave him an Opportunity of invading Guienne. Edward deſirous of Peace, ſent over his Brother Edmund, who had married the Mother of the French Queen, and by thoſe Two Princeſſes he was groſly deceived, and through him his Brother, who at his Inſtance put Guienne into the Hands of Philip upon a Promiſe of immediate Reſtitution. Inſtead of this, Philip ſummoned him to appear as his Vaſſal, and for Non-appearance declared him a Felon, and all his foreign Dominions eſcheated to the Crown of France. The King endeavoured to recover Guienne by Force; but failing, he entered into a grand Confederacy with the King of the Romans, the Earls of Flanders, Guelders, and other Princes, at a moſt immenſe Expence, as our Records ſhew. But perceiving the Remedy to be worſe than the Diſeaſe, he conſented to a Truce, and admitted of the Mediation of Pope Boniface the Eighth, who decided, that the King, who was then a Widower, ſhould eſpouſe the Siſter of Philip, and Prince Edward that Monarch's Daughter. Accordingly 1299 the King married the Princeſs Margaret of France at Canterbury, and had his own Dominions in France (which had ever been a Burthen) reſtored as her Dowry. Triveti Annal. vol. i. p. 274. 277. 316.

He was very ſucceſsful againſt the Scots, compelled John Baliol to reſign the Crown which he had adjudged to him, and, in conſequence of that Reſignation took Poſſeſſion of his Dominions. Theſe he reduced a Second Time, when the famous William Wallace endeavoured to reſtore his Countrymen to Freedom, and penetrated a Third Time to the very Extremity of the Kingdom, when Robert Bruce had aſſumed the Regal Title. Againſt him, in ſpite of Age and Infirmities, he made another Expedition, in which he died at a Place not far from Carliſle [u]. Whereever he was preſent he was in all his Wars victorious, and this continued Proſperity rendered him alike revered at Home and dreaded Abroad.

As a Politician he ſeemed to act on the Principles of his royal Predeceſſor Egbert in aiming at the Sovereignty of the whole Iſland, which he very nearly acquired, and like him appears to have meditated the bringing all its Inhabitants to live under one ſettled Form of Laws, towards the accompliſhing of which he bent all his Endeavours, and ſhewed very great Sagacity in every Step of his Proceedings. He took Care to act with much ſeeming Moderation towards the Welch for a long Time, that his Reduction of them might appear as a Work of Neceſſity the leſs oppreſſive [w]. In

[u] Alexander the Third King of Scots had eſpouſed Margaret the eldeſt Daughter of Henry the Third, in conſequence of which he had conſtantly aſſiſted him in all his Troubles, and in the like Manner adhered to his Brother-in-law King Edward. By his Queen he had a Son, Alexander, who died before him, and a Daughter Margaret, who married Eric King of Norway, who by her had a Daughter of the ſame Name with her Mother. Alexander died by a Fall from his Horſe, A. D. 1289, and his Grand-daughter was acknowledged Heireſs of the Crown of Scotland. Edward, with the Conſent of the Nobility of Scotland, contracted his Son, Prince Edward, to Margaret, as appears by Rymer, vol. xi. p. 482; but ſhe dying in her Paſſage Home, great Diſputes aroſe as to the Right of Succeſſion. The Deciſion by the free Conſent of the Nobility of that Kingdom was left to Edward, who previous thereto engaged them to own his Superiority, and in conſequence of the unanimous Reſolution of Twenty-four Commiſſioners, Twelve of each Nation, pronounced in favour of John Baliol, who in A. D. 1292 did him Homage. Yet, conceiving himſelf afterwards ill uſed, he entered into a Treaty with Philip of France, and in conſequence of that invaded England. Edward turning his Arms againſt him compelled him to reſign his Crown A. D. 1296, and ſoon after held a Parliament at Berwick, where moſt of the Scotiſh Nobility did him Homage. The very next Year they roſe in Arms under Wallace, by which a new War was commenced, terminated by a Second Conqueſt A. D. 1304. The next Year Robert Bruce cauſed himſelf to be crowned King, who with Variety of Fortune maintained his Pretenſions till in an Expedition againſt him, this great Prince died at a ſmall Village called Burgh on Sands the Seventh of July 1307, the Memory of which is preſerved by a Pillar erected on the Spot by Henry Howard Duke of Norfolk.

[w] The laſt of theſe Britiſh Princes, Lhewelin ap Gruffyth ap Lhewelin ap Jorwerth, was little if at all inferior either in Parts or Proweſs to Edward. He acceded to his Dominions, A. D. 1246, which was the Thirty-firſt of Henry III. and from political Motives had connected himſelf cloſely with Simon Montfort, to whom he conſtantly adhered. Polydor Virgil ſays, that King Henry created his Son Edward Prince of Wales; but the Record Pat. 38 Hen. III. Vaſc. III. 8. 11. 25. gives him only the Conqueſts in Wales, together with Gaſcony, but without any

In regard to the Jews, whom his Predeceſſors had protected, by liſtening to the Complaints of his Subjects, who loaded them with the Imputation of adulterating the Coin, and the Practice of intolerable Uſury, he rendered the baniſhing of them not more lucrative to himſelf than acceptable to the Nation [x].

His Claim to and Conqueſt of Scotland was conducted with infinite Addreſs, as well as proſecuted with indefatigable Vigour. His French Wars were ſo very expenſive, that he thought himſelf warranted to ſupply his Wants by the moſt arbitrary Methods. But even in theſe he acted with ſuch ſeeming Reluctance, was ſo ready in framing Excuſes and promiſing Reſtitution, that he got over Steps by which a Prince of another Character would have been undone. According as his Occaſions required he ſhewed either Firmneſs or Complacency, and by a proper timing of theſe he frequently brought his Clergy, his Nobles, and his Commons to his Will [y]. His Severity and his Clemency, for he gave ſignal

Title. It appears indeed by another Record, Pat. 52 Hen. III. membr. 9. that Edward was Lord of Ireland. The Prince of Wales had Reaſon to ſtand in Fear of him upon his Return; but his Refuſal to pay him Homage without having Hoſtages was not a little haughty. The Terms impoſed on his Submiſſion were hard, but Edward did not inſiſt upon them ſtrictly. He gave him for his Wife Eleanor the Daughter of Montfort, who was his own Niece, and treated him with great Deference and Reſpect. When he was again diſcontented he ſent his Relation the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to receive his Complaints, and the Archbiſhop at his Return excommunicated him. After his Death Edward cauſed a famous Law, entitled Statutum Walliæ, or the Statute of Rotheland, from the Town of Rhydland in Flintſhire, to be enacted, which is one of the wiſeſt and beſt conſidered of any Act paſſed in his or in any other Reign, as it contains an entire Plan for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the greateſt Part of this Principality, and may be ſeen at large in Wilkins's Appendix.

[x] The miſerable Jews, though ſaid to be protected here, were expoſed to perpetual Indignities, obliged to wear a Mark of Diſtinction on their Garments, conſidered as the King's Slaves while they remained Jews, deprived of all they had if they turned Chriſtians, and ſent to live in a Building aſſigned to ſuch Converts, which many Years after this King gave for the Reſidence of the Maſter of the Rolls. The ſole Reaſon of their remaining here was becauſe they were no better treated elſe-where. In former Reigns they had been often fleeced, in this twice ſo, and at length they were flead. A. D. 1278 Multitudes were hanged for clipping. A. D. 1290 they were all ſeized in One Day, their Goods confiſcated, and themſelves baniſhed. Matthew of Weſtminſter computes their Numbers at One hundred Sixty-five thouſand Five hundred and Eleven, for this, excluſive of what he gained by the Confiſcation, the Commons gave the King a Fifteenth of their Moveables, and the Clergy a Tenth. Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 19.

[y] It is amazing, conſidering what happened to his Grandfather and Father, that this Monarch was able to act for more than Twenty Years as he did. The Clergy to ſcreen themſelves procured a Bull from Pope Boniface the Eighth, forbidding them under Pain of Excommunication to pay any Tax impoſed without his Conſent, which they pleaded in Bar to the King's Commands. He gave them Time to conſider, and on their perſiſting put them out of his Protection, which obliged them to comply. He had before ſeized the Money collected for the Holy War, and afterwards conſiderable Sums depoſited in their Hands. His Barons he curtailed in Power by his Laws, kept them in continual Employment, and gratified them ſometimes with Lands and Honour

ſignal Inſtances of both, were never the Effects of Paſſion or of Caprice, but were dictated by what Politicians call Reaſons of State [z].

He was ſtill much greater as a Legiſlator than as either a Hero or a Stateſman. In a very ſhort Time after his Coronation he held a Parliament for reforming the Abuſes which had been accumulating in the unſettled Times of his Father's Reign, and which was a Work of equal Neceſſity and Difficulty [a]. In the Courſe of his Reign he held frequent Parliaments, and made in them many and good Laws [b] for the ſecuring Men's Perſons,

nours. He once ſeized all the Wool of the Clergy and Laity, ſold it for what he could, and for Repayment fixed a ſhort Price and a long Day. Inſtead of the accuſtomed Duty, he afterwards raiſed Forty Shillings a Sack on Wool, and took beſides what ever Commodities were requiſite for the Supply of his Forces. In order to keep the People quiet he dealt with them ſeparately, giving them always very fair Words, by which he levied Money on the inferior Clergy, from the Merchants, and from the Burgeſſes, all of whom he careſſed and encouraged in their Turns. But at length the Meaſure being full, the Nobility, Clergy, and People all concurred in an Expoſtulation when he was upon the Point of going over to Flanders with an Army, and yet were pacified on his promiſing them full Satisfaction on his Return. Such were the Effects of his Reputation, his Succeſs, his publick Liberalities, his Frugality in his Court, and his wonderful Addreſs, by which he wound himſelf out of every Difficulty.

[z] The Body of Prince Lhewelin being known after his Death, his Head was cut off and brought to the King, who directed a Silver Coronet to be put thereon, ſent it up to London, where, after being carried in Triumph through Cheapſide, it was placed on the Battlements of the Tower of London to ſhew the Fallacy of a Welch Prophecy. Walteri Hemingford, vol. i. p. 11. His Brother David was proceeded againſt in Parliament, condemned as a Traitor, and ſuffered as ſuch A. D. 1282. Thomas de Turbeville, who had conſpired with the French King to raiſe new Commotions in Wales, met with the like Fate A. D. 1295. Sir William Wallace ſuffered in like Manner A. D. 1305. Adam Murimuth, p. 36. Three Brothers of King Robert Bruce were treated in like Manner, as was alſo the Earl of Athol, Sir Chriſtopher Seton, and others. On ſome Occaſions Edward ſhewed a different Spirit, as in the Caſe of Sir Adam Gurdon. Gaſto de Bierna rebelled againſt him in Gaſcony, and when he was upon the Point of taking him in his Caſtle he appealed to Philip of France as his ſuperior Lord. Edward acquieſced in this. When Philip heard the Cauſe he ſent him over to England with a Halter about his Neck. He was confined for ſome Time, then ſet at Liberty and reſtored to his Eſtate. He ſpared Madoc, who had aſſumed the Title of Prince of Wales. He ſet at Liberty Henry Montfort, who was taken Priſoner with his Siſter; and in like Manner enlarged John Baliol, and ſuffered him to live and die quietly in France.

[a] This Parliament was held in the Third Year of his Reign, A. D. 1275, and in our Law Books is ſtiled Weſtminſter the Firſt. The Statute made therein is digeſted into Fifty Chapters, relating to a great Variety of Subjects, ſuch as carrying good Laws already enacted into Execution, providing againſt Extortions and Oppreſſions of every Kind, and by all Sorts of Perſons; for puniſhing falſe and colluſive Verdicts; for raiſing the Hue and Cry, and uſing other Methods for bringing Robbers and notorious Felons to Juſtice; for reſtraining immoderate Puniſhments; for ſupporting the Rights of the Clergy in ſome Caſes, and putting them under proper Regulations in others. In this Parliament the Commons aſſiſted.

[b] It was the wiſe Policy of this Prince to hold frequent Parliaments, and theſe too in different Parts of the Kingdom, in which he made ſuch prudent Statutes as might compenſate to his Subjects by their Effects for the large Sums which he exacted from them. On this Head T. Wikes, p. 113, ſays that it was Edward's Cuſtom to awaken ſuch good Laws as had long ſlept,

Perſons, by inſtituting Watch and Ward in Cities, and by various Regulations for their Safety in travelling the great Roads.

He was no leſs attentive in reſpect to the Preſervation and Recovery of Property of every Kind. Thus the Goods of Perſons dying Inteſtate, which being left to the Care of the Church, the Ordinary applied to pious Uſes, were directed by Statute to be liable to anſwer the juſt Debts of the Deceaſed, which gave riſe to Adminiſtrators. He eſtabliſhed that new Kind of Security called a Statute Merchant for the Benefit of Trade, gave an Elegit for ſubjecting Lands as well as Moveables to the Demands of the juſt Creditor, regulated the Operations and Effects of Fines, which before were very intricate and perplexed, rectified ſeveral Inconveniencies in reſpect to Tenures, and ſettled the legal Modes of Entails [c] and of Alienation. He for the common good fixed the Standard and eſtabliſhed Means for preſerving the Purity of Money, ſettled Weights and Meaſures, directed

to bring back to their proper Objects ſuch as had been abuſed, and as Occaſion required to make new for the publick Good. After reſiding a long Time in Gaſcony, he found at his Return a general Murmur through the Nation againſt the Judges, on which he cauſed ſtrict Enquiry to be made into their Behaviour in full Parliament, where he removed and fined moſt of them ſeverely. It ſhould ſeem that their great Wealth was the ſtrongeſt Proof of their Iniquity; for though the Salary of the Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench was but Forty Pounds, and that of a Baron of the Exchequer but Twenty, yet Adam de Stratton, One of the latter, was fined Thirty-two thouſand Marks, near Twenty thouſand being found in ready Money in his Houſe, and the Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas loſt his whole Eſtate both real and perſonal, and was baniſhed. Walteri Hemingford, vol. i. p. 15. T. Walſing, p. 54. H. Knyghton, apud x. Script. col. 2466. A. D. 1305 there were great Diſorders in the Kingdom occaſioned by People of ſome Conſequence conſpiring to diſturb, diſtreſs, beat, wound, and under falſe Suggeſtions to procure thoſe againſt whom they had Malice to be impriſoned. For the Puniſhment of ſuch Offences, there was a Law made 33 Ed. I. Stat. 2. and upon this the King iſſued a Commiſſion for enquiring after and bringing ſuch Offenders to Juſtice, of which much has been ſaid, as if they had proceeded in a ſummary Way, and not according to the uſual Forms of Juſtice, the contrary of which will appear from the King's Writ ſtill extant, Placita in Parliamento 33 Ed. I. n. 10. However Adam Murimuth, p. 36, ſays, Ordinavit Juſtitiarios de Traylebaſtone, per totam Angliam, ad caſtigandum malefactores, per quos fuerunt Multi puniti, et Regis ærarium valde ditatum. He ordained Juſtices of Traylebaſtone throughout all England, for chaſtizing Malefactors, by whom many were puniſhed, and the King's Treaſury well repleniſhed. Traylebaſtone was only a vulgar Appellation given to thoſe Judges, for nothing like it occurs in the Commiſſion.

[c] The Statute of Weſtminſter the Second, made in the Thirteenth of this King's Reign, contains Fifty Chapters relative to a great Variety of Objects, and made with great Care and Circumſpection. The Firſt of theſe is very famous under the Title of de Donis conditionalibus. It is very much blamed by Sir Edward Coke in the Preface to his Fourth Part of his Reports for introducing, as he ſays, an Eſtate Tail. This however ſeems not to be ſtrictly the Caſe, ſince it rather revived or confirmed them, there being plain Mention of ſuch an Eſtate in the Laws of King Alfred. This Law was made for removing certain Inconveniencies then felt and recited therein. In ſucceeding Times it is true it produced many and greater Inconveniencies, as having a ſtrong Tendency to create Perpetnities, which very probably were not then foreſeen. But for the Purpoſes intended it was ſo well made, as for a Time to be highly commended, and a Remedy, though a better is to be wiſhed, hath been found for the Evils it occaſioned.

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the careful Collecting and ſafe Keeping of publick Records. He repreſſed the exorbitant Power of the Church, by limiting the Bounds of eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, reſtrained the granting Lands to Monaſteries by repeated Statutes of Mortmain, and prohibited the Convents depending upon religious Houſes in foreign Parts from ſending the Wealth of this, at the Command of their Superiors, into other Countries, and provided againſt the Oppreſſion of Monaſteries by great Lords and Prelates, that they might the better anſwer the Ends of their Inſtitution.

He ſhewed his Concern for Trade by deciding the Complaints made by the Citizens of London againſt foreign Merchants, provided for the Payment of Debts ariſing in Commerce, and fixed the Staple of Wool at Sandwich. He gave up as unjuſt the heavy Cuſtoms he had laid upon Wool, and diſclaimed all Right of doing the like again under Pretence of Prerogative. In reference to publick Juſtice, and whatever regarded the Adminiſtration thereof, on which the Peace and Welfare of the Subject ſo much depended, no Prince was ever more attentive. He reſtrained County, Hundred, and Manor Courts within ſuch Bounds as in thoſe Days were proper. He ſettled alſo the Juriſdiction of ſuperior Courts in order to prevent their interfering with each other. He directed original Writs to be formed for every Species of Actions, provided that the Pleadings upon theſe ſhould be ſimple, ſuccinct, and perſpicuous. In a Word, he did as much as poſſible to remove Fraud, to extirpate Chicane, and to prevent Delay in judicial Proceedings, for which in his own and in ſucceeding Times he hath been juſtly celebrated by the greateſt Sages of the Long-robe, which will do equal Honour to his Memory and to theirs [d].

The enterprizing Valour, the profound Policy and profeſſed publick Spirit of the King, though they rendered him highly revered by the Nation, could not however reconcile them to thoſe high Acts of Power, and thoſe bold

[d] The Characters of Princes are with much greater Certainty learned from the Tenor of their Laws than from either Tradition or Hiſtory. This Obſervation may moſt ſtrictly be applied to this great Prince, who undoubtedly had a very large Share in the Framing and Contrivance of thoſe that were paſſed in his Reign, inſomuch that ſome have conſidered him as the Author of them (Seldeni Opera, vol. ii. col. 1043). It is no Wonder therefore that in his Time there flouriſhed ſo many learned Lawyers, ſuch as the Author of the Book entitled Fleta, from its being written in the Fleet Priſon, probably by one of the great Lawyers diſgraced and confined there. Sir Gilbert Thornton, who abridged Bracton, Sir Ralph Hengham, Breton or Briton, generally thought to have been Biſhop of Hereford, but more likely to have been a Judge, and we may add, though not with like Certainty, Andrew Horne. After his Deceaſe his Memory was in the higheſt Credit with the ableſt Men of the Profeſſion, ſuch as Sir W. Herle, Sir Edward Coke, Lord Bacon, Sir Matthew Hale, all of whom have concurred in giving him the Character of one of the wiſeſt of our Kings, and the ableſt of our Legiſlators, to which we may add the Commendations in our own Times beſtowed upon him by Blackſtone and Barrington.

Stretches

Stretches of royal Authority, by which, though ever under the ſpecious Pretence of publick Utility, he ſupplied his Neceſſities in ſuch Ways as ſeemed to him the moſt ſpeedy, and in ſuch Proportions as he judged to be moſt expedient. The Clergy, Nobility, and Commons laying hold therefore of a favourable Opportunity, ſtated to him their Grievances, demanded Redreſs, together with the Renewal and Confirmation in Parliament of the Great Charter and Charter of Foreſts, which was granted accordingly in a Parliament held by his Son, the King being then abroad, and confirmed by his Charter dated at Ghent. But ſome Jealouſies ſtill remaining, he again confirmed them in Parliament. However after all this he procured the Pope's Abſolution from all his Engagements by a Suggeſtion, that they were extorted from him. He then freely and of his own Accord confirmed both Charters, ſo ſtrengthened as to prevent future Infringements, and with ſuch Additions as proved to the full as beneficial to the Subject as the Charters themſelves [e]; which from this Time became the ſettled and immutable Baſis of publick Liberty and the Conſtitution.

Edward the Second, at the Time of his Acceſſion to the Throne, was in the Twenty-fourth Year of his Age. He was a Prince handſome in his Perſon, and very adroit in his Exerciſes, of an open generous Turn of Mind, but without thoſe Qualities that were requiſite to his Station, and more eſpecially in thoſe Times. He began his Reign with diſgracing the Biſhop of Coventry, his Father's Treaſurer, and a very wiſe Man. He recalled Peter Gaveſton, whom his Father had baniſhed for miſleading him in his Youth, and intruſted him with the Government of the Kingdom when he went over to do Homage for his foreign Dominions to King Philip, and to marry his Daughter Iſabella, who was then about Twelve Years of

[e] Theſe Diſputes began, as hath been before hinted, A. D. 1297, and notwithſtanding in the Parliament held at London in the ſame Year by the Prince of Wales, then of the Age of Thirteen, the Charters were confirmed, and all the great Lords who had refuſed to follow the King into Flanders were pardoned, this did not give entire Satisfaction. New Suſpicions aroſe, and to remove theſe the King directed Writs to the Sheriffs, directing them to inform his People by Proclamation of his ſincere and good Intentions towards them. In Confirmation of this he again confirmed them at Carliſle the next Year, and directed Perambulations to be made of the Foreſts. A. D. 1300 he confirmed both Charters and granted thoſe Extenſions of them mentioned in the Text, directing Writs to every County for the electing Three Knights as Commiſſioners to ſee thoſe Charters fully executed, and to puniſh Offenders againſt them by Fine and Ranſom, commanding them to be publiſhed Four Times every Year in the County Courts. After the Abſolution he obtained from Pope Clement the Fifth, he in 1306, by a Statute introduced by a very pathetick Preamble expreſſing his great Care and deep Concern for the Peace and Welfare of his People, provided Remedies for all the Grievances relative to the Foreſts. At the ſame Time that he was ſo attentive to his Subjects here, he likewiſe extended his Protection to thoſe in his other Dominions of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, eſpecially in regard to the Oppreſſions which they ſuffered from the papal Authority.

Age[f]. On their Return they were crowned together with great Solemnity, in which Gaveſton bore ſo great a Share as not a little heightened that Enmity which the Nobility had conceived againſt him.

They quickly compelled the King to ſend him again into Exile, which however he ſoftened by giving him an honourable Employment in Ireland, where, as the ancient Annals of that Kingdom ſhew, he acquired ſome Reputation. It was not long before the King, after making great Conceſſions to his capital Enemies, brought him back, and married him to the Siſter of the Earl of Glouceſter, who was his Niece, having before honoured him with the Titles of Lord of Man and Earl of Cornwall. Upon this new Murmurs were raiſed, and the King obliged to conſent in Parliament to a Commiſſion, which devolved almoſt the Whole of his Authority on Four Biſhops, Four Earls, and Four Barons, Gaveſton being again baniſhed, and declared a publick Enemy if he returned. In Hopes of giving a new Face to his Affairs, Edward aſſembled an Army in the North, where he had Gaveſton quickly with him, who was privately returned, and whom he employed in his War againſt Robert Bruce. In this however he had little Succeſs, and the Barons having recourſe to open Violence, the King was obliged to leave Gaveſton with a Garriſon in Scarborough, which he was ſoon compelled to ſurrender, and was not long after, with many Circumſtances of Indignity, beheaded by the Command and in the Preſence of Thomas Earl of Lancaſter, and other great Lords.

The King, though much offended with this, was forced on the pretended Submiſſion of the Barons to paſs an Act of Indemnity in favour of them and their Adherents. The War againſt the Scots was renewed, and Edward marching with a numerous Army to the Relief of Stirling Caſtle, was defeated by Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, where the Earl of Glouceſter and ſome other Perſons of Note were ſlain, and many more taken Pri-

[f] In the Account of the former Reign, it was principally intended to ſhew in what Manner the Norman Cuſtoms were ſo altered and amended, as to be formed in ſome Meaſure into a Syſtem, chiefly by the Wiſdom and Application of the Sovereign. In ſpeaking ſo largely of this Reign, our Deſign is to let the Reader ſee how eaſily that Syſtem was again broken and thrown into Diſorder under a Sovereign of leſs Abilities, and conſequently of leſs Attention. The Second Edward, from the Beginning to the Cloſe of his Reign, aimed at pleaſing himſelf, and left the Care of his Buſineſs to others. The principal Sources of his Misfortunes were the too great Power of the principal Nobility, who were in Effect ſo many Princes, deſirous of conducting all Things in their own Way, and according to their own Wills, in which they did not always regard either the Letter or the Spirit of the Laws. The aſpiring and intriguing Diſpoſition of the principal Churchmen, many of whom abetted the Barons, and in their Diſputes with the Crown frequently added to their Military Force that of ſpiritual Cenſures. Laſtly, the Want of Prudence and Policy in the Prince, who often provoked them raſhly, ſubmitted when he wanted Power to reſiſt, and when he had Power uſed it with too great Severity.

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ſoners. In conſequence of this Misfortune, and ſome other Cauſes, there enſued many Calamities; great Scarcity of Proviſions, Mortality of Cattle, and a Peſtilence; which Diſtreſſes excited a general Spirit of Diſcontent. This was fomented by the potent Nobility, who, or at leaſt moſt of them, had conceived a ſtrong Hatred againſt the Spencers, Father and Son, though originally placed about the King by themſelves, becauſe they were grown highly into his Favour. Theſe great Lords coming armed to Parliament procured their Baniſhment, though abſent, which the King inſiſted was againſt the Great Charter, and the more effectually to cruſh them theſe potent Lords at the ſame Time plundered their Eſtates.

The Spencers came back in no long Space, and the King having collected a ſmall Force, reſolved to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of the Lord Badleſmere, the Queen having been refuſed Entrance into his Caſtle of Leeds in Kent. After reducing that Caſtle, finding his Force increaſe, he marched Weſtward, humbled ſome of the Barons who had Eſtates there and on the Borders of Wales, after which he turned ſuddenly Northward againſt Thomas Earl of Lancaſter, who was already in the Field with a conſiderable Army. The Earl retiring from Burton upon Trent, endeavoured to get into Yorkſhire, but at Borough Bridge, after a ſhort Diſpute in which the Earl of Hereford was killed, himſelf and moſt of his Followers were made Priſoners by Sir Andrew Harklay, and was very quickly after condemned and executed with many Marks of Ignominy, notwithſtanding his high Quality. About Twenty Perſons of great Rank were alſo put to ſhameful Deaths in different Parts of the Kingdom, and many of their Forfeitures given to the Spencers.

This excited a general Spirit of Diſaffection, not a little heightened by another unſucceſsful Expedition againſt the Scots [s]. Charles the Fourth, who

[s] It will throw great Light on the Hiſtory of this Period, to give a ſuccinct Detail of the Diſputes between Edward and the Scots. At the Time of his Father's Demiſe; the beſt Part of that Country was in his Hands, and not a few of the Nobility adhered to him, as they did afterwards to his Son. But Robert Bruce taking Advantage of the King's Abſence recovered moſt of the North, and made Excurſions into the South. This, as we have ſhewn in the Text, induced Edward to make an Expedition againſt him, A. D. 1310, when Gaveſton penetrated as far as Perth; but the Country was ſo ruined, that the Engliſh Army could not ſubſiſt. The great Defeat at Bannockburn happened the 24th June A. D. 1313, where the King, as on many other Occaſions, gave great Proofs of perſonal Courage. Four Years after Berwick was taken; for the Recovery of which important Place the King, as ſoon as his Affairs would permit him, made another Expedition, but without Succeſs; and A. D. 1322 he made a Truce for Thirteen Years. The Loſſes ſuſtained in theſe Actions, added to the continual Incurſions of the Scots, occaſioned the utmoſt Miſery to both Countries, where the People at Times were reduced to feed upon Dogs, and even viler Food. Many of the Barons in the Northern Parts, under Colour of defending themſelves, became petty Tyrants, and were guilty of great Cruelties. At the Trial of Thomas Earl of Lancaſter the Proceedings in which are preſerved by John Trokelowe, the Treaty between him and Robert

who had lately aſcended the Throne of France raiſed ſome Diſputes, to accommodate which the King ſent over firſt ſeveral Ambaſſadors, then his Brother Edmund Earl of Kent, and to facilitate the Negotiation ſtill protracted, the Queen at her own Deſire was permitted to go likewiſe. In conſequence of an Agreement ſhe made that her Son Prince Edward ſhould do Homage inſtead of the King; he alſo by the King's Permiſſion followed her thither. But Edward being informed of what was contriving againſt him by the Queen and the Exiles, eſpecially Roger Mortimer, who had made his Eſcape out of the Tower, declared them publick Enemies, as our Hiſtorians ſay, though the King denies it in his Letters, and endeavoured by a naval Force to prevent their landing in any Part of his Dominions [h]. Theſe Precautions proved however vain, for the Queen, the Prince, and Roger Mortimer, with a ſmall Body of Flemings, found means to debark in Safety at Harwich, and were received with ſo general a Welcome, that the King clearly perceiving he could not reſiſt, in hopes of finding a Paſſage to Ireland, fled to Wales.

The Queen having reduced Briſtol into which the King had put a Garriſon, and executed there with great Circumſtances of Cruelty Hugh Spencer the Father, whom the King had created Earl of Wincheſter, proceeded immediately after to Hereford, and there hanged Hugh Spencer the Son, ſtiled Earl of Glouceſter in Right of his Wife, with many Marks of Infamy. Others alſo both of the Clergy and Laity ſuffered in the ſame

Robert Bruce found in the Pocket of the Earl of Hereford was produced. The very next Year Sir Andrew Harklay, who for his good Service in taking Lancaſter Priſoner, Edward had made Earl of Carliſle, was convicted and executed for the like Treaſon, into which he had been drawn by his Hatred of the Spencers, and the Hopes of marrying the Siſter of Robert Bruce; which Facts, if attentively conſidered, will ſufficiently ſhew the true Cauſe of this King's repeated Defeats.

[h] This Queen, Iſabella, was the Daughter of Philip the Fair, and Siſter to Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, all of them ſucceſſively Kings of France. This laſt came to the Crown A. D. 1322, and had many Altercations with his Brother-in-law Edward of England, who was very deſirous to avoid coming to a Rupture, which induced him to ſend ſo many Embaſſies, and at length, on a Suggeſtion from the French Court that it would be acceptable, he ſent his Queen, with whom went the Biſhop of Exeter. This Prelate perceiving her ſecret Deſigns, and the Countenance which ſhe gave to Roger Mortimer, who Two Years before had eſcaped out of the Tower, where with his Uncle he had been impriſoned, and had been Twice pardoned, very honourably returned, and acquainted the King with the whole Intrigue, which induced him to write to the Queen to come Home, who excuſed herſelf from her Fear of Hugh Spencer the younger. In Anſwer to this the King expreſſed his Surprize, as ſhe had ſhewn great Civility to him at parting, and wrote to him in Terms of Friendſhip while in France. Her Brother, to whom her Practices could not be unknown, pretended to diſcountenance her, on which ſhe left his Court and went into Hainault, where ſhe contracted her Son the Prince to the Princeſs Philippa, the Earl of Hainault's Daughter, and engaged his Brother John to come over with her, with a ſmall Body of Flemings, and with theſe ſhe landed about Michaelmas A. D. 1325.

Cauſe. At length a Parliament being called in his Name, the King already taken and impriſoned, was with much Solemnity depoſed, and in no long Time afterwards moſt barbarouſly put to Death [i]. Whatever the Temper of this Prince might be, or however he is repreſented in our Hiſtories, his Laws furniſh no Proofs either of a cruel Diſpoſition or a Spirit of Deſpotiſm, but rather the contrary, for they chiefly define the Liberties of the Church, provide that Sheriffs and other Officers ſhall be Men of Property, explain ſome former Statutes that were obſcure, and give Eaſe in many Caſes to ſuch as held of the Crown by Military Tenures.

EDWARD the Third aſſumed the regal Title by his Father's Conſent, as he aſſured the Nation immediately after that Prince's Depoſition, and was ſoon after crowned at Weſtminſter by Walter Reynolds Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being in the Fifteenth Year of his Age. A Council of Regency was appointed by Parliament, but it does not appear they ever acted, and a very large Proviſion was made for the Queen Mother. The young King, on the Scots breaking the Truce, marched againſt them with a numerous Army; but the Enemy, inured to the Chicane as well as Fatigues of War, were too hard for them, and the King himſelf was in the utmoſt Danger of being ſurprized, though he had the good Fortune to eſcape unhurt. Upon this the Negociation which had been before upon the Carpet was renewed, and terminated in a Peace, the Articles of which were confirmed by a Parliament held at Northampton. The King in his Return ſolemnized his Marriage with the Princeſs Philippa of Hainault at York.

IN a Parliament held at Saliſbury, John of Eltham, the King's Brother, was made Earl of Cornwall, Roger Mortimer Earl of March, and Edmund Butler Earl of Ormond. Edward being ſummoned went over to France, and did Homage to Philip de Valois as King of France for his

[i] The State of this Country, by a Train of deplorable Diſaſters, was ſadly changed in a very ſhort Space; for in leſs than Twenty Years after the Death of Edward the Firſt the major Part of the great Nobility either fell by the Sword or periſhed on Scaffolds. In conſequence of civil Feuds, their Eſtates had been reciprocally waſted and deſtroyed; while in the Midſt of theſe Miſeries, all Ranks of People were oppreſſed with Aids, Taillages, Increaſe of Cuſtoms and Impoſitions of every Kind. Yet from its being fertile in ſurprizing, though moſt of them ſiniſter Events, this Reign hath found many Hiſtorians to record them. The principal of theſe are Sir Thomas de la Moor, who lived in the Courts of the Three Edwards, John de Trokelowe, and Henry de Blaneford, Monks of St. Alban's. An anonymous Writer, ſuppoſed to be a Monk of Malmeſbury, all of them Contemporaries. Yet we want perhaps the beſt Hiſtorian of them all, Stephen Eiton, a Yorkſhire Monk, who, Leland ſays, wrote the Memoirs of Edward with Candour and Fidelity. The Chronicle of Robert Boſton of Peterborough, the Continuation of Trivet's Annals, Adam Murimuth, Walter of Hemingford, Thomas Walſingham, Ralph Higden, and Henry Knyghton, to which we may add the Records that have eſcaped the Wreck of Time, and the State Papers preſerved in the Third and Fourth Volume of Rymer's Collection.

foreign

foreign Dominions, though he held the Right to that Crown to be in himſelf, his Siſter Joan, purſuant to the Treaty, eſpouſed David King of Scots, who was then a Child. Some of the great Lords had already taken Umbrage at the enormous Power of the Earl of March, who by an infamous Intrigue betrayed the King's Uncle Edmund Earl of Kent into a Plot, for which he was condemned in Parliament and executed. This quickly produced, what it was contrived to prevent, the Ruin of the Queen Mother and Mortimer. He was dreaded and deteſted by all who remained of the old Courtiers, envied and hated by the new, who rendering him ſuſpected to the King, he went in Perſon to ſurprize him, which not without Bloodſhed was effected, in the Caſtle of Nottingham, ſent him from thence Priſoner to London, where being condemned unheard by his Peers, he was hanged upon the common Gallows [k].

In the ſame Parliament Edward declared that he would for the future manage his own Affairs, though he was then only turned of Eighteen, confined the Queen his Mother to the Caſtle of Riſing, and reduced her Revenue to Four thouſand Pounds a Year. The Repulſe he had met with from the Scots ſat ill upon the young King's Mind; the Peace was generally diſagreeable becauſe held diſhonourable to the Nation, and therefore he meditated a Stroke on that Side as ſoon as an Opportunity offered. He did not

[k] The Facts delivered in the Text are of ſuch Moment, that for this and other Reaſons, it is neceſſary, as far as poſſible, to fix the Dates. Some Writers ſay that Edward the Third began his Reign on the Twentieth, others on the Twenty-ſeventh; but it is certain that our Records place it January the 25th, A. D. 1327. His Father was murdered on the 21ſt September in the ſame Year. The Parliament at Northampton was aſſembled in March 1328, the Earl of Kent was beheaded March 19th 1330, the Parliament aſſembled at London, 4 Edw. III. on Monday after the Feaſt of St. Catherine, that is 25th November 1330, when Roger Earl of March was arraigned, *ex parte Domini Regis*, and upon the Notoriety of the Facts of which he was accuſed, condemned to be drawn and hanged at Tyburn the Thurſday following, that is, November the 29th, though Barnes ſays the 26th. At the ſame Time the Lords gave Judgment upon Sir John Mautrevers, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded for ſeducing Edmund Earl of Kent the King's Uncle, and thereby bringing him to Death, promiſing a Reward of a Thouſand Marks for taking him alive, and Five Hundred for bringing his Head; they gave the like Judgment upon Sir Thomas Gurnay and William Ogle, for being concerned in the Murder of the late King. Gurnay was ſeized in Spain, and being ſent from thence to Bayonne, was there embarked on board a Ship for England, but beheaded in his Paſſage to prevent further Diſcoveries. Mautrevers was ſome Years afterwards pardoned. The Peers, upon Recollection, were by no Means ſatisfied with their own Judgment upon the Earl of March, and therefore in the very next Parliament beſought the King in Favour of his Son Edward Mortimer, that he might be reſtored to his entailed Eſtates, which was granted 5 Ed. III. n. 13; afterwards Roger Mortimer applied in Parliament to reverſe the Judgment, which was accordingly done, and he reſtored to his Honours and Hereditaments, 28 Edw. III. n. 8. There were many Motives both private and public to this Proceeding. The Family of Mortimer was allied to moſt of the great Houſes in the Kingdom, and on the other Hand the Judgment againſt him was of ſuch a Nature, and ſo directly contrary to Law, that it is no Wonder the Commons joined in procuring it to be reverſed.

wait for this long; Edward the Son of John Baliol came over from France, revived his Father's Claim, and by the Connivance of the King raiſed and tranſported an Army into Scotland. He proved ſucceſsful in this Enterprize, and on his doing Homage the King marched to his Aſſiſtance, and gave the Scots one of the moſt fatal Defeats at Hallidown that they ever ſuſtained. David Bruce and his Queen were conveyed to France, and there royally entertained. Baliol was crowned at Scoon. Edward made ſeveral Expeditions for his Support, took Berwick, reduced the Southern Provinces, and penetrated farther North than his Grandfather had ever done. David Bruce returning, remounted nevertheleſs his Throne, and in order to make a Diverſion in favour of the French invaded England in the Abſence of Edward, when, notwithſtanding his Superiority of Numbers and the ſignal Proofs he gave of perſonal Courage, he was not only defeated but taken Priſoner, and remained a long Time in that Condition. His Captivity however did not put an End to the War, his Subjects continued ſtill in Arms, and fought obſtinately, though often without Succeſs. Edward Baliol, tired with the empty Title of King, reſigned, as his Father had done, all his Rights to Edward, and lived and died in Yorkſhire a private Man, with a very moderate Penſion for his Subſiſtence. The Engliſh Monarch at length releaſed his Brother David on Condition that he paid him in Ten Years, a Ranſom of Ninety, which the Agreement not immediately taking Place, was increaſed to One hundred Thouſand Marks, and when more than Half that Sum remained due offered to the Scots a Treaty of Union, ſo advantageous, that it appears ſtrange they did not accept it [1]. On the Demiſe of David Bruce ſucceeded Robert the Firſt of the Houſe of Stuart, and though no open War followed thereon between the Two Nations, yet the predatory Excurſions on the Frontiers continued.

[1] The Act by which Edward the Third renounced his Claim of Sovereignty over the Kingdom of Scotland, bears Date March 1ſt 1328. Edward Baliol was invited over from France by the Engliſh Noblemen who had Eſtates granted them by Edward the Firſt, and John Baliol in Scotland. Edward's Paſſport for his coming over bears Date October 10th 1330. The great Victory of Hallidown Hill was obtained July 19th 1333. David Bruce then retired into France, where he continued Nine Years. He was made Priſoner at the Battle of Durham the 17th of October 1346. Edward Baliol reſigned all his Rights by an Inſtrument, dated the 12th of March 1356, and had a Penſion granted him of Two thouſand Pounds a Year; and ſuch was the State of King Edward's Finances, that he was forced to poſtpone the Second quarterly Payment. David Bruce was ſet at Liberty in 1357, and died in 1371. This ruinous War continued with a few Interruptions for Seventy Years, and was attended with the moſt diſmal Conſequences to both Nations. Edward the Third purſued his Grandfather's Maxims, and left no Method untried of annexing Scotland to his Dominions either by Conqueſt or by Treaty. The Scots ſeem to have dreaded the becoming a Province to England, and this Apprehenſion hindered them from perceiving, that in endeavouring to avoid it they became in Effect Subjects to France.

The War which this great King entered into with France was more ſucceſsful, and by far more fertile in great Events than that of Scotland. Philip de Valois not content with prevailing againſt Edward in their Diſputes for the Crown, and obliging him to do Homage for his hereditary Territories, gave him many other Marks of Ill-will, which induced Edward to form a Confederacy with the Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, many of the Princes on the Lower Rhine and the great Cities of Flanders, which were then a Kind of Republicks. To content the former he accepted the Title of Vicar of the Empire, and to pleaſe the latter he aſſumed the Title of King of France. In order to join his Allies the King ſailed with a potent Fleet, and gained in Perſon the deciſive Victory at Sluys over the French and their Allies, or in other Words over almoſt the whole naval Force of Europe. His Confederates furniſhed him with two numerous Armies, One of a Hundred, and the other of Fifty thouſand Men, and both in his Pay, with which however he was able to perform little, ſo that the French diſcouraged by their great Loſs at Sea, and the King finding his Finances exhauſted by the enormous Charge of his Alliance, concluded a Truce [m].

The War broke out afreſh a few Years after on account of the diſputed Title to the Dutchy of Bretagne. Edward carried over a puiſſant Army into France, with which he ſpread Terror and Deſolation through the moſt fertile Parts of the Kingdom. Philip, though he had a far ſuperior Army, wiſely declined a Battle; but on Edward's Retreat, confiding in his Numbers, he altered his Conduct, and though he found the Engliſh Monarch well poſted and ready to receive him, attacked his Forces at Creci in Normandy with all that Impetuoſity which is natural to his Nation, and with great Loſs was abſolutely defeated. Edward after this Victory formed

[m] The Title which Edward formed to the Crown of France was in Right of his Mother. He admitted nevertheleſs the Salic Law, which excluded Females; but according to his Conſtruction did not exclude a Male deſcending from them. He knew by Experience that a War againſt France muſt be carried on with great Diſadvantage from the Side of Guienne, and this induced him to enter into a Confederacy with the Emperor and other Princes. A. D. 1338 he had an Interview with that Prince at Cologne, the moſt ſplendid that had been ever ſeen, and was there created Vicar of the Empire with much Solemnity. The next Year he made a Campaign with ſmall Succeſs on the Side of Flanders. He then returned to England, to procure freſh Supplies, and would have embarked on board a very ſmall Squadron, if the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, John Stratford, had not ſent him Intelligence that the French had aſſembled a Fleet of Five hundred Sail to intercept him. Edward with equal Induſtry and Vigour drew together Three hundred Veſſels, embarked his Forces on board them, and attacked the Enemy in the Harbour of Sluys the 24th of June 1340. Robert de Aveſbury, p. 54—56. After this Victory he undertook the Siege of Tournay, in which finding himſelf baffled he concluded a Truce, and at his Return endeavoured to throw the Blame on the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as if through his Fault, in not affording him the Money he wanted, his Schemes had failed, whereas the Truth ſeems to be, that the Demands made upon him by ſo many hungry Princes were beyond the Abilities of his Subjects to defray.

the Siege of Calais, and though Philip again collected a ſuperior Army, and the Place made a vigorous Defence for more than Eleven Months, it was taken, and remained long Part of the Dominions of the Engliſh Crown. This Succeſs did not hinder Edward from making ſoon after, at the Requeſt of the Pope, a Truce with Philip, whom he ſtiled his Adverſary of France, that he might have Time to recruit his Treaſury [n].

This Truce, from the miſerable State both Nations were in, was continued for ſome Years. At length the War broke out with redoubled Violence, John having ſucceeded in the Throne of France to Philip his Father. Againſt him out of Guienne marched Edward Prince of Wales, better known by his Sirname of the Black Prince, with a Corps of Veteran Troops, ravaging the Provinces of Auvergne, Limouſin, and Poitou. King John, who ſaw this with infinite Concern, collected the whole Force of France, and by quick Marches overtook the Prince in a very diſadvantageous Situation. Edward ſenſible of his Condition offered to abandon all his Conqueſts, and to conclude a Truce for Seven Years; but John inſiſted upon his rendering himſelf and One hundred of the principal Perſons in his Army Priſoners, which Propoſition the Prince rejected with Diſdain, and having gained a little Time by the Negotiation, made the beſt Diſpoſition he could to receive the Enemy. John relying on the Inequality of Numbers, having, as the French Writers own, Eighty to Eight thouſand Men, reſolved to decide the Diſpute by the Sword, the Prince on the other Hand confiding in the Courage and Diſcipline of his Army, received

[n] The Competitors for the Dutchy of Bretagne were John de Montfort and Charles de Blois. The former was the Heir Male, and yet was ſupported by Edward. The latter claimed in Right of his Wife the Heir Female; but being his Nephew was protected by Philip de Valois, who procured a Decree of the Peers of France in his Favour. Edward by this Means gained, as he conceived, an eaſier Entrance into the Heart of France, and therefore ſent over Sir Walter Manny, and afterwards followed in Perſon, but was not able to make any great Impreſſion, and therefore returned to England. Philip to be revenged ſent his Son John Duke of Normandy with a great Army into Guienne. Edward, to ſave that beloved Country, aſſembled a Fleet of One thouſand Sail, embarked a great Army, and putting to Sea was Twice driven back, and at length debarked at la Hogue in Normandy, and from thence carried on the War, as is ſhewn in the Text. The Battle of Creſſy was fought 26 Auguſt 1346. It may not be amiſs to remark, that this and the ſubſequent Battle of Poitiers pretty clearly ſhew how little the Feudal Syſtem was ſerviceable even in War. Edward's Army conſiſted chiefly of Troops in his Pay, long diſciplined and inured to Service. Philip had with him the Flower of the French Nobility, and their feudal Tenants, Men much ſuperior in Number, and not deficient in Courage, but leſs under Command, and after the Firſt Charge eaſily defeated. Calais ſurrendered Auguſt 3, 1347 Edward had before it a Fleet of Seven hundred Sail of his own Ships. His Army was cantoned in good Barracks, and beſides large Magazines of Military Stores and Proviſions, there were Two great Markets or Fairs for the Sale of Wool, Cloth, and other Engliſh Goods and Manufactures, and yet the Expence was ſo heavy as to diſpoſe the King to conclude a Truce. David King of Scots was taken during this Siege.

the French with ſuch Order and Intrepidity as threw the Firſt Line into great Confuſion, and then charging them before they could recover, after a warm and bloody Struggle gained a deciſive Victory, in which King John, who had behaved with the utmoſt Bravery, was taken Priſoner, with ſeveral Princes of the Blood, and ſome of the Firſt Nobility of France [o].

He was treated with all imaginable Reſpect and Courteſy by the Black Prince, who conducted him to Bourdeaux, and from thence brought him over hither. He was uſed with the like Regard and Kindneſs by the King, who neglected nothing that could add Luſtre to an Event the moſt glorious of his Reign. The Two Kings having entered into a Negotiation, agreed upon a Treaty which the States of France refuſed to accept. This obliged Edward on the Expiration of the Truce concluded by his Son to renew the War, and to tranſport a freſh Army into France. The Progreſs he made in this Expedition was ſuch, by his advancing to the Gates of Paris, in which the Regent ſhut himſelf up, and the Conſequences of the War continuing became ſo apparent, that both Sides were equally diſpoſed to Peace, which was at length concluded at Bretigni, on Terms ſo highly honourable to Edward, that in Conſideration of the Ceſſions made thereby, he laid aſide the Title of King of France [p].

As

[o] King Edward ſeems never to have had any ſanguine Notions of his own Title to the Crown of France, and therefore from the Beginning of the Diſpute had repeatedly intimated to ſucceſſive Popes, his Inclination to accept of an Equivalent, and upon this Baſis it was that upon the Making of a Truce, a Negotiation for a Peace was commonly ſet on Foot under the Papal Mediation. The French Kings Philip and John ſeem to have been leſs ſerious in this Matter, and having the Popes in their Intereſt, amuſed Edward from time to time with illuſory Propoſitions, ſometimes offering to reſtore all they had taken from him in the Neighbourhood of Guienne, holding out at others the Ceſſion of an ample Territory about Calais. At length Edward looked upon the Peace to be as good as concluded, when King John declared his Son Charles Duke of Aquitain, and ſent him to take Poſſeſſion of it. Edward upon this loſt all Patience, gave the ſame Title to the Black Prince, and ſent him thither with ſome Forces to maintain it. He was very acceptable to that People, as having been born at Bourdeaux, and very eaſily levied an Army of Twelve thouſand able and experienced Men, not One-fourth of which were Engliſh, and with theſe he made the Expedition mentioned in the Text. King John came up to him on Sunday the 18th of September 1356 at Maupertuis near Poitiers, in the Midſt of Vineyards. If the French Monarch had engaged him that Day inſtead of deferring it to the next, or if he had contented himſelf with ſurrounding him, he had probably carried his Point. But the warm Temper of the King, and the Vivacity of the Princes and Nobility who were with him, led him to attack the next Morning, and produced that deciſive Defeat.

[p] King Edward in his Return from his Excurſions towards Paris met with a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightening, by which ſome Thouſands of Horſes, not a few of his Soldiers, and ſome Perſons of Note in his Army were ſlain, on which the King made a Vow to grant the French Peace. This Vow however hath been ſuppoſed to be no more than a political Colour; but it is very likely to have been a real Motive from the Nature and Moderation of the Terms. It was concluded near Chartres on the 8th of May A. D. 1360. The original Treaty conſiſted of Forty Articles, ſome of which were reviſed and altered before they were ſworn to

by

As his Victories very juſtly gained him the Reputation of a great and fortunate General, ſo the whole Tenor of his Conduct ſhewed him to be a very able and refined Politician. None of our Monarchs diſplayed more Skill in the Management of Parliaments, or practiſed it with more Succeſs. He conſulted them freely on the Meaſures of his Government, and availed himſelf to the full as much of their Advice as he did of their Grants. Yet notwithſtanding this ſeeming Compliance and Condeſcenſion he carried his Authority at leaſt as high as any of his Predeceſſors [q]. He was very careful in cultivating a good Correſpondence and eſtabliſhing a great Character with moſt of the Princes of Europe, proceeding with equal Penetration and Sagacity in moſt of his Negotiations, which notwithſtanding did not always anſwer his Expectations [r]. The Popes of his Time,

by the Two Kings. Edward by this Peace obtained the Addition of ſome conſiderable Countries to Guienne. A Diſtrict about Calais, together with the County of Ponthieu in Picardy. John was to pay a Ranſom of Three Millions of Gold Crowns, which amounted to about Half a Million Sterling Money of thoſe Days, and a great Number of Hoſtages were given for the due Performance of theſe Conditions. At firſt Sight it ſhould ſeem that the Engliſh Monarch was a great Gainer by Acquiſitions, which taken together were not much inferior in Extent to the Kingdom of Ireland; yet more cloſely conſidered, theſe Terms will appear what we have ſtiled them, very moderate, for in Return he not only renounced his Title to the Crown of France, but his Claims to Normandy, Anjou, and other Countries, and except Calais and its Diſtrict, he gained nothing, the Sovereignty excepted, but what he had a juſt Title to before. In reſpect to the Engliſh Nation they were certainly no Gainers, for the King ſoon after erected Guienne and its Dependencies into the Principality of Aquitain, which he gave to his Son the Prince of Wales, who kept his Court at Bourdeaux, and the Maintenance of this Principality coſt the Kingdom Twenty Thouſand Pounds a-Year. Calais alſo was a great and conſtant Charge. Little more than One Third of the Ranſom was in his Time paid, and moſt of the Hoſtages made their Eſcape.

[q] When he firſt took upon him the Government he complained of Corruption in Elections by the Adminiſtration immediately preceding. He aſked the Advice of the Commons as to his Conduct in reſpect to Scotland. He did the ſame with regard to his War with France, adding in full Parliament a Proteſtation, which was to have the Effect of a Statute, that he and his Succeſſors, Kings of France, ſhould have no Claim as ſuch to the Obedience of the People of England, and promiſed to make no Peace without their Conſent. In conſequence of their adviſing his Meaſures he took all Sorts of Proviſions, as his Occaſions required, at all Times for the Support of his Fleets and Armies. He took up Ships for his Service in ſuch a Manner as he thought beſt. He obliged the rich Merchants of London to ſend out armed Ships at their own Expence. He borrowed of the wealthieſt People in his Realm, according to their Abilities, from a thouſand down to Forty Pounds apiece. He ſeized the Goods of the Ciſtertians, and of ſome other Orders. He became the ſole Merchant of all the Tin in Cornwall and Devonſhire. He levied by his own Authority an additional Tax of Forty Shillings on a Sack of Wool, which amounted to Sixty thouſand Pounds per Annum for many Years. Other Inſtances might be given; but it is ſufficient to add, that he declared a Statute granting him conditional Aids to be void, becauſe he conſented to it from the Neceſſity of his Affairs, and not of his own free Will.

[r] The Negotiations of his Reign were as numerous, directed to as various Ends, and managed with as much Addreſs as in that of any One of our Monarchs ancient or modern. With the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria Edward contracted a ſtrict Alliance, in conſequence of which he ſolicited him to raiſe Imbert Dauphin of Vienne to the Rank of King, in order to detach him from the French Intereſt. He entered into Treaties of Subſidy with moſt of the Eccleſiaſtical

Time, though generally in the French Intereſt, he rendered in many Inſtances ſubſervient to his Views, expreſſing the higheſt Reſpect and Veneration towards their Stations and their Perſons, which did not hinder his diminiſhing gradually their Power and Influence in his Dominions, which Conduct of his was highly beneficial, as well as acceptable to his Subjects [s].

The Nobility he kept firm to his Intereſt by treating them with ſingular Courteſy, conferring on them high Employments, introducing new Titles, inſtituting the Order of the Garter, and beſtowing on them continual Marks of Favour and Confidence. The Commons he conſtantly careſſed, encouraged their Complaints by Petition in Parliament, by which he knew at all Times the true State and Temper of the Nation, and by allowing them to make thoſe open and legal Declarations of Grievances prevented Murmurs and Tumults, of which, notwithſtanding the Number and Weight of their Taxes, there were few or none in the Courſe

and ſecular Princes of the Empire, which gave him ſuch a thorough Knowledge of them, that when the Imperial Crown was offered him he refuſed it. To rivet, if poſſible, the moſt uſeful of theſe Foreigners firmly to his Side, he gave ſome of them Eſtates and Peerages in England. The Marquis of Juliers he made Earl of Cambridge. John Duke of Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, Ingelram de Coucy, Earl of Bedford, to whom alſo he gave in Marriage One of his Daughters. He made Treaties of Commerce with the Maritime Cities of Spain and of Portugal, with the Doge of Genoa, with ſeveral of the Princes of Italy, with the King of Caſtile and Leon, and with the King of Portugal. But what in this Reſpect does his Memory the greateſt Honour was the friendly Viſit made him A. D. 1363 by John King of France, David Bruce King of Scots, who had been both his Priſoners, and the King of Cyprus drawn hither by his high Reputation for Magnanimity and Magnificence.

[s] The Papal Tyranny at this Juncture was very ſeverely felt, and generally reſented in this Kingdom. Many Biſhopricks, and moſt of the rich Benefices were given by the Popes frequently to Italians, and theſe baſe and illiterate Perſons. Expenſive Suits were continually depending at Avignion or at Rome, and immenſe Sums drawn annually under a Variety of Pretences into the Purſe of the Pope and his Creatures. Theſe Enormities bore alike hard on all. The King felt himſelf injured in his Prerogative, the ſuperior and inferior Clergy were oppreſſed, the Lords and other Perſons of Diſtinction loſt their Patronages, and the Commons were pillaged and impoveriſhed. This raiſed an univerſal Diſcontent, from whence proceeded a Spirit of Enquiry. The famous John Wickliffe, amongſt others, had met with ill Uſage, and began to point out many of thoſe Errors which were evident enough to a diſcerning Eye. In a Word, there was ſuch a Diſpoſition to Reformation, that if Edward had been diſpoſed to it he might eaſily have freed the Nation from Papal Slavery. He concurred with the Temper of his People ſo far as to write very grave and ſharp Letters to the Roman Pontiffs, and when theſe Repreſentations proved ineffectual, he by the Advice and with the Conſent of Parliament made ſome ſevere Laws for the Redreſs of many of theſe Grievances. But he concurred only to a certain Degree, and this not ſimply becauſe of the Uſe he made of the Pope's Interpoſition in his Negotiations with foreign Princes, but alſo in procuring Biſhopricks and other Benefices to be conferred by him at his Recommendation, and therefore though he made Laws to reſtrain the papal Power, which intimidated the Court of Rome, he connived at their Breaches of them for his own Convenience, which in ſome Caſes kept his Clergy in Awe, and in others enabled him to gratify the Requeſts of his Nobility in the conferring eccleſiaſtical Preferments.

of his long Reign. He was more attentive and gave greater Encouragement to Induſtry than moſt of his Predeceſſors; which in ſome Meaſure aroſe from his conſtant Intercourſe with the Flemings, very many of whom he invited to ſettle here, and to improve our Woollen, and alſo our Linnen Manufactures. He likewiſe regulated the Herring Fiſhery. He granted great Privileges to ſeveral Cities and Boroughs, but eſpecially thoſe of London and Briſtol, incorporated new Companies, and afforded his Countenance to ſuch Undertakings as had an Appearance of publick Utility [t].

He made Treaties of Commerce with moſt of the great Powers in Chriſtendom, and when the Spaniards, preſuming on their naval Power, inſulted our Traders, he went in Perſon with the Prince of Wales on board a Fleet to avenge the Injuries done to his Subjects. He favoured and protected foreign Merchants who ſettled, or who traded here, and granted an extenſive Charter to thoſe afterwards ſtiled Merchant Adventurers. His Title to the Dominion of the Sea he openly avowed, and vigorouſly maintained [u]. He regulated his Silver Coinage according to the Standard of other

[t] In this Fourteenth Century, Induſtry, Arts, and Commerce were in a very flouriſhing State in different Parts of Europe. The whole Trade of the North was driven by the Hanſe Towns, that of the Levant by the Maritime States of Italy, and in the Inland Provinces of that fair Country the richeſt Manufactures were carried on with equal Vigour and Succeſs. The Flemings lying in the Middle had a great Intercourſe with both, and drew much Wealth to themſelves beſides by their Woollen and Linnen Goods. We may form ſome Idea of the comparative Riches of theſe States, by conſidering that the Fortune of Iſabella the Daughter of a King of France, and the Siſter of Three, was but Eighteen hundred Pounds; and the Payment of One Million of King John's Ranſom ſo exhauſted that Kingdom that they were forced to make Uſe of Leather Money; while John Viſconti Duke of Milan, gave with his Daughter to Lionel Duke of Clarence, King Edward's Son, to the Amount of Two hundred Thouſand Florins in Gold, which was between Sixty and Seventy thouſand Pounds of the Money of thoſe Times, and about Two hundred Thouſand of ours. Edward had an intimate Correſpondence with all theſe, and very probably borrowed ſome uſeful Inventions from the Subjects of every One of them, as we may gather from the Companies which he incorporated, viz. the Goldſmiths, Skinners, Carpenters, and Pepperers, afterwards ſtiled Grocers. He alſo brought over ſome Clockmakers, and ſettled them here. In the Firſt Year of his Reign he granted a moſt ample Charter to the City of London, and afterwards annexed Southwark to their Juriſdiction, which gave him ſuch an Intereſt in the Citizens, as to borrow large Sums of them on his Revenues. The City of Briſtol he made a County of itſelf, and granted Privileges to other Towns.

[u] In the Tenth Year of his Reign, King Edward by a ſolemn Inſtrument aſſerted the Sovereignty of the Sea, as an indubitable Right tranſmitted to him by the Kings his Predeceſſors. Rot. Scotiæ 10 E. III. 11. 16. The ſame was vouched by Parliament towards the Cloſe of it. Rot. Parl. 46 E. III. 11. 20. It was farther demonſtrated by the Conceſſions of foreign Powers, as appears by Licences for Fiſhing, for paſſing through the Engliſh Seas, and other Circumſtances recorded by Selden and by Rymer. As a clear Manifeſtation of this, the King ſtruck that beautiful Coin ſtiled his Rose Noble. On this the King is repreſented ſtanding in a Ship crowned, holding a Sword upright in his Right Hand, and a Shield on his Left with the Arms of France and England

other Nations to prevent Money from being exported; and Gold Coin was firſt minted here in his Reign. He was a Patron of Engliſh Literature in the Perſon of Geoffrey Chaucer, and removed by Law that Badge of foreign Slavery, our pleading in French.

In his Reign alſo many wiſe and good Laws were enacted, ſo that he has been juſtly regarded as one of our greateſt Legiſlators, confirming in almoſt every Parliament the Great Charter, and that of the Foreſts, and conſenting to ſome additional Statutes for rendering both more effectual in many Reſpects. But of the numerous Laws paſſed in his Time, the Neceſſity, Fitneſs, and Operation of many, from the Diſtance of Time, the Alteration of Manners, and Change of Circumſtances, we cannot ſo properly judge. Yet that they were both uſeful and ſalutary, we may ſafely conclude from their being mãde at the Inſtance of the Commons, who alſo exerted their Influence in procuring ſuch Statutes, as upon Trial were found inexpedient to be repealed. As a Proof of theſe Aſſertions there are Three of his Laws of ſuch Conſequence as require particular Notice. The Statute of Treaſons, which is ſo much for the Benefit of the Subject, and continues Law at this Day. That of Proviſors, which curtailed the exorbitant and oppreſſive Power of the Pope in collating Strangers to Benefices, by which moſt of the Churches were filled with Foreigners, which Law had ſuch an Effect in opening the Eyes of the People, that it may be, and indeed hath been conſidered as the Firſt Step to the Reformation. Add to theſe the conſtituting Juſtices of Peace in every County, which was of great Conſequence in carrying the Laws into Execution, took away the Neceſſity of Special Commiſſions, which were frequently abuſed, and contributed not a little by the Maintenance of good Order to the public Tranquillity. We come now to the Concluſion of this Reign. Prince Edward reſiding at Bourdeaux, received into his Protection Peter, King of Caſtile and Leon, whom his baſtard Brother Henry, by the Aſſiſtance of the French, had deprived of his Dominions, to which the Prince by his ſuperior Military Talents and the happy Succeſs of his Arms ſpeedily reſtored him. But Peter thus reſtored, moſt baſely broke his Faith with him in reſpect to the Expences of the War, which, as was highly reaſonable, he had engaged to defray. This obliged the Prince to impoſe a Chimney Tax upon his Subjects in the Dutchy of Aquitain to diſcharge the Pay of his Soldiers;

England quarterly, the Arms of France Semi de lis, Three Lions paſſant, and Three Fleurs-de-lis upon the Side of the Ship. Reverſe in a large Roſe, a Croſs Fleuri, with a Fleur-de-lis at each Point, and a Lion paſſant under a Crown in each Quarter, the Letter E in a Roſe in the Center. Theſe were coined at different Times of different Weights, but of the ſame Standard, the loweſt weighed One hundred and Twenty Grains, about the Value of our Guinea, though current then only for Six Shillings and Eight Pence. The Proportion of Gold to Silver at this Time being as Sixty-ſeven to Six.

which Impoſition raiſed great Diſcontents, and theſe were artfully fomented by the Intrigues of the French. At length the French King Charles the Fifth (notwithſtanding all the Places ceded by the Peace of Bretigny were yielded in Sovereignty) ſummoned the Prince to Paris to anſwer for his Conduct, and under Pretence of Contumacy declared War [w].

The County of Ponthieu on One Side, immediately revolted, and a general Defection enſued in Guienne on the other. Upon this Edward by the Advice of his Parliament reſumed the Title of King of France, and endeavoured by tranſporting Armies thither to maintain his Rights, going over, old as he was, in Perſon. But all his Attempts failed, the Black Prince returned in an ill State of Health from Aquitain, and died not long after of a Diſtemper that through the extreme Heat he had contracted in Spain. The French rather by Policy than Proweſs were ſo ſucceſsful as to recover almoſt all they had loſt, except Bourdeaux and Calais. The King, after loſing much Blood and Treaſure, found himſelf obliged to conſent to a Truce [x].

[w] Charles, who from the Succeſs of his political Arts the French ſurname the Wiſe, meditated the Breach of the Treaty of Bretigny from the Time of his Acceſſion, if not before. Under Pretence of raiſing Money for the Ranſom therein ſtipulated, he obtained great Subſidies from the States of his Kingdom. Part of this Money he employed in hiring *the Companies* as they were ſtiled, which were the mercenary Soldiers employed in this long War, and which now ſet up for themſelves under ſeveral Commanders, ſome of whom were Engliſhmen. Theſe he ſent to join the Forces of Henry the Brother of the King of Caſtile, and thoſe of the King of Arragon his Protector. It was by theſe Forces that Peter was driven out of his Kingdom, whoſe Quarrel the Black Prince had many Reaſons for eſpouſing. In the Firſt Place he had been contracted to his Siſter, who died at Bayonne in her Paſſage into Spain. In the next, the Cauſe of his Antagoniſt Henry was eſpouſed by the French. Laſtly, if that Prince, thus ſupported, had remained the quiet Poſſeſſor of Caſtile and Leon, the Principality of Aquitain muſt have been at the Mercy of the Confederates. On the March of the Prince into Navarre many of the Companies revolted to him as to their old General, and it was by their Aſſiſtance he gained the Battle of Najara; theſe were Men not to be trifled with, and upon Peter's refuſing to pay them, the Prince was obliged to ſell his Plate for their Subſiſtence. The Chimney Tax was impoſed by the Conſent of the States of Guienne for Five Years only. The Troops being diſmiſſed by the Prince fell into the French Dominions, which Charles affected to call an Invaſion by the Engliſh, and upon the Appeal of the diſaffected Nobles declared Guienne forfeited in A. D. 1369.

[x] In a former Note it hath been ſuggeſted, that Edward's Moderation induced him to accept of thoſe Countries to which he had a juſt Title independent of the Succeſs of his Arms. In doing this he ſeems to have made a great political Miſtake, for the Principality of Aquitain lay at ſuch a Diſtance from England, as rendered the ſending Succours thither not only very expenſive, but their Arrival alſo very incertain, of which Edward had ſome Experience before, and theſe Countries were abſolutely loſt by it now. For the Engliſh Fleet under the Command of the Earl of Pembroke was beat by the ſuperior naval Force of the new King of Caſtile, and Rochelle, which it was ſent to relieve, was thereupon betrayed to the French. Another potent Fleet commanded by the King in Perſon was driven from the Coaſts by tempeſtuous Weather. The Prince at the Beginning of the War, feeling himſelf unable to undergo its Fatigues, reſigned Aquitain to his Father, returned Home, and died here 8th June 1376, and was interred at Canterbury.

THIS Reverſe of his Affairs made an Impreſſion on the Minds of his Subjects, who no longer endured with their former Patience the heavy Burthens that were laid upon them, but expoſtulated roundly in regard to the King's Meaſures, and accuſed in Parliament ſome of the great Perſons in his Council and about his Perſon. Thus the Decline as well as the Dawn of this glorious Reign was overcaſt by dark Clouds of foreign Calamities and domeſtic Diſcontents, which plainly preſaged that Storm which fell upon the Head of his unhappy Succeſſor. All this might probably have been prevented, if this great Prince had applied his pregnant Abilities to the promoting the true Intereſts of his Kingdom, inſtead of following, in too many Inſtances, the Dictates of his Ambition, and preferring his own Glory to the Welfare and Good of his People *y*.

THE Reigns of theſe Three Edwards have been the more fully conſidered, becauſe they very clearly repreſent the gradual Arrangement of our political Syſtem; ſo that by a due Attention to the Accounts given of them, we may with Certainty diſcover from what Cauſes, in what Manner, and by what Degrees it aſſumed the Form, at leaſt, of a limited Monarchy. At the Beginning of this Period we have ſeen the Power of the Barons ariſing from their extenſive Property, and the Conſequences neceſſarily attending it, the great Bulwark againſt Deſpotiſm in the Crown, and the Commons ſheltering themſelves under it. In the next Reign the claſhing either of their Intereſts or their Humours brought on general

y It hath been ſhewn from various Inſtances that Edward had great Abilities, and on many Occaſions diſcovered much Zeal for the Intereſts of his Subjects. But his Ambition miſled him in many more. In this he exceeded all his Predeceſſors, having formed in his own Mind Projects for reducing Scotland, France, and Flanders, in all of which he made no inconſiderable Progreſs, and yet ſucceeded in none. His War with Scotland totally ruined that Kingdom, and had almoſt the ſame Effect with reſpect to the Northern Parts of England. In his War with France he ſpent much more Money than King John's Ranſom. His Intrigues in Flanders produced the Murder of James Arteville his moſt active and almoſt only faithful Ally. His foreign Expeditions exhauſted the Treaſure of the Nation, diminiſhed the Number of his Subjects, and in a great Meaſure deſtroyed the Shipping and Commerce of the great Ports. He thought to repair this, by encouraging the Reſort of foreign Merchants hither, which had indeed a good Effect in reſpect to his Cuſtoms, but in other Reſpects, inſtead of alleviating increaſed the Evil. His removing the Staple to Calais was another wrong Step. His conſenting to a ſumptuary Law for reſtraining the Bulk of the Nation to wear coarſe Cloths directly counteracted what he had done in Favour of the Woollen Manufacture. His temporary Prohibitions of exporting Wool were mere Contrivances to enhance the Price of what was exported on his own Account. The State of the Nation firſt opened the Eyes, and at length the Lips of the Houſe of Commons. He himſelf at Times felt great Diſtreſſes. He pawned his own and his Conſort's Crown Abroad. He afterwards pawned the Queen and her Children, while he came Home to raiſe Money for his hungry Allies. He after this pawned his Crown twice to Sir John Weſenham, with whom it remained Eight Years before he could redeem it. Yet with all his Faults and Failings he was One of the greateſt Princes that ever ſat on this or any other Throne.

Confuſion,

Confuſion, to redreſs which it became neceſſary to have Recourſe to the Commons [z].

The laſt Edward, following the Example of his Grandfather through the Courſe of his long Reign, gave both Strength and Conſiſtency to the Legiſlature. It was from hence, and from the perſonal Abilities of the firſt and laſt of theſe Kings, that we ſtand indebted for the Reformation and Regulation of our municipal Laws, the Introduction of ſettled Magiſtrates for maintaining the public Peace, the Encouragement given to and Regulations made in Manufactures, the Protection afforded to Commerce, and whatever elſe could contribute to excite a Diſpoſition to call out by Induſtry the internal and natural Riches of this Country for the Benefit of its Inhabitants; which for thoſe Times had greater Effects, all Circumſtances conſidered, than can well be imagined. If it had not been for the Reſources which theſe Methods, however imperfect they may ſeem in our Eyes, moſt unqueſtionably produced, it would have been impoſſible for the Nation to have ſupported the exorbitant Expences of foreign Wars, and to theſe Methods, ſuch as they were, we alſo owe all the ſubſequent Improvements which would much ſooner have taken Place, if freſh Commotions at Home, and the old inveterate Evil, a Propenſity to foreign Wars, had not retarded them [a].

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[z] It may not be amiſs to enter a little more particularly into the Poſſeſſions, Wealth, and Influence of theſe potent Barons. Many of them had a hundred or more ſpacious Manors, moſt of which they held in their own Hands, and managed by their Bailiffs. Hugh Spencer the Elder, when recalled from his Exile, complained that his Enemies had pillaged Seventy-ſix of his Manors, that they had driven away Twenty-eight thouſand Sheep, Twenty-two thouſand Head of Black Cattle, Six hundred Horſes, and deſtroyed Two Crops of Corn, One in the Barn and the other on the Ground. He eſtimated his Damages at Thirty thouſand Pounds. His Son Hugh the younger rated his Loſſes at Two Thirds of that Sum. At this Time theſe great Lords granted Subſidies by themſelves, as the Knights of Counties likewiſe did, and the Citizens and Burgeſſes by themſelves. In the Time of Edward the Second the Number of theſe Lords ſummoned to Parliament amounted to about Fourſcore. Thomas Earl of Lancaſter, the greateſt Peer in that Reign, had in his own and his Wife's Right Six Earldoms. Sir Adam Baniſter having ſome Difference with him, the Quarrel was ended by the Sword, whereby Baniſter and his Aſſociates periſhed. His Heirs after the Earl's Deceaſe applied to Parliament for ſome Compenſation, alledging that while he lived his Power was ſo great, that no Redreſs could be had. Sir Robert Holland, who was his Domeſtick, is branded as a Traitor for having joined the King's Army with Five hundred Men whom he had raiſed for his Lord's Service. Many of theſe Barons in all the Three Reigns were very great Oppreſſors, and interpoſed their Authority ſometimes to protect, and at others to procure Pardons for the Inſtruments of their Injuſtice, of which frequent Complaints were made by the Commons in Parliament

[a] The great Alterations made in this Country by the Norman Conqueſt occaſioned, as we have already ſhewn, a great Change in the Management of Eſtates, and of courſe this was quickly followed by very viſible Effects. The moſt conſiderable of theſe was a ſudden and general Turn to grazing, which muſt have begun very early, ſince the Ciſtertian Order of Monks, eſtabliſhed

towards

We ſee likewiſe in theſe Reigns the Acquiſitions made by the Addition of Wales, which, beſides ridding us of very troubleſome and dangerous Enemies, added at the ſame Time to the Strength of our Armies. Ireland alſo was more effectually ſubdued, and from thence likewiſe Ships and Soldiers were procured. The Experience of theſe Benefits, the Deſire of increaſing them, joined to a quick Senſe of the Inconveniencies ariſing from the Vicinity of the Scots, while they remained a ſeparate People, induced all theſe Princes to exert, as Occaſions offered, both Power and Policy to reduce them to their Obedience, in which, though they ſometimes came very near it, yet was it never accompliſhed. The Wars that ſo frequently broke out between them on this Account were diametrically oppoſite to the true Intereſts of both Nations, which in their cooler Moments they diſcerned, and this produced ſhort Intervals of Peace, or rather Ceſſations of Arms [b].

The

towards the Cloſe of the Eleventh Century, became the greateſt Sheep-maſters in England, and all their Wool was ſeized as a Fund for King Richard's Ranſom. We find from that Time this Commodity and its Manufactures (for notwithſtanding all that is ſaid to the contrary, we exported Cloth as early as we did Wool) became the great Staples of this Country. This was collected in the different Parts of the Kingdom, by Dealers who were ſtiled Wool-ſtaplers, and carried by them to the Ports from which it was allowed to be exported, thence ſtiled Staples; and thoſe who exported it Merchants of the Staple. The Flemings then manufactured the fineſt Cloths, and were our principal Cuſtomers for theſe Staple Commodities, the Sale of which gradually increaſed, till in the Twenty-eighth Year of Edward III. the Export of Wool, Woolfells, Cloths, and Worſteds, amounted to upwards of Seven hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money. According to ſome Accounts, in the latter Part of that Reign, the Exports were ſtill larger. We need not wonder therefore, conſidering alſo that Leather was another Staple Commodity, that the great Landholders relied almoſt wholly upon Grazing, as a Proof of which we find the following Account of the Stock belonging to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter A. D. 1366, 1556 Head of Neate or Black Cattle, 3376 Weathers, 4717 Ewes, 3521 Lambs, and 127 Swine.

[b] In the civil Contentions in the Reign of Henry III. the Scots had given him all the Aſſiſtance in their Power, and at the Beginning of the Reign of Edward I. the King of Scots marched a conſiderable Body of Forces to his Aſſiſtance againſt the Welch, for which Edward made him the moſt cordial Acknowledgments; and it is very probable, if that Prince had not died without Iſſue, Edward would have cultivated by every Means a good Underſtanding between the Two Nations. It is moſt evident that the Scots relied upon this in making him the Arbiter of their diſputed Succeſſion. The Opportunity this gave him, awakened his Ambition, and his ſubſequent Conduct excited an uncurable Averſion towards each other between the Two Nations. His Death, in the Opinion of many, prevented the entire Conqueſt of Scotland. Under the Reign of his Son, Robert Bruce intrigued with the malecontent Lords, and thereby defeated all his Endeavours to proſecute his Father's Plan. After the Battle of Bannockburn it ſhould ſeem that the Parliament at Northampton approved the Treaty made with Robert Bruce, and the Marriage of the Princeſs Joan to his Son, with a View to conciliate all Differences, and to reſtore a good Underſtanding between the Two Nations. Edward III. full of Reſentment and Ambition, revived the War, which he proſecuted with Ardour and Succeſs, but ſo managed it by totally deſtroying the whole Country, as to render it impracticable to maintain Forces numerous enough to hold the People in Subjection. At length it ſeems he diſcovered his own Miſtake, and as his Brother-in-law David had no Iſſue, changed his Ground, and projected an amicable Compoſition of all Differences, in caſe the

The Motives to and the Conſequences reſulting from foreign Wars, with a View to the Acquiſition of foreign Territories, have been impartially ſtated, and as a Repetition of the ſame or of like Events conſtitute in a great Meaſure the Hiſtories of ſuccee ing Reigns, it is by no Means requiſite to the Plan of this Work to enter as fully into them, which could only lead to the like Remarks with thoſe that have been already made, the Propriety and Weight of which muſt be left, as moſt willingly they are, to the Judgment of the candid Reader.

This Period comprehends ſomewhat more than a Century, in which great Alterations were made, and ſome conſiderable Improvements introduced, to which we have endeavoured to do Juſtice. The ſame Diſpoſition obliges us to obſerve, that notwithſtanding many of our Writers have repreſented Four Fifths of this Time, as the moſt proſperous and glorious in our Annals, yet in fact the Nation was through the Whole of it declining and decaying in its moſt eſſential Intereſts, for which the Eclat of Victories, the Splendour of Triumphs, or the Acquiſition of foreign Territories, neither did or could make any Compenſation. It would be very unfair, as well as unſatisfactory, to advance this on Conjecture only, or even upon the mere Baſis of political Arguments, though ever ſo ſpecious.

But what hath been affirmed is founded on ſuch Evidence as is not to be either doubted or denied. For through this whole Space of Time the Number of the Inhabitants was continually decreaſing from the Multitudes that were daily deſtroyed in foreign or in civil Wars, by the frequent Return of peſtilential Diſtempers, and by a Variety of Diſcouragements to Population, the Two laſt generally occaſioned either by the Want or the Unwholeſomeneſs of Proviſions. As the natural Conſequence of this, Cities and Towns declined, and Numbers of Villages ſunk into Hamlets, and at laſt periſhed. This was the Caſe in the Midland Parts of the Kingdom, while the Dread and Apprehenſions of hoſtile Deſcents, which were very far from being imaginary Terrors, depopulated in a

States of Scotland would conſent to acknowledge him for their Monarch on the Demiſe of David. To facilitate this, an Indenture was drawn up in the Preſence of the Two Kings, dated 27th November 1363, in which he promiſed to reſtore all the Places he then held, to give ample Compenſations to the Engliſh Barons for their Claims to Lands granted by his Grandfather, to remait what was remaining of David's Ranſom, to reſtore the Marble Chair, and to be crowned on it at Scoon, to govern Scotland by its own Parliament, to beſtow all Employments Eccleſiaſtical and Civil on Natives only, to allow a free Trade to the Scots Merchants in England, and many other Things equally advantageous. Rymer's Fœd. tom. vi. p. 426, 427. This Propoſition was accordingly made to the States and rejected, notwithſtanding which Edward perſiſted in the moſt gracious Behaviour to David and his new Queen; and to the Clergy and Nobility of Scotland ſo long as he lived.

great

great Meaſure the Weſtern Sea Coaſts, notwithſtanding the many Precautions that were taken to prevent it [c].

The Generality of our Hiſtorians, it muſt be acknowledged, ſay very little on theſe Subjects, which notwithſtanding their Silence are nevertheleſs certain. They were too much taken up, and too well pleaſed with the Glare of thoſe great Events, of which theſe were however the Conſequences, to afford them any Notice. There may likewiſe appear ſome Inconſiſtency in admitting that Manufactures were encouraged, and Commerce increaſed, at the ſame Time that the Nation is repreſented to be in ſo low and ſo diſtreſſed a State. In reſpect to this we muſt obſerve, that the Policy of theſe Times was very often improperly directed, in conſequence of which ſome Ranks of Men lived even in thoſe Days in Affluence and Luxury, while the Bulk of the People, and more eſpecially thoſe who deſerved beſt of the Community by their Labours, were diſtreſſed and depreſſed [d]. Add to

[c] In the Whole of this Period there were ſcarce Ten Years of Peace. The numerous Armies which Edward the Firſt led into Scotland, were chiefly compoſed of Welſh and Iriſh. In his Wars with France he hired Foreigners at a vaſt Expence. Edward the Second had Recourſe to the moſt violent Meaſures for raiſing his Armies. There was during his Reign almoſt a continued Scarcity of Proviſions, and in conſequence of this a moſt dreadful Peſtilence. There were Three great Plagues in the Reign of Edward the Third. Theſe Calamities occaſioned ſuch a Diminution of People, that many Cities and Towns applied for an Abatement of their Fee-farms. Funds were aſſigned by Parliament for the Relief of decayed Towns, and ſome of theſe deſired to be excuſed from ſending Burgeſſes to repreſent them. In the Thirtieth Year of Edward the Third, the Sheriff of Lancaſhire certified, that there were no Boroughs in his County in a Capacity to ſend Members. To put this Matter beyond all Doubt, in the Forty-fifth Year of his Reign the Commons granted him an Aid of Fifty thouſand Pounds by way of Land-tax, to be levied on the ſeveral Pariſhes: at the Rate of Twenty-two Shillings and Four Pence, which ſhews, that they proceeded on the Survey of the Conqueror already mentioned, Political Survey, vol. ii. p. 361. But upon the Return into Chancery it appeared ſo inſufficient, that they were obliged to make a new Aſſeſſment of Five Pounds Ten Shillings, the Number of Pariſhes being reduced from Forty-five thouſand to Eight thouſand Seven hundred. Cotton's Abridgement, p. 111, 112. In the Beginning of his Reign the French burned Southampton, and made frequent Deſcents upon the Coaſt, which frighted the People from their Habitations, and to engage them to return, Meaſures were taken by Parliament, and the Commons frequently preſſed the King to ſee them ſtrictly executed.

[d] We have already ſhewn, that upon the Parcelling out of the Kingdom into large Eſtates beſtowed on Earls, Barons, Knights, and Churchmen, grazing came to be eſteemed the beſt Oeconomy, as producing the moſt ſaleable Commodities, and this by employing the ſmalleſt Number of Hands. Wool, Cloth, and Leather exported, being ſubject to Cuſtoms, our Monarchs encouraged Trade for the Sake of their Revenues; and Cities and great Towns from the Profits they received by Fee-farm-rents, and other Means. It is eaſy to diſcern from hence, that the Legiſlature as it then ſtood, might have very little Regard to the Bulk of the People; that is to ſay, for thoſe who got their Bread by the Sweat of their Brows. Theſe martial Times brought forth another Evil. The feudal Syſtem was, from Experience, found unfit for foreign Wars, and our Kings hiring Soldiers and Commanders alſo at a ſettled Pay, War became a Trade, and a profitable Trade likewiſe; for the Pay of an Archer was Six-pence a Day, when that of a Maſter Car-

to this that ſeveral of thoſe wiſe and ſalutary Laws made in this Period were not yet ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed as to have their Effects uniformly and univerſally felt through all the Degrees of the People.

This plainly appeared in the Diſcouragement of Agriculture, the great and general Source not only of Plenty but of Population. Sometimes, which ſhews our Soil, when cultivated, retained its Fertility, Harveſts were ſo copious as to render Corn much too cheap, more frequently it was too dear, ſometimes extravagantly ſo, and never for any Length of Time at a middle and reaſonable Price [e]. Exportation was in thoſe Days far from being unknown; but it was an unprofitable Exportation. The Grain ſent Abroad being taken up by the King's Purveyors for the Subſiſtence of his Forces in Foreign Parts, or for that of his Subjects in Guienne, and paid for at a very low Price here.

Richard the Second ſucceeded his Grandfather at Eleven Years of Age, with the Approbation and Affection of his Subjects. The Beginning of his Reign however was clouded by the Depredations committed by the

penter or Maſon was but Three-pence, and his Servant had but Half as much. In conſequence of this, and of the Succeſs of our Arms abroad, the Soldiers of all Ranks who returned brought in Money and in Spoils, what enabled them to make a Figure, and introduced a Kind of Luxury, to repreſs which ſumptuary Laws were made, which fell heavy upon Induſtry, and ſome other Laws ſtill heavier. For the Peſtilence having thinned the People, Acts were paſſed to regulate Labour, by which a Man who had not wherewithal to maintain himſelf, was compelled to go to Service, if he refuſed, to Priſon, and the ſame was his Lot, if he did not work at the old Wages. Much more might be ſaid on this Head, if we had Room, but this ſurely is ſufficient to ſhew the Truth of what is aſſerted in the Text, and how hardly the Many, who by the Exerciſe of their Hands procured Wealth, were treated by the comparatively Few, who by the then State and Diſpoſition of Things were intitled to poſſeſs it.

[e] If we conſider the Number and Extent of Foreſts in theſe Times, the great Quantity of waſte and common Grounds, the Numbers of Black Cattle, and prodigious Flocks of Sheep that were then kept, and add to theſe the continual Supplies of able-bodied Men that were required for the Wars, we may eaſily conceive that Agriculture, which demands much Land, continual Labour, and of courſe many Hands, could be but in a very imperfect State. We have however ſtronger Proofs than theſe, ariſing from the continual Incertainty and amazing Variations in the Price of Wheat, riſing ſometimes to One, Two, and if the Authority may be depended upon, to Four Pounds, at other Times falling to Four, Two, and in ſome Places to One Shilling a Quarter. This in our Hiſtories is frequently referred to bad Seaſons, to Plagues, and to great Scarcity of Money. But certainly it is more probable, that it was owing to bad Husbandry, and the miſerable State of the poor People, compelled, if they did not become Soldiers, to work at a low Price, and under great Diſcouragements from their Tenures. It is poſſible that the Prelates, Abbots, and other rich Clergy, and the Earls, Barons, Knights, and other Men of landed Property, might, without going to Market, provide for the Subſiſtence of their reſpective Houſeholds, and if ſo, the very high Prices of Corn were chiefly felt by thoſe who were leaſt able to bear them. What corroborates this Reaſoning is, that though there were Alterations in the Prices of Fleſh and Fiſh, yet they were not ſo diſproportionate, and it may be, that Living, when Corn was very dear, on Salt Mutton, ſouſed Swine's Fleſh, and Fiſh, might contribute not a little to epidemic Diſeaſes.

French

French on our Coasts, who burned the Town of Rye and several other Places, the Invasion of the Scots, and some other sinister Events, which made considerable and constant Supplies necessary. These were in Part raised by a Poll-tax, which though no higher than Twelve Pence, yet being a Mode unusual and odious to the lower Sort of People, already labouring under the galling Yoke of Vassalage, they suddenly rose in prodigious Multitudes, and in their Proceedings at least, if not in their Purposes, manifested Intentions destructive of all Government. Their Motions were quick and irresistible, so that seizing London and entering the Tower, they beheaded the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales High Treasurer, and seemed absolutely bent on overturning the Constitution, if their Progress had not been stopped by the gallant Behaviour of the Lord Mayor, who killed their Leader, and their Rage at this diverted by the King's Courage and Presence of Mind, though he was then but Sixteen.

At this Time his Uncle John Duke of Lancaster, who was then on the Borders of Scotland, wisely concluded a Treaty of Pacification, and then retired to Edinburgh, from his Apprehension of the Commons, by whom he was exceedingly hated. The next Parliament declared the Manumissions which the King had granted in order to disperse the Rebels to be null and void, reduced those who rose again by Force of Arms, and then by the Sword of Justice destroyed about Fifteen hundred of such as were most guilty. The Wars with Scotland and France continued during a great Part of this Reign, and though nothing decisive happened in either, yet were these Disputes attended with no small Expence of Blood and Treasure. The King's Ministers being accused of many Misdemeanours, were removed from him by the Credit of his Uncle Thomas Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick, Arundel, and Nottingham; but they were soon recalled, and declared innocent by the King. Afterwards, by Authority of Parliament, the Archbishop of York, and the Duke of Ireland, the latter of whom raising some Forces had been beaten at Radcote Bridge by the Earl of Derby, eldest Son to the Duke of Lancaster, were banished, and Sir Simon Burley, who had been the King's Tutor, and some other Persons put to Death as Traitors.

When the King became of full Age he changed his Ministers and his Measures, and having by no very honourable Means got the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Warwick and Arundel into his Power, he proceeded against them in Parliament, where the Duke of Gloucester, who had been stifled at Calais, was condemned, though dead, the Earl of Arundel executed, and the Earl of Warwick banished. All that had been done in and by the former Parliament, was at the same Time declared void

and illegal. John Duke of Lancaſter, who had compounded his Claim in Right of his Wife to the Crowns of Caſtile and Leon, amaſſing thereby an immenſe Treaſure, was at this Time returned and concurred in theſe violent Proceedings. His Son the Earl of Derby was alſo very active, in Acknowledgment of which the King beſtowed on him the Title of Duke of Hereford, which he had not long enjoyed, before he accuſed the Duke of Norfolk of High Treaſon, in conſequence of which they were both baniſhed, the former for Ten Years, and the latter for Life.

In the Abſence of the Duke of Hereford, his Father the Duke of Lancaſter died, upon which the King ſeized his Inheritance, contrary to his Promiſe. Richard going over to Ireland to ſettle the Affairs of that Kingdom after the Death of Roger Mortimer Earl of March, who had been his Governor there, he behaved as he had done in a former Expedition with great Spirit, and met with much Succeſs, many of the petty Princes in that Iſland ſubmitting to him, whom he treated with great Kindneſs. In the mean Time the Duke of Hereford landed with a ſmall Retinue in Yorkſhire, declaring he came with no other Deſign than to claim his own Title and Eſtate. But being quickly joined by ſome of the Nobility, and his Forces greatly increaſed, he began to form other Pretenſions. The Duke of York, who was Uncle both to him and to the King, being left his Lieutenant, raiſed an Army, and made at firſt a Shew of Reſiſtance.

But they very quickly came to an Agreement, and the Duke of Hereford advanced with a very numerous Army towards Wales, where, after being long detained by contrary Winds, the King was at length landed. Richard meeting with much Treachery from thoſe in whom he moſt confided, retired to Conway, from whence being ſeduced by the fair Promiſes of the Earl of Northumberland and by him carried to Flint Caſtle, he was delivered to the Duke of Lancaſter, who brought him to London. A Parliament being ſummoned, upon his owning his Incapacity for Government, and reſigning his Crown, Articles were therein exhibited againſt him, upon which he was depoſed, and after an Impriſonment of no long Duration at Pomfret ended his unſettled and unhappy Reign by a violent Death, as to the Manner of which there is great Incertainty [f].

It

[f] This unhappy Prince was born during his Father's Adminiſtration in Aquitain A. D. 1366, and from the Place of his Birth ſtiled Richard of Bourdeaux. He came to the Crown by the Death of his Grandfather 21ſt of June 1377. The Riſing of the Commons was in 1381, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being beheaded by them on the 14th of June. The Archbiſhop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Poole Earl of Suffolk fled the Kingdom, A. D. 1387, and all died in Exile. The Archbiſhop became a Pariſh Prieſt for Bread in the City of Louvain, where the Duke of Ireland died alſo very poor, though the Earl of Suffolk, who died at Paris, left

It is eaſy to diſcern, that in Times like theſe, in the Midſt of ſo many Commotions, and when Property was ſo very precarious, the State of the Nation muſt be of Conſequence very indifferent, and the Minds of the People, from their being oppreſſed and impoveriſhed, equally diſturbed and uneaſy [g]. Yet great as this Evil was, the Events of which it was productive were ſtill more calamitous, and entailed upon them and their Poſterity, for a long Series of Years, ſucceſſive Scenes of Diſcord, Bloodſhed, and Confuſion [h].

Henry the Fourth, as he aſcended the Throne, partly by Force and partly by Favour, ſo for a great Part of his Time, his Seat thereon was very uneaſy and inſecure. In his Firſt Parliament, having

left him what little he had. A. D. 1394 the King, attended by his Uncle the Duke of Glouceſter and other great Lords, went into Ireland, where, as Froiſſart ſays, he with great Solemnity knighted Four Iriſh Kings. A. D. 1397 the Duke of Lancaſter, as Lord High Steward, ſat in Judgment on the Earls of Arundel and Warwick. A. D. 1399 the King went a Second Time to Ireland, and after his Return was dethroned the 30th of September in the ſame Year. On the 14th of February, A. D. 1400, he breathed his laſt at Pomfret; his Body was brought up to London, and interred afterwards without Ceremony at Langley. This Act of Cruelty was far from anſwering the End for which it was perpetrated, Henry being haunted by living Apparitions of pretended Richards during the whole Courſe of his Reign.

[g] The Waſte of Men, the true Riches of every Country, muſt have been very great during this Reign. Armies were frequently marched into Scotland, and once the greateſt Force that had ever been raiſed in this Kingdom. Great Succours were ſent into Flanders, and conſiderable Bodies of Men tranſported at ſeveral Times into France. The Earl of Cambridge went with a great Fleet and a numerous Army to Portugal. A much greater Force went with his Brother the Duke of Lancaſter, to aſſert his Title to the Crowns of Caſtile and Leon, of which very few returned Home, to ſay nothing of thoſe that were loſt in the Civil Wars, and in thoſe of Ireland. Yet, as if we had ſtill a Superabundance of People, ſuch was the Rage for foreign Expeditions, or ſo much better the Life of a Soldier than that of a Clown, that Henry Spencer the warlike Biſhop of Norwich, levied a numerous Army in the Cauſe of the Pope, of whom he brought not many back. The Earl of Derby went with a conſiderable Force into Pruſſia, and a Third Army was ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe againſt the Infidels. In this Reign there was a great Earthquake, and a Waterquake, a deſtructive Peſtilence, more eſpecially in the North, frequent Scarcities and a continual Fluctuation in the Price of Grain. Theſe Miſeries would have been more felt, and the Poverty of the People much greater, but for the predominant Paſſion for Grazing, and the prodigious Exportation of Wool, which however was at certain Times very cheap at Home. The Woollen Manufactory alſo increaſed, and ſpread itſelf through different Parts of the Country. But Agriculture continued very low.

[h] The diſaſtrous Concluſion of this Monarch's Reign was productive of innumerable Calamities to his People. The Parliament, attentive to the Succeſſion, had engaged Edward the Third to declare his Grandſon Prince of Wales in his own Life-time, and with the like Precaution declared Roger Earl of March preſumptive Heir to Richard the Second. This Roger was the Son of Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, by Philippa the only Child of Lionel Duke of Clarence, Second Son to Edward the Third. In Right of his Mother he had a large Eſtate in Ireland, where he was the King's Lieutenant, and was ſlain A. D. 1399 by the Rebels, and it was the Deſire of avenging his Death, that induced Richard to go over into that Iſland. This Roger left a Son Edmund Earl of March, and Two Daughters. Edmund died without Iſſue, but his eldeſt Siſter Ann married Richard Earl of Cambridge, Son to the Duke of York, which Marriage produced the fatal Diſpute between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter.

fixed

fixed the Succeſſion for his Son, he to gratify the Commons, degraded his Couſin the Duke of Aumarle, eldeſt Son to the Duke of York, to his former Title of Earl of Rutland; the Dukes of Surry and Exeter, Brothers by the Mother's Side to the late King, being deprived of thoſe Dignities, were ſtiled, as before their Promotion, Earls of Kent, and Huntingdon, and the Earl of Glouceſter reduced to his old Title of Lord Spencer. Theſe Noblemen, combining with others who were equally full of Diſcontent, conſpired to ſurprize and murther the King at Windſor, where he kept his Chriſtmas, taking their Meaſures ſo well, that in all Probability they had ſucceeded, if Henry had not been informed of their Deſign Time enough to make his Eſcape. They came notwithſtanding to the Palace, but finding him gone, they betook themſelves to Arms. In this they were equally unfortunate, being routed ſeparately, and without Ceremony executed in ſeveral Places.

The Inſurrection of Owen Lord of Glendour (Owen Glyn-Dwr) who raiſed a Rebellion in Wales, gave him much Trouble, more eſpecially as he was owned and aſſiſted as Prince of that Country by the French, and cloſely connected with all the Malecontents, who were very numerous in England. Yet great as this Miſchief was, it proved favourable to him in one Reſpect, inaſmuch as Owen in the Courſe of the War took Sir Edmund Mortimer, and his Nephew the young Earl of March, and kept them Priſoners for ſeveral Years. The Percys, who had been very uſeful, as well in the ſupporting him upon, as in aſſiſting him to aſcend the Throne, thinking their Services not ſo well requited as they deſerved, or at leaſt as they expected, broke out into open Rebellion, and being in full March with a conſiderable Strength towards Wales were met by the King at Shrewſbury, and after a vigorous and bloody Diſpute totally defeated. Sir Henry Percy, diſtinguiſhed by the Name of Hotſpur, being ſlain in the Field, and his Uncle the Earl of Worceſter taken and beheaded.

The Earl of Northumberland, who was coming to their Aſſiſtance, retired back into the North, and for a Time, by an humble, though feigned Submiſſion, made his Peace with the King. The Quiet this procured laſted not long. Richard Scroop, Archbiſhop of York, and Brother to the Earl of Wiltſhire who had been beheaded at the Beginning of King Richard's Troubles, in Conjunction with the Earl of Nottingham, Son to the deceaſed Duke of Norfolk, raiſed new Troubles; but being over-reached and ſeized by the Earl of Weſtmoreland, the King by a ſummary Proceeding condemned and put them both to Death. He then turned his Arms, though not with great Succeſs, againſt Owen Glendour, and while thus employed, a new Inſurrection broke out in the

North, headed by the Earl of Northumberland and the Lord Bardolph; but before they could aſſemble any conſiderable Force, they were routed by the Sheriff of Yorkſhire, the Earl being killed upon the Spot, and Lord Bardolph dying ſoon after of his Wounds i.

Thus in the Space of Seven Years the King quelled as many Rebellions, detecting alſo many ſecret Conſpiracies beſides, and not long after by the Defeat and Flight of Owen Glendour, who at length periſhed by Hunger in the Mountains of his own Country, was freed from any farther Troubles on that Side. Theſe domeſtic Diſturbances obliged him to act with foreign Potentates rather by Policy than Proweſs, and it fell out very opportunely for him, that the State of their Affairs was in ſome Meaſure ſimilar to his own. The Imbecility of Robert the Third King of Scotland, and the Confinement of his eldeſt Son James, after his Deceaſe, though it did not entirely prevent, yet rendered the Inroads from thence rather troubleſome than dangerous. In reſpect to France, the Inſanity of Charles the Sixth, and the Factions of the Princes of the Blood were no leſs favourable to him, and though Calais was once beſieged, and ſome Impreſſions made at different Times upon Guienne, as well as ſome Depredations on our own Coaſts; yet on the Whole the Loſſes ſuſtained were not conſiderable, and by the Mode of his Alliances and Negotiations the Means were pointed out to his more enterprizing Son, by which he brought that great Kingdom to the very Brink of Ruin.

i At the Entrance of his Reign, the King found himſelf ſurrounded with open and ſecret Enemies, and with very few ſincere and cordial Friends. Amongſt the latter however he counted Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, who at firſt joined him upon his Return from Exile, and Ralph Nevil Earl of Weſtmoreland, who had married his Siſter Joan. Theſe Two Lords were exceedingly powerful in the North, and gave Proofs of it by keeping the Scots in Awe. Northumberland defeated them at the Battle of Homeldon near Wooler in Northumberland, where he took the Earl of Fife, Earl Douglas, and other Perſons of Diſtinction Priſoners, for which he received the King's Thanks; and yet upon this grew the apparent Ground of their Quarrel. Henry had beſtowed upon him the high Office of Conſtable of England, and had given him the Iſland of Man, which had belonged to the Earl of Wiltſhire. But after this Victory he demanded, for Reaſons of State, the Scots Lords who had been taken Priſoners, and to whoſe Ranſoms Northumberland had a Right. Beſides there were ſome other Grounds of Diſcontent on both Sides. Northumberland, though he concurred in depoſing, was very zealous in Parliament for preſerving the Life of Richard the Second. Henry Percy the Earl's Son had preſſed the King to ranſom the Earl of March, and had been refuſed. The Earl of Worceſter, Northumberland's Brother, who knew the Diſpoſitions of the Nobility, planned that Inſurrection which coſt him his Head, after the Defeat at Shrewsbury, when the Body of Henry ſurnamed Hotſpur was dragged out of the Grave, and beheaded likewiſe. Northumberland, though pardoned, could never digeſt this; yet he did not join Scroop Archbiſhop of York or Mowbray Earl of Nottingham in their Rebellions, from the Feuds ſubſiſting between their Families, and it was theſe Feuds that gave Henry an Opportunity of defeating all his Enemies in Detail, as the ſtating of theſe Circumſtances gave Occaſion to this Note.

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His Adherence to the Church againſt the Attacks of the Houſe of Commons, ſecured to him the Aſſiſtance of the Clergy to the utmoſt of their Power [k], and his Compliance in other Reſpects with the Commons, procured as compleat an Entail of the Crown in his Family as he could deſire. The latter Part of his Life, though far enough from being free from Uneaſineſs, allowed him ſome Relaxation, till a ſlow and lingering Diſeaſe brought him at length to his Grave [l].

Henry the Fifth, ſurnamed Henry of Monmouth from the Place of his Birth, ſucceeded to the Crown in the Flower of his Youth. He had however acquired great Reputation for Courage by his gallant Behaviour in the Battle of Shrewſbury, and for Conduct by his quaſhing the formidable Rebellion of Owen Glendour, for which he received the Thanks of Parliament. His juvenile Sallies were repaired by a ſteady and manly Repentance. The Magnanimity of his Mind appeared, by his removing the Corps of Richard the Second from Langley, and cauſing it to be interred with that of his Firſt Queen, Ann of Bohemia, purſuant to that Prince's Will, with great Solemnity in Weſtminſter Abbey. He alſo re-

[k] This Monarch, from the Time of his being firſt ſeated on the Throne, had ſhewn great Attention to Churchmen, and had ſuffered them to proſecute the Lollards as Hereticks, even to the Flames. But this was by no Means acceptable in the Eyes of the Nation; on the contrary, the Commons knowing their own Circumſtances, and being oppreſſed with continual Demands for the Supply of the King's Neceſſities, repreſented to him and to the Lords, the great Opulence of the Clergy, who poſſeſſed One Third Part of the Revenues of the Kingdom, which, if properly diſtributed, might be more ſerviceable to the Community, as it would afford to Fifteen Earls, Three thouſand Marks annually; to Fifteen hundred Knights, One hundred Marks; to Six thouſand Two hundred Eſquires, Forty Marks each; to One hundred Alms Houſes for the Relief of the Poor, One hundred Marks each; to Fifteen thouſand Prieſts, Seven Marks each; and to the King Twenty thouſand Pounds. This Propoſition was rejected, but it deſerves nevertheleſs to be remembered, as it acquaints us with many Particulars worthy of Notice, and ſhews that the annual Rents of the Kingdom were upwards of a Million of Money in thoſe Days.

[l] In the Second Year of Henry's Reign, A. D. 1401, one William Sawtree a Prieſt was burned in Smithfield for Hereſy. The Battle of Shrewſbury was fought Twenty-firſt July, A. D. 1402. The Archbiſhop of York was beheaded at Pomfret the Eighth of June, A. D. 1405, being Whitſunday. A. D. 1410 the laſt Attempt was made for depriving the Church of its Revenues. A. D. 1413, March the Twentieth, Henry the Fourth died. The Civil Wars, the continual Incurſions of the Welch on the Weſtern, and of the Scots on the Northern Counties, the Depredations of the French who burned Plymouth and ravaged the Iſle of Wight, muſt have occaſioned great Confuſions, and a conſiderable Loſs of People, to which we may add ſome foreign Expeditions and a Peſtilence, which happened in this Reign. The Taxes therein were very heavy and grievous, and One in particular ſo much ſo, that Walſingham ſays, the Commons directed the Accounts of its Amount to be burned, after being examined, that it might not remain a pernicious Precedent on Record. There ſeems to have been a Decay of foreign Trade, to remove which the King made ſeveral Treaties of Commerce, and paſſed a Law for the Improvement of the Cuſtoms. The Diſtractions before ſpecified were detrimental to Agriculture, as the Fluctuation of the Prices of all Kinds of Grain plainly ſhew, which indeed were ſcarce and dear through the Whole of his Time.

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reſtored the noble Family of Percy in Honour and Eſtates, and ſhewed a Diſpoſition to receive into his Favour without any Diſtinction ſuch as ſtudied to deſerve it.

He followed his Father's Example in giving his Countenance to the Clergy, to which he was the more inclined from a Prejudice, whether well or ill founded is incertain, againſt the Lollards, now grown very numerous, as People diſaffected to his Perſon and Government. Upon this Principle they were left to the Mercy of the Church, or rather to that of Churchmen, by whom they were treated with extreme Rigour. It was from the ſame Cauſe, that is, from the Prevalence of the Clergy in the King's Council, that he had turned his Views entirely to a War with France, from which he could not be diverted by the large Offers that were made on the Part of that Crown, or by the Difficulties that he found in providing the Means neceſſary for accompliſhing ſo arduous an Undertaking, to which neither his own Revenues, or the Supplies his Subjects could afford, were fully adequate [m].

However by ſtraining every Nerve, he at length drew together a numerous Army, and aſſembled a great Fleet at Southampton. His Embarkation was however a little delayed by the Diſcovery of a deep Conſpiracy, and this too by Perſons in whom he had the greateſt Confidence, and of whom he had of courſe the leaſt Suſpicion. Theſe were his Couſin the Earl of Cambridge, Brother to the Duke of York, the Lord Scroop of Maſham then Lord Treaſurer, and Sir Thomas Gray. Their Deſign was to carry away the Earl of March into Wales, and to declare for King Richard in caſe he was alive, of which it ſeems there was ſtill a ſtrong Belief, and at all Events againſt Henry. The Delinquents were immediately ſeized, brought

[m] The War with France was the great Object of this Reign, and therefore it will be proper to enquire a little into the Motives upon which it was begun and proſecuted. The King himſelf was of a martial Diſpoſition, which diſpoſed him to liſten to Propoſitions of this Sort. Theſe are ſaid to have come firſt from his Father, who thought it the beſt Expedient for attaching the Nobility to his Perſon and Fortunes, and by finding them Employment Abroad, to prevent their caballing at Home. They were countenanced by the Clergy, as appears by the Speeches in Parliament by his Uncle the Biſhop of Wincheſter as High Chancellor. The Nobility were eager for this Meaſure, on the King's promiſing them Lands in France and other Rewards. But the Circumſtance that gave the greateſt Encouragement to this arduous Enterprize was the Diſſenſions in France, of which the old King had availed himſelf by ſiding, as his Intereſt directed, ſometimes with the Faction of Burgundy, ſometimes with that of Orleans, deceiving in their Turns, and in their Turns being deceived by both. Amongſt all theſe Motives we find nothing of national Advantage, which in the Policy of thoſe Times was but little conſidered, and therefore we need not be ſurpriſed at the Conſequences, that in this Reſpect attended the carrying the Glory of the Engliſh Arms higher than it had been ever carried before.

to Trial, condemned and executed, notwithſtanding the Earl's near Relation to the King, his ample Confeſſion, and his humble Submiſſion to the King in a Letter ſtill extant.

This Affair over, he ſailed with the Flower of his Nobility for Normandy, where having debarked his Troops, he laid Siege to Harfleur, which, though well fortified and gallantly defended, he at length, not without Difficulty reduced. The Time ſpent therein, Sickneſs, and the Garriſon it required when taken, much diminiſhed his Forces, and his Fleet being returned, he determined to march from thence through Picardy to Calais. The French had a great Army in the Field under the Command of their High Conſtable Albert, who harraſſed the King exceedingly, and at length brought him into ſuch Straits through Want of Proviſions, and the Flux that prevailed in his Army, that he ſtood in need of all his Courage and military Skill to diſengage himſelf from ſo perilous a Situation, which however he effected by attacking the French with Nine, or at moſt Eleven thouſand Men, though they were Fifty thouſand in Number, gaining a complete Victory, in which fell the Conſtable, many of the prime Nobility, and Ten thouſand Men, and as many were taken Priſoners. This is the famous Battle of Agincourt, or as the French ſtile it, Azincourt; which, except the Duke of York, who commanded the Vanguard, and was killed in the Charge, the King's Loſs was inconſiderable; and he afterwards continued his Route to Calais unmoleſted, from whence he returned to England with his Priſoners, and entered the City of London in Triumph.

The French uſed every Method that was in their Power to recover their Reputation, hiring Ships from ſeveral Powers, but more eſpecially the Genoeſe, and with a potent Fleet appeared on the Coaſts of Hampſhire, and attempted to land at Southampton and on the Iſle of Wight, but were repulſed, and at the ſame Time they beſieged Harfleur by Land and Sea. The King ſent his Brother John Duke of Bedford with a great naval Strength and Twenty thouſand Men on Board, by whom their Fleet was vanquiſhed, and their Army compelled to retire. The next Year the Earl of Huntingdon beat the combined Fleets of France and Genoa, ſunk ſome, and took ſeveral large Ships with a conſiderable Sum of Money on Board.

In the mean Time the King having made an Alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, who acknowledged him as King of France, and having obtained by Loans and by other Means a large Supply of Money, paſſed over again into

into Normandy with a royal Fleet and Army [n], where he carried on the War ſucceſsfully. The Duke of Burgundy, who notwithſtanding his Treaty meant to have deſerted him, in an Interview which for that Purpuſe he had with the Dauphin, was killed in his Preſence, to revenge which treacherous Action his Son Philip, ſirnamed the Good, joined cordially with the Engliſh, which gave them ſo great an Aſcendancy, that the French King Charles was driven to yield to a Treaty, as honourable to Henry as he could wiſh. His Title was acknowledged, himſelf declared Succeſſor to the Crown of France on the Demiſe of Charles, and Regent during his Life-time, the Princeſs Katherine given to him in Marriage, the Dauphin Charles declared a public Enemy, and all this with the Conſent, or rather through the Intrigues of his own Mother the French Queen, Iſabel of Bavaria.

The Two Kings and the Two Queens lodged in the ſame Palace at Paris, till Henry found it requiſite to go into Normandy, and after holding an Aſſembly of the States there, to Calais, from whence with his young Queen he came over to England. On his Return a Parliament was held in order to furniſh him with the neceſſary Supplies of Men and Money, in which, though he met with the moſt chearful Concurrence, yet the Chancellor could not help repreſenting the diſtreſſed and exhauſted

[n] The Firſt Army tranſported into France, taking in ſuch as attended thereon, amounted to Fifty thouſand Men. Twenty thouſand were employed the next Year for the Relief of Harfleur, and ſome Thouſands on Board the Fleet commanded by the Earl of Huntingdon. The Second Royal Expedition was at leaſt equal and the Third not inferior in Force to the Firſt; ſo that upon the Whole Two hundred thouſand Men at the leaſt were carried out of this Country, the Loſs of which muſt have been ſeverely felt. That it was ſo in Fact, appears from the higheſt Authority, Stat. 9. H. V. cap. 5. which recites, that in the Fourteenth of Edward III. that is, about Fourſcore Years before, every County being repleniſhed with Gentlemen of Subſtance and Fortune, it was enacted, that no Sheriff ſhould ſerve more than One Year, whereas at this Time, through Peſtilence, and foreign Wars, the Number and the Circumſtances of the People were ſo leſſened, that the King was empowered to continue Sheriffs for the Space of Four Years. In reſpect to the general State of the Nation, it may be collected from the Royal Revenue, of which a diſtinct Account was laid before the Houſe of Commons, amounting to Fifty-five thouſand Seven hundred Fifty-four Pounds and a few Shillings; whereas in the Twentieth of Edward III. though then greatly reduced, it amounted to One hundred and Fifty-four thouſand One hundred Thirty-nine Pounds; add to this, that King Henry had been obliged to coin Thirty Shillings out of the Pound of Silver; whereas in that Year of King Edward he coined no more than Twenty-two Shillings and Sixpence. In ſuch a State of Things he was compelled to have Recourſe to the voluntary Loans of ſuch as could afford it, to heavy Impoſitions upon the foreign Merchants ſettled here, grounded on the Wealth obtained by their Commerce, through the Favour of the Crown, and by large Sums levied on the Places he reduced in France. All theſe could not hinder his falling into ſuch Neceſſity, that beſides borrowing a large Sum upon his Crown, from his Uncle the rich Biſhop of Wincheſter, he was conſtrained at different Times to pawn his Jewels to ſeveral Perſons for Sums even ſo low as One hundred Marks. Circumſtances hardly credible, if we had not the moſt authentick Teſtimonies to prove them.

State of the Nation; which induced the King to promiſe he would accommodate all Things as ſoon as he ſhould find it poſſible. He then returned with a great Fleet and Army, leaving the Queen behind him, who was pregnant, with a full Intention of proſecuting the War with Vigour. His Preſence was indeed become neceſſary by a Check his Army had received through the Forwardneſs of his Brother the Duke of Clarence, who loſt his Life in the Action. This Misfortune was occaſioned by a Body of Scots ſent over by the Regent, Duke of Albany, under the Command of his Son the Earl of Buchan, to the Aſſiſtance of the Dauphin, which was a Stroke not provided againſt by the Policy of the King, who had hitherto kept the Regent from giving much Diſturbance to his Meaſures, and was really owing to the Nobility of Scotland, who concluded their own Ruin, as an independent Nation, muſt neceſſarily follow that of France. To remedy this Evil, he took with him James King of Scots, ſuppoſing that at his Command his Subjects would quit the French Army; which however, conſidering him as a Priſoner, they did not.

YET Henry's Preſence reſtored the State of his Affairs, the Dauphin continually retreating, and avoiding by every Means poſſible coming to any Action that might be deciſive. Henry having the beſt Part of the Country, and all the Appearance of legal Government in his Power, went on reducing all the ſtrong Places that held for that Prince; and on the Queen's coming over, who had been delivered of a Son at Windſor, remained with her ſome Time at Paris, where, though in the Name of his Father-in-law, he exerciſed all the Functions of Sovereignty. The Seaſon calling him again into the Field, he through Fatigue found himſelf ſo much indiſpoſed, that he was forced to retire to Bois des Vincennes, where he died, ſome ſay of a Fever, others of a Flux, and ſome of a Fiſtula [o]. He was a Monarch of conſummate Abilities, conſidered either as a Soldier or as a Stateſman. He bid fair for the Conqueſt of France, ſo far as Courage and martial Skill could accompliſh it. He took on his Death-bed the wiſeſt Meaſures for preſerving it, as fully appeared ſo long as they were purſued, and ſtill more plainly as ſoon as they were neglected.

[o] The Dates moſt neceſſary to the Underſtanding the Facts mentioned in this Reign, are theſe; A. D. 1415, the King being at Southampton, made his laſt Will, dated the 24th of July, ſailed in the next Month, became Maſter of Harfleur September the Tenth, and gained October the Twenty-fifth the Battle of Agincourt. A. D. 1416, the Duke of Bedford obtained his great naval Victory in July. A. D. 1417, the Duke of Burgundy made his Treaty, by which he acknowledged the King's Title to the Crown of France. A. D. 1418, Rouen and the beſt Part of Normandy was ſubdued. A. D. 1419, Auguſt 18th, John Duke of Burgundy murthered. A. D. 1420, May 20th, the Peace ſigned at Troyes; 2d June the King married the Princeſs Katherine of France. A. D. 1421 he held his laſt Parliament in the Month of May; returned to France in June; Prince Henry born the Sixth of December. A. D. 1422 he deceaſed.

HENRY the Sixth ſucceeded his Father, when little more than Eight Months old, and in leſs than Two Months after on the Demiſe of Charles the Sixth was proclaimed King of France at Paris. The Parliament of England declared his Uncle John Duke of Bedford Protector of the Realm when preſent, and in his Abſence his other Uncle Humphry Duke of Glouceſter. The Care of the King's Education was committed to their Uncle the Biſhop of Wincheſter. The Duke of Bedford, agreeable to his Brother's Will, acted with great Prudence and Spirit as Regent of France, while the Duke of Glouceſter governed here at Home. The Regent proſecuted the War with Vigour and Succeſs, gaining ſoon after his Brother's Death the Battle of Crevant, and the next Year that of Verneuil, in which, amongſt other Perſons of Rank, fell the Conſtable (Stuart) Earl of Buchan, and (Douglas) Duke of Touraine, which was a terrible Blow to Charles the Seventh, who now poſſeſſed only the Southern Provinces of France beyond the Loire [P].

IN this Situation of Things it was judged expedient by the Engliſh Adminiſtration, that the King of Scots ſhould be diſcharged from his long Captivity, which was done on very advantageous Terms. He was to pay for the Expence of his Entertainment and Education in England, Forty thouſand Pounds. He married alſo the Daughter of the deceaſed Earl of Somerſet, who was of the Royal Family, and this Event was in many Reſpects favourable to both Nations; yet this Alliance ſcarce balanced the Miſchiefs occaſioned by that of Humphry Duke of Glouceſter with Jaqueline, who was the Heireſs of Holland, and other Provinces in

[P] There cannot be a ſtronger Proof of the low and wretched Condition into which both England and France were reduced than the Weakneſs of the Armies on both Sides, ſeldom more than Ten or Twelve, hardly ever Twenty thouſand, and theſe on either Side, in a Country waſted anddeſtroyed, with much Difficulty ſubſiſted. The Duke of Bedford, though a wiſe and a juſt Prince, was forced to raiſe ſuch Sums in the Provinces under his Juriſdiction, as, added to the Circumſtance of their being Foreigners, made the Yoke of the Engliſh odious and inſupportable to the French. When Edward the Third held King John Priſoner, the Dauphin, in order to obtain Supplies, aſſembled the States of France, and by their Liberality was enabled, after he became King, to recover the Dominions that he had loſt. But this War was as fatal to the Liberties of France, as that was favourable; for, upon the Pretence of viſible Neceſſity, Charles the Seventh raiſed Money by his Edicts; and by large Grants to his Nobility, which were requiſite to retain them in his Intereſt, rendered them very potent, and alike formidable to the People and to the Crown. In England the War had a very different Effect; for, as it could be only ſupported by Supplies of Men and Money raiſed by Authority of Parliament, the Commons extended and eſtabliſhed their Authority. The Character of the French King Charles was very problematic, and though late Writers have repreſented him as a Prince of great Virtues and Abilities, yet in his own Time he was certainly eſteemed a weak Man, and all his Succeſſes attributed to his Generals and Stateſmen; and therefore, as the French ſurnamed the Charles the Fifth the Wiſe, they beſtowed the Surname of Fortunate or Victorious on Charles the Seventh.

the Low Countries, already eſpouſed to the Duke of Brabant, and in her Right the Duke of Glouceſter pretended to and endeavoured to gain by Force of Arms Poſſeſſion of thoſe Territories, which equally diſguſted and alarmed the Duke of Burgundy, to whom her former Huſband was nearly related, and who had Intereſt enough with the Pope to prevent the Divorce which ſhe endeavoured to obtain. This produced many, and would have produced ſtill more fatal Conſequences, but for the Prudence and Moderation of the Duke of Bedford, who had married the Duke of Burgundy's Siſter, and who to promote his Nephews Intereſts would have declined in this Duke's Favour the Regency of France. The Duke of Glouceſter, who was of a very warm Temper, quarrelled alſo with his Uncle the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and their Diſputes had ſuch an Influence on publick Affairs, that the Duke of Bedford was conſtrained to come over to ſettle theſe Differences, and to procure Supplies of Men and Money, which not without Difficulty he accompliſhed, in a Parliament held at Leiceſter.

On his Return he revived the War with ſuch Vigour and Succeſs, that Charles found his Affairs in a very critical Situation. But the Siege of Orleans, undertaken without the Regent's Direction, being raiſed by the Maid of Orleans, a bold Pretender to Divine Inſpiration, threw a great Damp on the Engliſh Arms, more eſpecially after the Coronation, or rather Unction of Charles the Seventh at Rheims, which gave a new Turn to his Affairs. The Regent however exerted himſelf with great Firmneſs, and having cauſed Henry to be brought over, the Biſhop of Wincheſter crowned him at Paris with great Solemnity. The Maid of Orleans being taken by the Forces of the Duke of Burgundy, was delivered into the Hands of the Engliſh, who proceeded againſt her before an eccleſiaſtical Tribunal, by the Sentence of which ſhe was burned as a Witch at Rouen. But though for the preſent theſe Incidents revived a little the Affairs of England, they very ſoon fell again into a Decline. This aroſe from the Death of the Ducheſs of Bedford, and the precipitate Marriage of the Duke to Jaquetta the Daughter of the Earl of St. Paul, which gave great Umbrage to the Duke of Burgundy by whoſe ſteady Adherence to their Cauſe the Engliſh were ſo much obliged. Soon after followed the Congreſs at Arras, to which, from a Deſire of Peace, or rather from an extreme Wearineſs of the War, the Engliſh were induced to conſent, and ſend Ambaſſadors, who found themſelves deluded and deceived. There the Duke of Burgundy took the Opportunity of reconciling himſelf to the French King by a very advantageous Treaty, which proved ſuch a Blow to the Regent's Intereſts as he did not long ſurvive.

The Duke of Burgundy, to give the ſtrongeſt Proof his great Power, as well as to ſhew his Attachment to his new Friends, laid Siege to Calais with a numerous Army. This alarmed the Nation, and the Duke of Glouceſter coming with a Fleet and Forces to its Relief, and the Flemings being little inclined to a War with England, the Duke of Burgundy found himſelf obliged to retire with ſome Diſgrace. The Duke of York, Son to the Earl of Cambridge, Nephew and Heir to the Earl of March, ſucceeded the Duke of Bedford as Regent, and notwithſtanding that at his Arrival he found Paris in the Hands of the French, and through the Diſtraction of publick Councils was able to draw but little Aſſiſtance from home, yet acted in a Manner that gained him much Reputation. He was ſucceeded by the Earl of Warwick, who likewiſe ſuſtained the Honour of the Engliſh Arms ſo long as he lived. On his Demiſe the Duke of York went again to France, where he found that Country and the Engliſh Intereſt in moſt miſerable Circumſtances. The Conſequences of a long and lingering War had brought innumerable Evils on the former, and the ſame Cauſes had gradually reduced the Strength of the latter; ſo that inſtead of making new Acquiſitions, they were hardly able to preſerve the little that was left.

Things however might have gone better, but for the Diſſenſions among themſelves, and the Factions that reigned at Home. The Duke of Glouceſter, full of the martial Spirit of his Brethren, endeavoured all he could to ſupport the War; whereas the Cardinal of Wincheſter was much more inclined to Peace. It was with theſe Views that he adviſed, and at length procured the Liberty of the Duke of Orleans for a large Ranſom, notwithſtanding the ſolemn Proteſt of the Duke of Glouceſter againſt it. This made Way for the Negotiation of the Earl of Suffolk, who, after making a Truce with the French, ventured to conclude a Marriage for his Maſter with Margaret Daughter to the titular King of Sicily. This Princeſs had great Abilities and a maſculine Spirit, by which ſhe abſolutely governed Henry, a meek and pious, but by no Means either an active or an able Prince. This Marriage, and its Conſequences, were diſagreeable to the People, with whom the Duke of Glouceſter was in great Credit, and from an Apprehenſion of his overturning their Meaſures, the Queen and her Party cauſed him to be arreſted on his coming to Bury to the Meeting of Parliament, and he was ſoon after found dead, or as is generally ſuppoſed murthered in his Bed. His Uncle and great Rival the Cardinal did not ſurvive him many Days q.

These

q As the Kingdom of France was loſt and ruined by the Diſſenſions of the Princes of the Blood; ſo the like Diſſenſions and Miſtakes of the Princes of the Houſe of Lancaſter were the principal Cauſes

These old Statesmen removed, new and more violent Commotions ensued. The Nobility, long accustomed to War, returned Home restless and impatient of Rule, some of them by Descent and Marriage possessed of great Estates, and of consequence of great Power; the Clergy envied and hated for their Riches and their Pride; the Commons poor, distressed, and from thence disposed to Sedition. In such a State of Affairs no settled Order or permanent Stability was to be expected, more especially, considering the Want of Genius in the King, and the haughty and intriguing Temper of his Consort. Suffolk, her Favourite, who was advanced to the Title of Duke, was become the Object of publick Odium; the King to save him sent him into Exile for Five Years. The Ship in which he embarked was taken at Sea by his Enemies, who cut off his Head. The Duke of Somerset succeeding to Power, succeeded also to that Envy which attends it, and the Clamour against him was the louder, because he had superseded the Duke of York in his Government, and commanded in Normandy when it was lost. A popular Insurrection in Kent under an obscure Leader Jack Cade, who assumed the Name of Mortimer, after much Mischief done, was with Difficulty suppressed.

The potent Duke of York, who had been sent to reduce some Commotions in Ireland, where he did great Service, on his Return from thence

Causes of the Decline of the English Interest there. John Duke of Bedford, though a very able Prince, and ever strictly loyal to his Nephew, yet committed some great Faults. The Taking of Orleans was on many Accounts a Point of the last Consequence, and the Besieged would have rendered it to the Duke of Burgundy, which the Duke of Bedford would not permit. This gave no small Disgust to that Prince, and allowed Time to the French, after the Death of the gallant Earl of Salisbury before the Place, to succour and to relieve it. This Duke's sudden Marriage with Jaquetta of Luxemburgh (afterwards Mother-in-law to Edward the Fourth) added to the Duke of Burgundy's Displeasure, which possibly might have been appeased by an Interview to which they both came, but which was rendered abortive by the Duke of Bedford's insisting on the First Visit, and soon after the French King gained that Prince, by allowing him to dictate the Terms of their Reconciliation. The Duke of Gloucester, though he also was very zealous for his Nephews Interests, occasioned great Detriment to them by his Attack on the Duke of Burgundy, in Hopes of rendering himself Master of Part of the Low Countries, to which Idea he was so obstinately wedded, that upon the Duke's making Peace with the French King he procured a Grant from his Nephew, as King of France, of the Earldom of Flanders on the supposed Forfeiture of the Duke of Burgundy, as a Traitor (Rot. Franc. 14 Hen. VI. n. 1.) His repeated Differences with the Cardinal of Winchester, whom he accused in Parliament of Treason against his Father and his Brother, and afterwards endeavoured to deprive him of his Bishoprick, were also very injurious to the publick Interest. The Cardinal was crafty and covetous, but had both Spirit and Parts. He raised an Army at the Expence of the Clergy, for the Service of Pope Martin the Fifth, against the Bohemians, but employed these Forces at a very critical Conjuncture in France, in Support of the Duke of Bedford. He had as great Credit with the Parliament, as the Duke of Gloucester with the People, and their Disputes, which lasted as long as their Lives, caused a continual Division in the publick Councils, and this too at a Time when Unanimity was most requisite.

being

being ſuſpected of ambitious Deſigns, purged himſelf by a ſolemn Oath. Things were pacified for a little Time; but from a Concurrence of unlucky Circumſtances, civil Diſſenſions broke out again with greater Violence. The King being indiſpoſed, the Adminiſtration was veſted in the Duke of York, and a Parliament being called declared him Protector, which Office he diſcharged with much Prudence and Moderation. But Henry recovering his Health, by the Advice of the Queen and Somerſet reſumed his Authority. To this, though at firſt he did, the Duke of York could not long ſubmit, and withdrawing from Court betook himſelf to Arms for his own Security, as he ſaid, and to remove his Enemies. The King likewiſe aſſembled an Army, which was beaten by the Duke at St. Albans, and the King wounded and taken Priſoner. He was brought to London, where, a Parliament being called in his Name, the Duke of York was again declared Protector, and in no long Space again diſmiſſed by the King, in which he quietly acquieſced [r].

[r] While the War with France continued, the great Expences attending it occaſioned a Deſire of its Concluſion. But this by no Means reconciled the Nation to the Manner in which it was brought about. The Duke of Armagnac, who was in Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part of what is properly called Aquitain, offered all his Territories with his Daughter in Marriage to King Henry: The Offer was accepted, and the King actually betrothed to her. The French irritated at this, deprived him of his Dominions, and Henry's Miniſters, inſtead of giving him any Support, ſent over the Earl of Suffolk, who concluded the Marriage with the Princeſs Margaret, who, inſtead of bringing any Thing, was bought by the giving up Maine to her Family, which laid open Normandy to the French. Notwithſtanding this, Suffolk's Negotiation was approved by Parliament, and the King gave him all the Help that he could: But being conſidered as the Author of the Duke of Glouceſter's Murther, he was proſecuted by the Commons, as is related in the Text. The ſubſequent Diſputes between the Dukes of York and Somerſet were in a great Meaſure perſonal. They were both very powerful, in conſequence of their reſpective Properties; but more ſo from their Alliances. The Duke of York having married the Daughter of the Earl of Weſtmoreland, was ſupported by the Earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, both of the Houſe of Nevil, and by ſeveral other great Lords connected with them. The Duke of Somerſet was not inferior to him in this Reſpect; ſo that when a Meeting was propoſed at London for conciliating their Diſputes, every One of theſe Lords brought a Number of his Retainers in his own Liveries and Badges, ſo that in Effect the Two Parties had with them each an Army ready to take the Field, ſome Lords having Four hundred of theſe Dependants, and ſome many more, which from the idle Courſe of Life they led, as a Diminution of Induſtry, operated with great Detriment in many Reſpects to the Nation. The incidental Circumſtances that iritated the Minds of the People, were the continual Jealouſy of the Queen's Correſpondence with the French Court, of which her Father had been ever a zealous Partizan. The Revolt of the Inhabitants of Guienne, after it had been ſubdued by the French in Favour of their old Maſters the Engliſh, for the Support of which the brave old Earl of (Talbot) Shrewsbury, with ſome Thouſand Men, were ſent over, and though at firſt victorious, yet being unſuſtained, all periſhed. To theſe we may add, a Deſcent made upon the Coaſts of Kent by the French, who plundered and burnt the Town of Sandwich, which, as well as an Irruption of the Scots, were attributed to the Intrigues of the Queen.

New Stirs ariſing, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury interpoſed, and all Parties coming together to London, they were there with little Sincerity, but with much Solemnity publickly reconciled. This ſeeming Calm did not laſt long. New Diſturbances aroſe, and the Earl of Saliſbury, having gathered ſome Troops, marched to join the Duke of York at Ludlow, and in his Way defeated Lord Audley, who endeavoured to prevent their Junction. This Succeſs was but of ſhort Continuance, the Duke and his Adherents being conſtrained to diſperſe. The Duke for his own Security retired to Ireland, as the Earl of Warwick did to Calais. The King went to Coventry, and in a Parliament held there attainted the Duke of York and all his Adherents. This, though intended for their Deſtruction, was but a ſhort Interruption of their Deſigns; for, in no long Space after, the Earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, and March aſſembled an Army in Kent, made themſelves Maſters of London, continued their Progreſs to Northampton, where having defeated the Army of King Henry, and made themſelves Maſters of his Perſon, they returned with him and called a Parliament at Weſtminſter; the Firſt Step taken therein being to annul all the Proceedings of that held at Coventry. In this Aſſembly the Duke of York being returned from Ireland appeared, and openly ſtated his Title to the Crown, which after mature Deliberation was acknowledged, and he declared Heir and Succeſſor to Henry, to whom however the Regal Title was preſerved for Life, and both Parties bound, upon Pain of forfeiting the Advantages they were to reap from it, to a ſtrict Obſervance of this Agreement[s].

Queen

[s] The Number of People in this Kingdom ſeems ſtill to have been diminiſhing, even before the Devaſtation and Deſtruction occaſioned by the Civil Wars. The conſtant Supplies ſent over to the ſeveral Regents in France, the Croiſade of the Cardinal of Wincheſter into Germany, and the Pilgrimages that were then in Faſhion into foreign Countries, muſt have carried away Numbers. It ſeems to be a Proof of this, that Proviſions were made in almoſt every Parliament for the Relief of decayed Towns. The Grants for the publick Service, the Circumſtances of the Nation conſidered, were alſo very large, and beſides the accuſtomed Manner of raiſing them by Duties upon Wool, Recourſe was more than once had to the old Practice of taxing Land by Knight's Fees, and ſome new Modes were alſo introduced. Theſe were found requiſite from the extreme Neceſſity of the Crown, and notwithſtanding all the Methods uſed, a Debt was contracted of between Three and Four hundred thouſand Pounds on the Faith of Parliament, in order to diſcharge which the King, at the Requeſt of the Commons, conſented to Three ſeveral Reſumptions, with ſome Exceptions in favour of particular Perſons. But notwithſtanding all theſe, and ſome other Misfortunes, our political Syſtem was ſo much improved, and the Subjects Property, at leaſt for thoſe Times, ſo well ſecured, as we learn from the clear Teſtimony of Chief Juſtice Forteſcue (de laudibus legum Angliæ, cap. 18.) that conſiderable Improvements were made. A Law paſſed in the Reign of Richard II. for permitting the Exportation of Corn, when Wheat was no more than Six Shillings and Eight Pence a Quarter, was renewed, and after ſeveral temporary Trials, rendered perpetual, which muſt have been very beneficial, ſince in ſome Years the Price fell ſo low as one Shilling. Another Law was made for promoting the Navigation of the River Lee. For enabling the Chancellor to grant Commiſſions for Sewers, which had been done before by royal Prerogative. Another

Queen Margaret, who was buſy in the North, collected more ſpeedily a Body of Forces than was expected, on the Firſt Intelligence of which the Duke of York moved Northwards to oppoſe her, where very imprudently quitting with an inferior Force, a ſtrong Situation, he with his Second Son was ſlain near Wakefield. This Victory raiſed exceedingly the Spirits of the Queen and her Party, though they knew that the Earl of March, now become Duke of York, was levying Troops on the Frontiers of Wales to ſupport his Father's Cauſe. To intercept him the Queen ſent the Earls of Pembroke and Ormond, who came behind him with their Army, but he ſuddenly turned, and after a ſharp Diſpute routed them, and reſumed his Progreſs towards the Capital. The Earl of Warwick, who had remained there with King Henry, being informed that the Queen was marching towards him, he advanced to meet her, and at St. Albans the Armies engaged, where through the Defection of ſome of his Troops he was totally defeated, and King Henry recovered his Liberty [t]. On the other

ther Law for preventing the Importation of ſome Sorts of wrought Silks, which the Statute, a Circumſtance worthy of Notice, recites to have been prejudicial to the Induſtry of Women employed in that Manufacture. Several Laws were alſo made for ſecuring the Freedom of Elections, and reſtraining the Votes for Knights of the Shire to ſuch Freeholders only as were poſſeſſed of Forty Shillings per Annum. Various Treaties were made with foreign Powers for promoting Commerce, more eſpecially with the Flemings, with whom we had a great Intercourſe, to the mutual Advantage of both Nations, and from whom, as hath been largely ſhewn, we borrowed ſeveral Inventions of publick Utility.

[t] The great Number of Facts mentioned in the Text, render it requiſite to ſupply the Dates for the Sake of Perſpicuity. A. D. 1423 was fought the Battle of Crevant; King James was releaſed September the Tenth. The Duke of Bedford married the Duke of Burgundy's Siſter. A. D. 1424, Auguſt 17th, the Battle of Verneuil near Auxerre. A. D. 1426, the Parliament at Leiceſter, in which the Duke of Bedford ſat as Regent. The Biſhop of Wincheſter made Cardinal. A. D. 1429, May 8th Siege of Orleans raiſed. November Sixth the King crowned at Weſtminſter. A. D. 1431, the King crowned at Paris, December 17th. A. D. 1435, the Duke of Bedford died September 14th, and the Duke of Burgundy's Treaty with the French King publiſhed the 22d of the ſame Month. A. D. 1444, May 30th, Margaret of Anjou crowned at Weſtminſter. A. D. 1447, Feb. 24th, the Duke of Glouceſter murthered at Bury. April 14th died the Cardinal of Wincheſter. A. D. 1450, in the Month of May, the Duke of Suffolk beheaded, and his Body caſt aſhore at Dover. Jack Cade's Rebellion. A. D. 1451, the Dutchy of Normandy loſt. A. D. 1453, the Dutchy of Guienne recovered and loſt a Second Time. A. D. 1455, May 22d, the Battle of St. Albans, in which the Duke of York was victorious, and Edmund Duke of Somerſet, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Clifford were ſlain. A. D. 1459, September 23d, the Battle of Bloreheath in Staffordſhire on the Frontiers of Cheſhire, in which James Lord Audley, who commanded the King's Forces, was ſlain, and with him the Flower of the Gentry of that County Palatine. A. D. 1460, July 10th, the Battle of Northampton gained by the Earls of Warwick and March, in which the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewſbury, and the Lords Beaumont and Egremont loſt their Lives. December 24th, the Battle of Wakefield, in which the Duke of York was killed, the Earl of Rutland, a Youth of Twelve Years of Age, murthered by Lord Clifford, and the Earl of Salisbury, Father to the Earl of Warwick, being taken, was beheaded by the Queen's Orders. A. D. 1461, Feb. 2d, the young Duke of York gained the Victory at Mortimer's Croſs, between the Counties of Hereford and

other Hand the Duke of York availing himſelf of his late Succeſs entered London with his victorious Army, and taking Advantage of that Joy and Alacrity which was expreſſed on his Appearance, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King.

Edward the Fourth, ſo he was now ſtiled, had no Time to loſe in maintaining that Title which he had ſo boldly aſſumed. He marched therefore with all his Forces Northward againſt Henry and his Queen, who had drawn together a very numerous Army in thoſe Parts, and had been joined by moſt of the Nobility who adhered to the Houſe of Lancaſter from all Quarters of the Kingdom. In the ſhort Space of Three Weeks Edward reached his Enemies in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, where, on Palm Sunday, after a very hard fought and bloody Engagement he gained a compleat Victory. Henry, his Queen, and Son retired into Scotland, and to procure a good Reception there ſurrendered the important Town and Caſtle of Berwick. Edward made a triumphant Entry into York, where he kept his Eaſter, cauſed the Heads of his Father and the Earl of Saliſbury to be taken down, and then returned to the Palace of Sheen till the neceſſary Preparations could be made for his Coronation, which was performed with great Solemnity. He then held a Parliament, in which his Title was recognized, and a Law paſſed for the Settlement of the Kingdom. At the Cloſe of it he made his Court to the Commons by a very gracious and familiar Speech.

Queen Margaret leaving her Huſband in Scotland went over to ſollicit Succours in France, and having obtained ſome Aſſiſtance, returned from thence, and excited new Diſturbances in the North, where ſhe was joined by her Huſband. Theſe were ſpeedily ſuppreſſed by the Activity of the Lord Montacute, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, who for this ſingular Service was created Earl of Northumberland. Some Time after the unfortunate King Henry was betrayed, made Priſoner, and ſent up to London, where he was committed to the Tower. This Flame thus extinguiſhed, and domeſtick Tranquility in ſome Meaſure reſtored, gave the young King an Opportunity of turning his Thoughts to the ſettling the Affairs of the State at Home and Abroad, in reſpect to which he ſhewed both Abilities and Application.

Salop, where Sir Owen Tudor the Grandfather of Henry VII. was taken and beheaded. Feb. 17th, the Second Battle of St. Albans, in which the Queen was victorious and Lord Bonvile and Sir Thomas Kiriel Knight of the Garter, remaining with King Henry at his Requeſt, were notwithſtanding beheaded by the Queen's Command.

His Prudence however in his moſt important perſonal Concern, overcome by his Paſſion, engaged him in a Marriage, that proved not a little unfortunate to himſelf, his Family, and his Subjects. The Object of his Choice was the Lady Elizabeth Gray the Daughter of Sir Richard Woodvile, by Jaqueline Dutcheſs of Bedford, and the Widow of Sir John Gray of Groby, ſlain in Support of the Houſe of Lancaſter in the Battle of St. Albans. He ſet no Bounds to his Liberality in regard to her Family. He created her Father Earl of Rivers, married her Brethren to the richeſt Heireſſes of the Nobility, and ſhewed a like Partiality for her Children by her firſt Marriage, which, as was very natural, drew a heavy and laſting Load of Envy upon them, and alienated the Affections of many of the Nobility from him, the Conſequences of which were afterwards very apparent. Some Time after the King concluded a Marriage for the Princeſs Margaret his Siſter with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, which was equally honourable and advantageous, as well as highly acceptable to the Nation.

The repeated Reſumptions, the numerous Executions, the ſtill more numerous Forfeitures, and other Acts of Severity which Edward judged it requiſite to exerciſe, though moſt of them done with the Concurrence of Parliament, and, qualified by various Regulations of publick Utility, inflamed that Spirit of Diſaffection which his Marriage had excited. This gave riſe to ſeveral Inſurrections in different Parts of the Kingdom, particularly in the North, which in the beginning was checked by the Lord Montacute, now made Earl of Northumberland, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, who ſeized and executed the Author of it. But Part of the Rebels going South, becoming more numerous, gained an Advantage over the King's Troops in Oxfordſhire, and deſtroyed the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Richard Herbert his Brother. Afterwards they ſeized and beheaded the Earl of Rivers the Queen's Father, and his Son Sir John Woodvile. Another Riſing happened in Lincolnſhire under Sir Robert Wells, and though his Forces were very numerous, they were defeated by the King, who upon their Firſt Riſing had granted a Commiſſion of Array to the Earl of Warwick, and to the Duke of Clarence his own Brother, who a little before had married the Earl's Daughter. It is not however improbable, that they had ſome Correſpondence with theſe Rebels, for not long after the Archbiſhop of York, by the Inſtigation of his Brother Warwick, endeavoured to ſeize the King's Perſon at an Entertainment to which he invited him, and from which he very narrowly eſcaped [u].

Both

[u] As the Account given in the Text differs entirely from our old Chronicles, and from moſt of our modern Hiſtorians, it may for that Reaſon, and alſo becauſe it will throw great Light on the Hiſtory of his Reign, be very proper to enter into ſome Particulars relative to this celebrated Earl

Both Sides then had Recourſe to Arms in which Edward, by his Activity had ſo much the Advantage, that the Duke and Earl were conſtrained to quit the Kingdom, and to retire with their Families into France. Lewis the Eleventh received them with great Joy, and prevailed upon them to adopt a new Plan for Edward's Deſtruction. This conſiſted in reconciling them to Queen Margaret, whoſe only Son Edward eſpouſed Anne the younger Daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and failing of Iſſue by this Marriage, it was agreed that the Succeſſion to the Crown of England ſhould be entailed on the Duke of Clarence. A few Months after the Duke and Earl returned with conſiderable Forces, landed at Dartmouth, declaring for King Henry, and loading Edward with the opprobrious Names of Rebel, Traytor, and Tyrant. The King no way diſcouraged began to raiſe Forces to oppoſe them, being then in the North, where he had juſt ſuppreſſed a leſſer Riſing. To ſtrengthen his Army he ordered John Earl of Northumberland, whom he had now created Marquis of Montacute, to join him. Theſe Orders he in Appearance obeyed, but in reality intended, by the Inſtigation of his Brother the Earl of Warwick, upon the Junction of their Forces, to have ſeized his Perſon. Edward having Notice of this Treachery, and perceiving many of thoſe about him weak and wavering, he with a few faithful Followers made his Eſcape to Lynn.

Earl of Warwick. His Father the Earl of Saliſbury, who became ſo by marriage, was Brother to Cicely Dutcheſs of York, the Mother of Edward the Fourth, to whom therefore this Earl was Firſt Couſin. Some, to give a Colour to his Conduct, ſay that Edward was ingrateful to him, and others that he was jealous of him. As Earl of Warwick and Saliſbury, he had about Fourteen thouſand Pounds a Year; the King, as Comines informs us, and our Records alſo ſhew it, beſtowed upon him about as much more. He made him Captain of Calais, the moſt profitable Government in Europe, Warden of the Marches towards Scotland, Conſtable of Dover Caſtle, Lord Great Chamberlain, and Lord High Steward of England. Others ſay that he was particularly piqued at the King's Marriage, which is improbable, as he was Godfather to the Princeſs Elizabeth. It hath been ſaid that he oppoſed the Marriage of the Princeſs Margaret to the Duke of Burgundy: It appears from the Records that he negotiated it, and he conducted her to the Sea Side, when ſhe went to the Low Countries. The King found his Brother George, Biſhop of Exeter and High Chancellor. He continued him in that Office Eight Years, and advanced him to the Archbiſhoprick of York. The Lord Fauconberg, his Uncle, he created Earl of Kent, and Lord High Admiral. His Brother John he made firſt Lord Montacute, afterwards Earl of Northumberland, and finding that the People in the North deſired the Reſtitution of Henry Percy, Son to the Earl ſlain at the Battle of Towton, he procured his Reſignation of that Title, in Conſideration of which he advanced his Son George to the Title of Duke of Bedford, deſigning to have married him to the Princeſs Elizabeth, and created his Father Marquis Montacute. The Earl of Warwick's Diſſatisfaction, whatever it was, did not appear till after he had married his Daughter Izabel in the Eighteenth Year of her Age to the Duke of Clarence, then about Twenty, which Ceremony was performed by George Archbiſhop of York at Calais. But even after this both the Duke and the Earl received Marks of the King's Kindneſs and Confidence to within a few Weeks of their breaking into Rebellion.

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He there embarked himſelf and his Retinue on board a few, and thoſe ſmall Veſſels, and not without great Hazard of being taken by the Ships of the Hanſe Towns with whom he was then at Variance, arrived in a very poor Condition at Alcmaer in Holland. His Brother-in-law the Duke of Burgundy received him very indifferently; for that Prince was by the Mother's Side deſcended from the Houſe of Lancaſter, had given Refuge to the Duke of Somerſet, and other Exiles of that Party, and not a little alarmed at the Apprehenſion, that upon this new and unexpected Conjunction of Intereſts he might be attacked at once by England and France. In the mean Time the Earl of Warwick in conſequence of his own Popularity, and his declaring for King Henry, carried all before him, and in the Space of a few Days ſaw himſelf at the Head of an irreſiſtible Force, in conſequence of which a compleat Revolution enſued.

Henry being brought out of the Tower, was again acknowledged as King, and in a Parliament held by him the Agreement made with Warwick in France, was in every Particular ratified and carried into Execution, and the executive Power lodged in this potent Earl, and his Son-in-law Clarence. This new Syſtem, ſuch as it was, laſted little more than Six Months. The Duke of Burgundy, from Motives rather of Policy than of Affection, furniſhed Edward, though very ſparingly, with Ships, Troops, and Money to return into his Kingdom. This he accordingly did, and landing in Yorkſhire was there ſo coldly received, that he was forced to pretend he came only to claim the Stile and State of Duke of York, which Henry and his Parliament had conferred upon Clarence.

By this Addreſs he with ſome Difficulty gained Admittance into York, from whence removing quickly with his Forces, and being ſoon after joined by ſome Perſons of Diſtinction, he reſumed his regal Authority, ſlipped by the Marquis of Montacute, who lay at Pomfret, and in like Manner avoiding Warwick, arrived with his Troops at London. His Friends having procured his Entrance into the City, he ſeized on the Perſon of Henry, and ſent him back to the Tower, recruited his Army, and being reconciled to his Brother Clarence, took the Field againſt the Earl of Warwick and the Marquis of Montacute, who with their numerous Forces were advanced to Barnet: There on Eaſter Day Edward engaged them, and after an obſtinate and bloody Diſpute obtained a compleat Victory, in which both the Earl and Marquis were ſlain. On the ſame Day this deciſive Action happened, Queen Margaret and her Son landed in the Weſt; and, as ſoon as ſhe received the melancholy News, betook herſelf to Sanctuary inſtead of raiſing Forces. On the Reſort however of the Duke of Somerſet, the Earl of Oxford, and other great Perſons to her Aſſiſtance, ſhe altered her Reſolution, and finding herſelf at the

Head of a conſiderable Army took the Field. Edward, accompanied by his Two Brothers Clarence and Glouceſter, marched againſt her, attacked her Forces in their Entrenchments, and with no ſmall Difficulty routed them entirely, the Queen and Prince being both taken, and the latter cruelly murthered [w].

The King having thus extinguiſhed the Flame of Civil War, returned, and was received into his Capital in Triumph. About this Time alſo the innocent but unfortunate Henry the Sixth was found dead, or as moſt Writers report murthered, in the Tower, and his Corps, after being expoſed to publick View, with little Ceremony interred. The Calm that followed theſe inteſtine Storms, allowed Edward the leiſure of providing for the Stability of his Government, and by the good Effects reſulting therefrom, recommended it to his Subjects. It was with this ſalutary View, that he made Laws for repreſſing thoſe Diſorders, which the long

[w] The great Power of the Nobility, as hath been occaſionally already remarked, depended, after the Declenſion of feudal Tenures, upon the Number of their Retainers, which was in Proportion to the Extent of their Property, and the Effects of their Hoſpitality. Retainers were not either Vaſſals or menial Servants, but ſuch as by the Hopes of Favour and Preferment were induced to follow the Fortunes of great Men, and in token of their Attachment to them wore their Liveries. Theſe were at all Times ready to abet their Quarrels againſt their Equals, and frequently alſo againſt the Crown. But though many of them were, yet others were not of the meaner Sort of People. For Inſtance, John Wenlock came to the Court of Henry the Sixth with the Countenance of the Earl of Warwick, became Gentleman Uſher to Queen Margaret, received the Honour of Knighthood, roſe to conſiderable Employments, and became at laſt Knight of the Garter: Yet he followed the Earl of Warwick, and being with him at the Battle of St. Albans, was attainted in the Parliament held at Coventry. After this, diſtinguiſhing himſelf at the Battle of Towton, he was ſummoned to Parliament as a Baron by King Edward the Fourth, received great Rewards, and was employed in ſeveral high Stations by that Monarch, notwithſtanding which he followed the Earl of Warwick again upon his Revolt, and being with Queen Margaret at the Battle of Tewkeſbury, the Duke of Somerſet taking Offence at his Behaviour, beat out his Brains with his Pole Ax. Upon their Liveries theſe Retainers wore the Cognizance or Badge of their Lord, as for Inſtance, thoſe of the Duke of Glouceſter the Boar, of the Earl of Warwick the ragged Staff. King Edward gave the Sun, the Earl of Oxford a Star, and the Similarity of theſe in a miſty Morning proved the Loſs of the Battle of Barnet; for the Earl of Warwick's Men miſtaking thoſe of the Earl of Oxford for the Troops of King Edward, diſcharged on them a Flight of Arrows, on which the Earl of Oxford cried out, *Treaſon!* and quitted the Field with Eight Hundred of his Followers. Some ſay, that Marquis Montacute intending to deſert, was putting on King Edward's Livery, which being ſeen by a Follower of the Earl of Warwick, he killed him on the Spot. The Commons often complained of theſe Retainers in Parliament, which produced ſeveral Laws againſt them, but with little or no Effect. It may not be amiſs to obſerve that the general Charge of Inconſiſtency on Parliaments in changing Sides and ſupporting oppoſite Titles to the Crown, may admit of ſome Alleviation, if we conſider, that properly ſpeaking, this aroſe from the Lords, who in ſuch Revolutions were all on the ſame Side, and, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, by the Superiority of their Power conſtrained the Commons to acquieſce. For in theſe Days the Effects of Induſtry were not ſufficiently felt, or Property ſo divided, as that from the ſtrongeſt of all Motives, the Senſe of their own Intereſt in them, a due Reſpect for the Laws might pervade the whole Body of the People.

Continuance of the late Troubles had introduced. He gave Encouragement to Induſtry, protected Manufactures, promoted Commerce, rewarded ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his Service, and was in a particular Manner grateful to the Citizens of London for the Fidelity they had expreſſed towards him. In this Seaſon of Tranquility he indulged his natural Inclination to Magnificence and Pleaſure, which, though by no Means commendable, contributed not a little to render him acceptable to his People [x].

He was however in the Space of a few Years rouſed from this quiet Situation, by a Concurrence of Circumſtances which incited him to a War with France. Theſe Circumſtances were the preſſing Invitations of his Allies the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, the Firſt of whom acknowledged him in Quality of King of France, and ſtipulated the Ceſſion of ſeveral fine Provinces of that Kingdom for the Aſſiſtance he was to give in conquering the Reſt. The Deſire of repaying the Obligation he was under to his Brother-in-law for the Succours he afforded him, was another Motive. To this may be added, the great Probability of Succeſs from the Situation of Things at that Juncture, the unanimous Concurrence of the Nation, and it may be his own Reſentment againſt Lewis the Eleventh,

[x] This Monarch, we may ſuppoſe, was educated by his Father Richard Duke of York in thoſe Principles for which he was diſtinguiſhed, and which appeared in a very ſtrict Attention to publick Affairs, when intruſted to his Care. Edward had no ſooner ſecured the Poſſeſſion of the Throne by his Valour, than he paſſed a very wiſe and well conſidered Law for reſtoring the public Tranquility, by maintaining the Authority of the Statutes paſſed in the Three preceding Reigns, ſo far as they regarded the publick Intereſt. The Coin he regulated in ſuch a Manner as to put it on a Level with thoſe of other Nations, and prevented the Importation of baſe Money which had been highly prejudicial to the Subject, and for this Reaſon the Lord High Treaſurer Burleigh and Sir Thomas Smith adviſed Queen Elizabeth to reduce her Coin to the Parity and Purity of her Great Grandfather's. He ſaw the Benefit that had ariſen from allowing Corn to be exported when at a low Price, and to heighten this, he by a new Law forbid the Importation, except when it was above the Exportation Price. He likewiſe prohibited the Importation of ſuch Manufactures as were made at Home to encourage Induſtry, and to prevent the Rich from purchaſing foreign Wares, to the Prejudice of thoſe made by his own Subjects. He regulated the Making of Cloth, and in conſequence of this prohibited the Importation of foreign Cloths; and by another Law put the Exportation of Fiſh into a proper Channel. He ſaw with his own Eyes, and heard with his own Ears, which induced him to make ſevere Laws againſt Retainers, for preventing Exceſs in Apparel, and for preventing ſuch Kind of Sports and Plays as were productive of Idleneſs, and all the ill Conſequences that attend it. He viſited the different Parts of his Dominions, and liſtened to the Complaints of his Subjects. He ſat frequently in Courts of Juſtice, that he might be the better acquainted with Law, and to ſee that it was impartially adminiſtered. He took his Notions of Trade from Merchants, and as the Continuation of the Chronicle of Croyland Abby aſſures us, became a Merchant himſelf, by which and by the Tribute from France, as well as by the ſeveral Acts of Reſumption made in his Reign, he was enabled to maintain the Splendour of his Court without laying heavy Taxes upon his People.

for having contrived and brought about that Revolution, which had driven him out of his Dominions. The Conqueſt however of ſo great a Country demanded large Supplies, and though his Parliament contributed liberally, he found it neceſſary to augment the Aids they gave him, by putting the Affections of his People to the Trial by requeſting a voluntary Contribution, which he ſtiled a BENEVOLENCE.

IN conſequence of theſe Efforts, and the conſiderable Sums they produced, he carried over a numerous and a well-provided Army; but finding himſelf ſhamefully deceived by his Allies, he readily liſtened to Propoſitions of Peace, which very quickly brought about the Treaty of Amiens. By this Lewis conſented to give a certain Sum towards the Expences of the War, to pay Edward an annual Penſion of Fifty Thouſand Crowns, which he not without Reaſon conſidered as a Tribute, to ſtipulate the Marriage of the Dauphin with this Monarch's eldeſt Daughter, and to pay a round Ranſom for the unfortunate Queen Margaret. Beſides all this he gave great Preſents, and promiſed annual Penſions to Edward's Favourites, that by their Perſuaſions the Sea for the future might be kept continually between them. Edward did not treat his Allies as they had treated him, but ſtipulated, that if ſo diſpoſed, they might accede to the Peace. He then returned Home, and being met by the principal Citizens on Blackheath, proceeded from thence to London, where he was received with univerſal Acclamations.

HE then reſumed his former Courſe of Life, and, as he had promiſed his Parliament, defrayed the Expences of Government out of his own Income. This, with his conſtant Attention to the regular Adminiſtration of Juſtice, made it unneceſſary for ſome Time to call a Parliament, and when he did, it was purely for regulating national Concerns, and no pecuniary Grants were ſo much as requeſted. He ſeemed himſelf to ſtudy, and thereby recommended to his Subjects the Cultivation of the Arts of Peace, ſo that the Remainder of his Reign might have been equally placid and proſperous, but for the ſudden Impriſonment and violent Death of his Brother the Duke of Clarence, which, though covered, or rather coloured by a Parliamentary Attainder, with the Grounds of which we are very imperfectly acquainted, caſt an indelible Stain on his Character.

To this ſucceeded ſome Years after, notwithſtanding all his Care to avoid it, a very ſerious Miſunderſtanding with France, and a ſhort War with Scotland, which afforded what was very acceptable to the Nation, an Opportunity of recovering Berwick. The former was not ſo eaſily terminated.

nated. Lewis had ſtirred up the King of Scots to an Invaſion, contrary to his own Intereſt, and to the Senſe of his People. He ſtopped the Payment of his Tribute, and preferred the Alliance of the Houſe of Auſtria to that of England, in direct Violation of the Contract between the Dauphin and the Princeſs Elizabeth, upon which Edward had ſet his Heart. Theſe, how much ſoever he loved Peace, were Injuries too flagrant to be digeſted by ſo brave a Monarch, ſecure of the Affections of his Subjects, and whoſe Affairs were in good Order[y]: He reſolved therefore upon War, and in this Reſolution, according to the martial Temper of thoſe Times, was warmly ſeconded by his Nobility, Clergy, and Commons. But the Vigilance with which he proſecuted the Preparations requiſite for undertaking ſo great an Enterprize, had ſuch an Effect on his Conſtitution as brought on a Diſeaſe that quickly put an End to his Days in the Flower of his Age, to the univerſal Sorrow of his Subjects, who were juſtly ſenſible of

[y] There are few of our Princes that had more Tranſactions with foreign Powers, as appears by the Truces, Alliances, and Treaties of Commerce extant in the Eleventh and Twelfth Volumes of Rymer's Collections. All of theſe were made either for the Support of the King's Title, or for the Improvement of his Subjects Trade, in regard to which he was ever very attentive. Many of theſe were with the Dukes of Burgundy, Philip and Charles, for the Regulation of Commerce, which was of equal Importance to the Engliſh and to the Flemings, we being their beſt Cuſtomers, and they ours, which however did not hinder frequent Diſputes, but at the ſame Time was the Cauſe, that they were ſpeedily and amicably terminated. When through the King's wiſe Laws our Woollen Manufacture was ſo improved that the Importation of foreign Cloth was prohibited, and much of ours exported, the Flemings forbid its being brought amongſt them; upon which Edward prohibited all Trade with the Low Countries, which had its Effect, and the King carried his Point. We had alſo in thoſe Days many Diſputes with the Hanſe Towns, their Merchants ſettled here having had very great Favours ſhewn them by the Kings of the Houſe of Lancaſter, which rendered them averſe to Edward, and attached to that Family. But at length, when this King's Power was fully eſtabliſhed, he cauſed theſe Diſputes to be examined in a Congreſs held for that Purpoſe, reſtored their Charter, and as their own Writers acknowledge, treated them with great Equity. He was alſo very careful in reſpect to the Naval Power of this Kingdom, and carried it very high. This Fact however is controverted by De Witt, who ſays he was awed by the ſuperior Force of the Eaſterlings or Hanſe Towns, and ſome Facts are mentioned to prove this. But theſe relate to the Time of his Troubles. For when he retired into the Low Countries, the Seamen revolted, and in Conjunction with the Commons of Kent committed many Diſorders, till repreſſed by the Earl of Warwick, who upon Henry's Reſtoration was created not only Co-Regent with the Duke of Clarence, but alſo Lord High Admiral, or as Foreigners ſtiled him, Great Captain of the Seas, and had Precedency before all Earls. On Edward's Return, and before he was fully ſettled, the Baſtard Fauconberg, Son to the Earl of Kent, who had been Edward's High Admiral, and who had been afterwards Vice Admiral to Warwick, committed the moſt horrid Devaſtations, and attempted to enter and plunder the City of London, but was repulſed. He was pardoned for his Father's Sake, but endeavouring to raiſe new Diſturbances was taken and beheaded. But when the King had re-eſtabliſhed his Affairs, he quickly brought his Navy into excellent Order, as appeared by his employing Five hundred Sail in tranſporting his Army to France; and on this Foot it continued during the Remainder of his Reign.

the many Benefits which his Attention to their Welfare had procured them [z].

EDWARD the Fifth ſucceeded, who at this Time reſided at Ludlow under the Care and Tuition of Anthony Earl Rivers his Uncle, the moſt accompliſhed Nobleman of his Age, the young Prince being then in his Twelfth Year. His Father had a Foreſight of the Calamities that might attend his Minority, and in order to avert them laboured on his Death-bed to procure a Reconciliation of the Factions that had long reigned in his Court, and with the ſame View called his Brother the Duke of Glouceſter who had ſerved him with Fidelity during his Reign to the Regency. Vain and feeble Precautions! The Reconciliation ſerved only to delude the King in his laſt Moments, and his Brother, either from his own Ambition or the Suggeſtions of others, very quickly aimed at a higher Title

[z] The Dates more eſpecially requiſite to ſupport the Facts mentioned in the Text are theſe. A. D. 1461, March the Fourth, Edward aſſumed the Title of King. Twenty-ninth of the ſame Month was fought the Battle of Towton, Saxton, or Shirburne, which Mr. Camden truly calls the Engliſh Pharſalia, in which fell upwards of Thirty thouſand, and on the Part of King Henry were ſlain the Earl of Northumberland and the Lords Dacres and Wells. Twenty-ninth of June Edward was crowned, and on the Fourth of November held his Firſt Parliament at Weſtminſter. A. D. 1463, the Lancaſtrians received a Check at Hegely Moor, ſoon after, on the Fifteenth of May in the ſame Year, were totally routed at Hexham, where Henry Duke of Somerſet was taken and beheaded. A. D. 1464, Queen Elizabeth was crowned at Weſtminſter. A. D. 1467, in the Beginning of June, the Princeſs Margaret was ſent to her Huſband in the Low Countries. A. D. 1469, July the Eleventh, the Duke of Clarence married at Calais. The Twenty-ſixth of the ſame Month the Battle of Banbury, ſoon after which the Earl of Rivers and his Son, and the Earl of Pembroke and his Brother were beheaded. A.D. 1470, March the Seventh, the King directed his Commiſſion of Array to the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick. The Thirteenth of the ſame Month he beat Sir Robert Wells and the Rebels in Lincolnſhire, and on the Twenty-third declared Clarence and Warwick Rebels, ſoon after which they eſcaped out of England; September the Thirteenth they returned. October the Third King Edward fled to Lynn. The Sixth of the ſame Month King Henry was releaſed out of the Tower. His Firſt publick Acts bear Date the Ninth. On the Twenty-ſixth or Twenty-ſeventh of November he opened his Parliament at Weſtminſter, in which Edward and his Adherents were attainted. The Earl of Oxford ſat as High Conſtable, and condemned John Tiptoft Earl of Worceſter, who had ſat upon his Father and Brother. A. D. 1471, March the Fourteenth, King Edward landed at Ravenſpur. The laſt Regal Acts of Henry the Sixth are dated the Twenty-ſeventh of the ſame Month. April the Tenth King Edward granted his Pardon to the Archbiſhop of York. The Fourteenth of the ſame Month was fought the Battle of Barnet, at which Henry was preſent, being a Priſoner in King Edward's Army. May the Fourth the Battle of Tewkſbury, in which the Earl of Devonſhire and Lord Wenlock were ſlain, Prince Edward murdered, Queen Margaret taken, and ſoon after Edmund Duke of Somerſet, the Prior of St. John's, and Twelve Knights beheaded. The Twenty-firſt of the ſame Month King Henry was found dead in the Tower. A. D. 1475, Auguſt 29th, the Three Treaties ſigned between Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh, at Pecquigni. A. D 1478, February 18th, Death of the Duke of Clarence. A. D. 1483, April the Ninth, the King deceaſed in the Twenty-third Year of his Reign, and in the Flower of his Age.

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than that of Protector, resolving at the same Time to remove whatever Obstacles stood in his Way.

The Queen Dowager at first inclined to bring the King her Son to London with a considerable Force, from which she was dissuaded as a Measure incompatible with the late Reconciliation. The Duke of Gloucester met the young King upon the Road, and approached him with all the exterior Marks of Affection and Duty, notwithstanding which he immediately caused his principal Attendants and nearest Relations to be arrested, and sent Prisoners into the North, from whence they never returned. The Queen upon this News retired to the Sanctuary in Westminster, in which Place the young King was born, when she fled thither upon King Henry's resuming the Throne, carrying with her at this Time her youngest Son the Duke of York and her Five Daughters. The Protector brought the young King to Town, with all possible Marks of Honour and Submission, and some Time after, through the Interposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury, prevailed on the Queen to part with the Duke of York, whom with the King his Brother he transferred to the Tower, while Preparations were making for the Coronation.

The Duke of Buckingham, the most powerful and the most popular of the Nobility, was the prime Confident of the Protector, and the chief Instrument of his Ambition, notwithstanding he had married the Queen's Sister. The Plan concerted for depriving his Nephews and raising Gloucester to Sovereignty was exceedingly specious. Most of the Nobility and of the Prelates, with many Persons of Rank and Distinction, being come to London to assist at the Coronation, a Party amongst them were engaged to present a certain Instrument to the Duke of Gloucester in the Names of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of the Realm, stating what they called the Grounds of the Nullity of the late King's Marriage with the Queen from the Want of the Concurrence of the Peers, the Privacy with which it was concluded, and the King's being under a Precontract to the Lady Butler, whence they deduced the Illegitimacy of the Children of this Marriage; they took Notice next of the Incapacity of the Issue of the Duke of Clarence from the Attainder of their Father, from which Premises it was inferred, that Richard Duke of Gloucester was the true Heir of Richard Duke of York, on whom and on whose Posterity the Crown was entailed by Authority of Parliament. This Bill, as it is called, without either Signature or Date, declared the Title and procured the Admission of Richard to the regal Dignity without any visible Interposition of Force. This manifestly proves the Influence of the Nobility and Clergy, who seem to have acted from

Pique to the Queen and her Family, the avoiding the Inconveniencies of a long Minority, and it may be the Hopes of ſharing the Favours of a King, who purely by their Aſſiſtance was elevated to the Throne, and in the Courſe of his Adminiſtration muſt continue to depend upon their Attachment and Support [a].

Richard the Third having thus gained the Colour of national Conſent, took the Title of King, received the Homage of the Nobility, and ſome time after celebrated his Coronation, together with that of his Queen, with extraordinary Splendour and Solemnity, Dr. Bourchier Archbiſhop of Canterbury officiating, and moſt of the Peers and Prelates, and a great Number of Commoners of Diſtinction aſſiſting. But previous however to this Ceremony he ſent for Five thouſand Men out of the North, where he was very much beloved, yet finding their Appearance gave Diſtaſte to the City of London, he quickly ordered them back. It was not long after this that he began a Progreſs through the Nation, in which he viſited not a few Cities and great Towns, to ſeveral of which he gave Marks of his Favour. It was during this Progreſs, as our Hiſtorians ſay, that his Two Nephews were cruell ymurdered in the Tower by his Order.

On his Arrival at York with his Queen, he was again inaugurated with great Pomp, and upon this Occaſion created his only Son Edward Prince of Wales. Richard had been accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham in this Progreſs as far as Glouceſter, where taking his Leave when the King went

[a] It cannot well be doubted that King Edward had a very high Opinion of his Brother the Duke of Glouceſter, who had conſtantly ſhared his Fortunes, accompanied him in his Adverſity, and contributed to his Proſperity by expoſing his Perſon in his Service from the Time he became of Age. He was in great Favour alſo with the Nation, on account of his recovering Berwick from the Scots, and as far as he was able had continued Neuter in reſpect to the Factions at Court. As he had been ſome time abſent from thence it is very likely he took his Notions of the State of Things from the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Haſtings, both of them violent Enemies to the Queen and to her Family. Her Brother the Marquis of Dorſet, on the King's Death, is ſaid to have entered the Tower, and to have made free with the Royal Treaſure, which with other Circumſtances were repreſented by Buckingham as ſufficient Reaſons for arreſting the Earl of Rivers and the Reſt, in which Meaſure Haſtings, who hated the Queen and was hated by her, fully concurred, and afterwards adviſed the putting them to Death as neceſſary to the Protector's Safety; But he was immoveable in his Fidelity to the young King, and reſiſted all the Sollicitations of Sir William Cateſby, the Duke of Glouceſter's Confident and his own, which when the Duke of Buckingham underſtood, he adviſed and concurred in removing Haſtings alſo. After his Death Buckingham principally managed the Invitation to Glouceſter to aſſume the Crown, and to ſet aſide his Nephews, as appears from the Continuation of the Hiſtory of Croyland Abby, and the very few contemporary Writers that ſtill remain, and from whom the Facts mentioned in the Text are taken. It may be preſumed that theſe contained a genuine Repreſentation of this dark Buſineſs; to be convinced of which the Reader may conſult Camden, Britan. p. 260, where he gives a full and fair Account of this Matter, though he conſidered Richard as a Uſurper, a Murtherer, and a Tyrant.

Northward, he went to his Caſtle of Brecknock to put in Order the great Eſtates which the King had reſtored to him; and there Dr. Morton Biſhop of Ely, whom the King had releaſed at the Requeſt of the Univerſity of Oxford, was committed to his Care. This Prelate, a Man of great Parts and Eloquence, ſoon drew the Duke to a Compliance with his Notions, in conſequence of which the Friends of the Queen and of the Houſe of Lancaſter, on the Proſpect of a Marriage between Henry Earl of Richmond and the Princeſs Elizabeth, diſpoſed themſelves to riſe in different Parts of the Kingdom, and the Duke raiſed a great Power amongſt the Welch to join ſuch of the Malecontents as were neareſt him; but by a ſudden Riſe of the Severn this was prevented, and his Forces, through Diſcontent as well as for Want of Proviſions, diſbanded. The King by this Time was advanced with a conſiderable Body of Men to Saliſbury, and having publiſhed a Proclamation with a Reward for the apprehending the Duke, he was quickly betrayed by a Servant whom he truſted, and being brought to Saliſbury, after making a very ample Confeſſion, was there beheaded. His Confederates in other Places were quickly ſuppreſſed, ſome of whom ſuffered Death, and many eſcaped into foreign Parts [b].

Richard returning to London, held a Parliament, in which the Firſt Step that was taken was converting the Bill that hath been before-mentioned into a regular Act, to which he gave his Aſſent, and thereby ratified his own Title. It is on all Hands agreed that many good Laws were paſſed by this Aſſembly; and though ſome Writers ſay that heavy

[b] This Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham was lineally deſcended by the Mother's Side from Thomas of Woodſtock, Son to Edward the Third, and in her Right claimed the Inheritance of the Earls of Hereford, which had been the Patrimony of the Houſe of Lancaſter, and was at that Time in the Crown. In the Reign of Edward the Fourth he made his Court ſtrongly, and ſitting as High Steward in Parliament (Hiſt. Croylandenſis Contin. p. 562.) pronounced Judgment of Death upon the Duke of Clarence; but was not able to procure the Lands of Hereford and the Office of High Conſtable, which the Bohuns who had borne that Title enjoyed. Some ſay that he met with a rude Repulſe in this Suit from King Richard, and thereupon left him at Glouceſter in Diſcontent. But this cannot be true, for Sir William Dugdale hath given us a Liſt of the Lands reſtored to him upon this Claim, and Strype, though no Favourer of this King, in his Notes upon Buck's Hiſtory, exhibits a long Catalogue of Grants made to him by that Prince both as Protector and King, which juſtifies Richard in ſtiling him, in a Letter to his Chancellor the Biſhop of Lincoln, the moſt untrue Creature living. He was a Man exceedingly proud and vain, and treated the Welch whom he put in Arms with ſuch Haughtineſs as to occaſion their Defection, which obliged him to ſeek his Safety in Flight. It is ſaid that he made ſo free a Confeſſion in Hopes of being admitted to the King's Preſence, when he intended to have ſtabbed him with a Dagger. This Confeſſion proved fatal to ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, and amongſt the Reſt to Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married the Dutcheſs of Exeter the King's Siſter. This, and other Executions like thoſe of the Earl Rivers, Sir Richard Gray, and Lord Haſtings without any Trial, leave ſufficient Reproach upon this Monarch's Character without having Recourſe to Facts that are leſs certain.

Taxes

Taxes were laid, and many Perſons attainted, yet there is no Mention of either in the Statutes; neither does it appear that he received any Money from his Subjects, except a Tenth from the Clergy of both Provinces granted in Convocation. The ſucceeding Part of his Reign was taken up in repairing, fortifying, and relieving ſeveral Towns, Ports, and Cities, that in a Courſe of Time, and from a Diverſity of other Cauſes, were fallen into Decay [c].

He entered alſo into various Negotiations with foreign Princes for promoting the Commerce of his Subjects, and particularly with reſpect to the Princes and States of Italy. While he was thus employed he found his Security extremely weakened by the Death of his only Son Prince Edward;

[c] The Two preceding Notes were intended, not ſimply to ſupport the Facts mentioned in the Text, but alſo to ſhew the Complexion of this Age and the Condition of the People, ſince from them the Reader will diſcern the bad Effects of ſuch immenſe, and in ſome Sort indefeaſible Eſtates in the Hands of a few of the Nobility and Gentry, who combining into Parties either oppreſſed, or by a rude Hoſpitality drew the meaner Sort into a ſervile Dependency, equally fatal to Induſtry, deſtructive to Liberty, and ſerving only to ſupport thoſe Feuds which enervated legal Authority, and enabled theſe great Men to wreak their Reſentment on each other at the Expence of publick Peace and publick Proſperity. In ſuch a State of Things there was the greateſt Need of wiſe Laws being enacted to root out, or at leaſt to diminiſh theſe Evils, and more effectually to ſecure the Liberties and Properties of the Commons. Richard held but One Parliament, the Statutes made in which were comprehended in Fifteen Chapters, moſt of theſe are weighty in Point of Matter, and at the ſame Time well and clearly expreſſed. His Acts were the firſt that we have printed. From his Time our Laws have been penned, not in Latin or French, but in Engliſh; and in his Days private Acts began. One of the Laws enacted in this Parliament was for removing or at leaſt diminiſhing the Miſchiefs occaſioned by ſecret Feoffments and Truſts, the Conſequences of frequent Troubles, and which were exceedingly detrimental to innocent Perſons. By another, that inſidious Tax of Benevolence, by which People were obliged to give, not what they themſelves pleaſed, but what would pleaſe the Prince, was for ever aboliſhed. Juſtices of the Peace had a Power given them to Bail, which they had not before, and Men's Effects were ſecured from Confiſcation till after Conviction. It was provided, that ſuch as were ſworn upon Juries in the Sheriff's Court ſhould have a Property of Twenty Shillings per Annum. On a Complaint that Foreigners, ſuch as Venetians, Genoeſe, Florentines, Apulians, Lucheſe, Sicilians, and Catalans, dealt not only as Merchants but as Retailers and Manufacturers, and would take no Apprentices or Servants but Foreigners, it was enacted, that they ſhould not ſell by Retail or employ any Strangers in their reſpective Trades but their own Countrymen. Regulations were made for improving Broad Cloth, and for ſettling the Contents of Veſſels filled with Wine and Oil. It was alſo enacted that certain Manufactures which were now made to Perfection in England, ſhould not be brought hither out of other Countries. Moſt of theſe Statutes are ſtill in Force, and the Conſequences of them when firſt made were ſo well reliſhed, that Camden ſays, "Richard was moſt worthy of the Royal Title, if by evil Arts and foul Deeds he had not arrived "at the Kingdom, and that in the Opinion of the moſt prudent, though he was numbered "amongſt bad Men, he was nevertheleſs to be reckoned amongſt good Princes." Lord Bacon likewiſe owns, that "He was a Prince in Military Virtue approved, jealous of the Ho-"nour of the Engliſh Nation, and likewiſe a good Law-maker for the Eaſe and Solace of the "common People." Strype alſo admits, that abſtracted from the horrid Imputations that lie upon his Memory, one might judge him a good King, as he expreſſed a great Care of the good Eſtate of his People, ſhewed a Concern to have Wickedneſs repreſſed, and carried himſelf with due Regard to Religion and Learning.

which

which as it filled him with deep Concern, ſo the like Affliction ſeized his Queen in ſuch a Manner that ſhe did not long ſurvive. In this Situation he is ſaid to have declared the young Earl of Lincoln, the Son of his Siſter the Dutcheſs of Suffolk, preſumptive Heir to the Crown, and the more effectually to ſupport him entered into a Treaty with James the Third for the Marriage of that Earl's Siſter with the Duke of Rothſay, afterwards King James the Fourth of Scotland. In the mean Time the Earl of Richmond, with the Aſſiſtance of the Biſhop of Ely, the Earl of Oxford, and other Exiles, who held a ſecret Correſpondence with the Malecontents in England, made Preparations for a Deſcent, and being furniſhed with Ships and other Succours from the French King, landed at Milford Haven. He was quickly joined by many Perſons of Diſtinction, paſſed the Severn, and advancing into the Heart of the Kingdom, was met by Richard near Boſworth, where a deciſive Battle enſued, in which Richard, the Duke of Norfolk, and ſome other Perſons of Rank were ſlain [d]. This is conſidered as the final Action in the Wars between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, which had now raged with extreme Cruelty on both Sides for the Space of Thirty Years.

This Fourth Period comprehends the Space of about One Hundred and Six Years. The Hiſtory of the Monarchs reigning therein hath been more largely inſiſted upon, becauſe it is in Effect the Hiſtory of this Country, which during their Reigns ſuffered not a little in ſome of its moſt eſſential Concerns. In the Beginning of it the Number of Inhabitants, which were then greatly decreaſed, had been very much leſſened by Wars at Home and Abroad; in the Middle of it by the Conqueſts made in France, and the Meaſures neceſſary for their Defence; and in the Three laſt Reigns by Civil Wars, which the Writers of thoſe Times ſay, were much more deſtructive than the Diſputes with the Scots or the Invaſions of France. Beſides what periſhed in the Field, many were driven into Exile, and with theſe other Circumſtances of Depopulation concurred; neither were ſuch Calamities confined to one or to a few Parts of the Country, but as by marking the ſeveral Fields of Battle, we have been careful to ſhew, extended gradually to all [e].

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[d] The Dates requiſite to be mentioned in this ſhort Reign are but few. A. D. 1483, June 13th the Earl of Rivers, Sir Richard Gray, &c. were beheaded at Pomfret, and the Lord Haſtings the ſame Day in the Tower of London. The 19th of the ſame Month Richard aſſumed the Title of King, was proclaimed the next Day, and on July Sixth was crowned. Auguſt 24th he created his Son Prince of Wales. November Second the Duke of Buckingham was beheaded at Saliſbury. A. D. 1484, January 23d, the Parliament was opened at Weſtminſter. In April Prince Edward died. A. D. 1485, March 16th, Queen Anne deceaſed. Auguſt 22d, the ſameY ear King Richard was ſlain in the Battle of Boſworth.

[e] The Inſtances that have been already given of the Princes and Nobility killed in Battle, barbarouſly executed, and driven into Baniſhment, fully ſupport what has been ſaid. It may not be

In conſequence of theſe Ravages private and publick Deſolation enſued. Houſes and Caſtles, the Monuments of more ſettled Days, were demoliſhed, Lands laid waſte, Improvements of every Kind deſtroyed, and this to ſuch a Degree, that in ſucceeding Times we meet with various Things mentioned as newly introduced, which in reality had been well known, and very common many Years before. It cannot indeed be conceived that any Kind of Cultivation could be carried on with Spirit, when the Owners of Eſtates knew not how long they ſhould continue ſo; when the common People were called into the Field to ſupport the private Intereſts of their Superiors, embarked now with this, and by and by with an oppoſite Faction, ever pretending, but hardly ever intending the publick Good. The ſame Diſorders occaſioned the continual Decay of Cities, Decreaſe of Towns, and the utter Subverſion of Villages; of all which we might have much more ample Teſtimonies, if more of the Abbey Chronicles in theſe Times had been preſerved, though in reſpect to the Certainty of the Facts our Records afford us clear and authentic Evidence, confirmed by collateral Circumſtances which put it beyond all Diſpute, and exhibit a true Picture of the ruinous Conſequences attending ſuch a long Series of domeſtic Diſſenſions [f].

But

amiſs to add Two or Three other Examples out of the very many that might be mentioned. Ann Beauchamp, the Widow of the famous Earl of Warwick, and who brought him a vaſt Eſtate, was ſtripped of it on his Demiſe, and languiſhed in a Priſon during the Reign of Richard, though her Daughter was his Queen. Henry Holland Duke of Exeter, who married the Siſter of Edward the Fourth, adhering to the Houſe of Lancaſter fled into the Netherlands, was there ſeen, ragged and barefoot, following the Duke of Burgundy and begging Alms. The Heir of the noble Family of Clifford, from whom deſcended the Earls of Cumberland, was bred up by a Shepherd under a borrowed Name, and underwent innumerable Hardſhips before his Mother durſt own him in the Reign of Henry the Seventh. In Leland's Itinerary may be found various Accounts of ſplendid Houſes demoliſhed out of Hatred to their Owners, freſh Buildings begun to be erected by new Poſſeſſors, left unfiniſhed at the next Revolution, and crumbling again into Ruins. To this may be added, what was in thoſe Days eſteemed a very great Loſs, the numerous Provinces our Kings had poſſeſſed in France. From the ſame Cauſes aroſe the Neglect of Ireland, which gradually relapſed into that State, out of which with a vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure it had been recovered.

[f] It was very natural in Times of ſo great Confuſion to neglect ſuch Fruits and Vegetables as were not immediately neceſſary to Subſiſtence, and as natural in quieter Times to reſume the Deſire of poſſeſſing ſuch as flouriſhed in the neighbouring Countries. It is commonly aſſerted that Cherries were brought here A. D. 1540, but Camden aſſures us, that they were brought over hither by the Romans in the Middle of the Firſt Century; and the like might be ſhewn of many other Things. As to the Decay of Cities, Towns, and Villages, we have already ſhewn that Parliament in their Supplies provided for them from time to time, and we may very well believe that the Evil continued growing notwithſtanding, ſince in the Eighth of Edward the Fourth Twelve Thouſand Pounds were deducted for this Purpoſe out of a Grant made to the Crown. The very ſame Year the Sheriff of Eſſex and Hertford returned, that there were but Two Boroughs, Colcheſter and Malden, able to ſend Burgeſſes from the former, and that there were none in the latter. The Truth is, that in this Period the Sheriffs excuſed at Diſcretion the decayed Boroughs

But theſe Misfortunes, fatal as they were, would have been much more ſo, and their Effects ſtill more viſible, if the Inconveniencies they occaſioned had not ſuggeſted certain Remedies which leſſened the Preſſure of them at the Time, and produced unexpected Advantages in ſucceeding Ages. Amongſt theſe we may juſtly reckon the remitting the baſer Kind of Tenures, and more eſpecially that of Villenage, which grew into Diſuſe, not from any poſitive Law, but from the Conviction of its Inutility and the clear Experience of ſuperior Benefits ariſing from the Labours of Freemen. This was found to be equally true in all Occupations in which the Bulk of the People were employed. It was this that produced the Encouragement given to new Manufactures of different Kinds by the Incorporation of thoſe who exerciſed them, which enabled them to gain an Eſtabliſhment from the mutual Support of their Members, and contributed to increaſe and improve them, to a Degree which otherwiſe, as Things then ſtood, they could never have attained. For to that State of Things we muſt look back, and not form our Ideas upon that very different State in which they are at preſent, and it will be a farther Argument for the Expediency or rather Neceſſity of Corporations, if we obſerve, that from like Cauſes they were likewiſe in Uſe in other Countries g.

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Boroughs in their reſpective Counties, of which no Complaint was made, it being conſidered rather as a Favour than a Hardſhip. Many Cities and Towns had their Fee-farms diminiſhed upon Petition, as the Reader may ſee in the laſt Chapter of Madox's Firma Burgi, and many others were repaired and beautified, and had new Privileges beſtowed upon them, when occaſionally viſited by any of theſe Monarchs. There is yet another ſtrong Circumſtance in Proof of what is advanced in the Text, and that is the Fall in the general Price of Lands. It appears by the Rewards offered for apprehending the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick by Edward the Fourth, and the Duke of Buckingham by Richard the Third, of Money or Lands at the Option of the Receiver, that the Value of the latter was Ten Years Purchaſe; whereas at the Cloſe of the Reign of Edward III. Simon Langham Archbiſhop of Canterbury gave a Thouſand Marks for the Purchaſe of Forty Marks per Annum for the Maintenance of Four Monks, which is at the Rate of Five and Twenty Years Purchaſe. Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 116.

g We have more than once expatiated on the Miſery of Villenage, and endeavoured to expoſe the Miſchiefs that attended it. As it followed the Norman Conqueſt, ſo when the apparent Decline of Agriculture conſtrained ſucceeding Kings to think of other Methods for ſupplying their Coffers, they had Recourſe to incorporating Cities and Towns after the Example of their Neighbours, and granting them Privileges in reſpect to their Trade and Manufactures, in Return for which they received an annual Rent. In Proceſs of Time leſſer Incorporations of Tradeſmen and Artificers took Place, and for their Encouragement their Members were exempted from ſervile Labours, that is, from remaining Vaſſals to the Lord on whoſe Eſtate they happened to be born, and were from thence ſtiled Freemen. This the Barons ſaw with Regret, looking on it as a Diminution of their Power, and took from time to time violent Meaſures for their own Support, which brought on that general Inſurrection in the Reign of Richard the Second, when they endeavoured to procure a Law to prevent Villains from giving their Children Learning. In the ſucceeding Reign a Statute was actually made to prevent any Man who had not Twenty Shillings a Year from putting his Son Apprentice. By Degrees however this Spirit of Oppreſſion evaporated, chiefly from the Exhortations and Examples of the inferior Clergy, who repreſented it as

In like Manner their Commerce, and of courſe their Navigation were extended, the Elements of our Knowledge in both being in a great Meaſure derived from Foreigners, who were invited by the Abundance of our native Commodities, in the working up of ſome and in the Exportation of others, they were encouraged by our Princes for the Sake of Cuſtoms, and it was the Emoluments ariſing from their Induſtry which gradually produced Imitation, and in ſucceeding Times Emulation and Jealouſy, that gave riſe to the Limitation of the Privileges granted to Strangers, and to the increaſing the Powers lodged in the Hands of our Companies, becauſe by ſuch Aſſociations the whole Commerce of Europe was in thoſe Days, and had been for ſome Ages before, carried on. The Policy alſo of our Princes in reſpect to theſe Matters grew more refined, which appeared in the Variation of the Denomination and Quality of their Coin, which were conducted in ſuch Manner in Reference to the Specie of other Countries, as to prevent the Impoveriſhment, and ſometimes to promote the Intereſts of their Subjects, though in a later Period ſuch Changes were made with different Views, and with bad Effects [h].

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inconſiſtent with the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, and engaged many on their Death-beds to manumit their Villains. In Proportion as theſe Hardſhips were relaxed, the Advantages ariſing from Induſtry more clearly appeared, and then from a Principle of Intereſt the Barons and Gentry grew more tractable, and theſe Tenures extinguiſhed daily, though ſome ſtill remained in the Reign of Elizabeth, as appears from Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth of England, Book iii. chap. x. whence theſe Particulars are taken. It is indeed true, that from Incorporations which were at firſt neceſſary, Inconveniencies in Proceſs of Time aroſe, to which ſuch Remedies have been applied, as have had a greater Effect in this, than in moſt other Countries, and is another Proof of the Expediency of that abſolute Authority in the Legiſlature, to relax as Occaſion requires thoſe Inſtitutions, that in former Times, and when the Nation was in different Circumſtances might be requiſite, and which for that Reaſon ought to be preſerved no longer than they are requiſite.

[h] Companies for the Management of Commerce were erected here from the ſame Motives with Corporations, becauſe they had already taken Place in other Countries, were conceived to be neceſſary for the obtaining ſufficient Funds of Money and Credit, and for the Conveniency of the Prince, who could more eaſily obtain Aſſiſtance from them than Individuals. The Succeſs of theſe Companies ſupported their Inſtitution, they quickened domeſtic Trade, fixed themſelves in foreign Countries where they obtained extenſive Privileges, and by giving Employment and Subſiſtence initiated Numbers of People in different Buſineſſes. As their Wealth at Home and their Intercourſe with other trading Nations increaſed, they came to interfere with the foreign Companies and foreign Merchants, who formerly drove all, and ſtill continue to drive a great Part of the Trade of England. In ſucceeding Periods private Merchants began to complain of theſe Companies as being in effect Monopolies, and their Complaints were not without Reaſon. But at the ſame Time that this is ſaid it muſt likewiſe be allowed, that by their Means, and under their Protection, particular Merchants had grown up into a Capacity of carrying on various Branches of Commerce without them. It is requiſite to conſider Things of this Nature with all the Circumſtances that attend them, and it is for want of conſidering Things in this Light, that we treat Eſtabliſhments that would be now needleſs or abſurd, as if they had been always ſo, whereas a little Reflection will ſhew us the contrary. The Treaties and Conventions made with the Dukes of Burgundy, the Kings of Caſtile, the Princes and Commercial States in Italy, will

ſufficiently

The Advantages of a limited over an abſolute Monarchy were in theſe Days not only diſcerned but maintained with Spirit and Freedom, though at the ſame Time it muſt be allowed that many Exertions of Power were ſtill practiſed, that did by no Means correſpond with this Doctrine. Yet this ſalutary Principle being once admitted, gave both Room and Right to the Subject to improve every favourable Opportunity to diſtinguiſh and to diminiſh ſuch Evils by Degrees, which was chiefly effected by the growing Authority of Parliament. The diſputed Title to the Crown afforded many Advantages in this Reſpect. The Prince in Poſſeſſion wanted at the ſame time equally, Parliamentary Sanction and Parliamentary Support, and on this Account was well diſpoſed to concur with them in moſt Things, more eſpecially thoſe of the Houſe of York, who in a particular Manner affected Popularity. This enabled them to provide for the Freedom of Elections, for preſcribing Rules of Conduct to Sheriffs, for maintaining the free Courſe of Juſtice, for promoting Works of general Utility, for preventing public Nuſances for private Benefit, and for encouraging Induſtry in the lower Sort, the good Effects of which began now to be felt as well as to appear. Theſe Regulations, which commonly aroſe from the Commons, had rendered their Conſequence equally evident and conſiderable. But in thoſe Days the Power of the Lower Houſe, for Reaſons already given, reſided chiefly in the Knights of Shires, and theſe, though in a great Meaſure exempt from the immediate Influence of the Crown, were ſtill very ſtrongly affected from their cloſe Connections with the potent Nobility, who in political Meaſures ſeem to have been ſecure of their Support, and therefore had no Reaſon to differ with them in their peculiar Province, the guarding the Purſes, protecting the Perſons, and promoting the Eaſe, Freedom, and Welfare of the People; who now, as hath been obſerved, began to look up to Parliament for obtaining the Benefits of which they ſtood in need, as well as for the Redreſs of Grievances [i].

Henry

ſufficiently demonſtrate the Truth of what has been aſſerted both here and in the Text. In Reference to the Alterations of Coin, there have been likewiſe ſome Miſtakes made; they were in ſome Caſes expedient, in others abſolutely neceſſary for the Reaſons that are above given, and it is ſufficient to remove the Notion of their being prejudicial to the Subject, by obſerving, that though the Weight was frequently altered as well as the Denominations of the Pieces, yet the Standard was preſerved inviolate for about Four hundred Years.

[i] It is very evident, that through this Period, and more eſpecially the latter End of it, many good Laws were made in Favour of the Lives, the Liberties, and Properties of the People. At the ſame Time there was much Moderation ſhewn in the granting and in the levying of Taxes, and whenever the Situation of Things would allow, a great Attention paid to Commerce, and to the Regulations of the internal Police. But at the ſame Time it appears, that though Parliament were in many Reſpects very mindful of national Concerns, and very tender of Men's Perſons and Properties, yet, which ſeems very irreconcileable to theſe Principles, they made very ſtrange political

HENRY the Seventh was ſtiled by that Title on Boſworth Field, and the Crown Richard the Third had worn that Day was there placed upon his Head by Sir William Stanley. He marched directly from Leiceſter to London, and finding a general Welcome, as well as Submiſſion, proceeded ſoon after to his Coronation, and when this Solemnity was over held a Parliament. In this his Title was owned, the Crown entailed on the Iſſue of his Body, the Attainder of his Friends and Adherents annulled, the late King, and thoſe who were his Abettors attainted, Tonnage, Poundage, and the other uſual Subſidies ſettled upon him for Life. To quiet Men's Minds, he of his own Accord, and by his own Authority, publiſhed a general Pardon, and to comply with what he ſaw was the general Wiſh of the Nation he married Elizabeth the eldeſt Daughter of Edward the Fourth [k].

THE

cal Strides in ſanctifying the moſt cruel Proceedings, in multiplying Acts of Attainder, and in repeating Acts of Reſumption. We have already endeavoured to account in ſome Meaſure for this, but as a Point of much Intricacy and Importance it deſerves to be more fully explained. In theſe Days the Power of the Peers was very great, their Number ſmall, and when they met in Parliament they were uſually all on one Side, and from the Conſideration of this and the Deſire of pleaſing the Prince, the Prelates concurred with them. But this was not all; the Commons were under the Influence of the Peers, more eſpecially the Knights of Shires, and the Burgeſſes, as we have ſhewn, were but few. This Influence aroſe from the Number of Retainers attached to every Peer, and bound by ſolemn Inſtruments to concur with them in all their Meaſures. A ſingle Inſtance will make this plain. Lord Haſtings, when a private Gentleman, was a Retainer to the potent Duke of York, gradually raiſed to the higheſt Honours by his Son Edward the Fourth. In Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 584, we have a Copy of the Bond ſigned by his Retainers, and theſe were Two Lords, Nine Knights, Fifty-eight Eſquires, and Twenty Gentlemen of Property. His Influence lay chiefly in Leiceſterſhire, where next to him Sir William Cateſby had the greateſt Intereſt, and probably ſucceeded to the beſt Part of his, upon Richard's putting him to Death. Whoever conſiders theſe Circumſtances attentively, will eaſily diſcern that Attainders and Reſumptions put it in the Power of the reigning King to reward and ſtrengthen his Friends, who, as well as himſelf, regarded their own Safety and their own Greatneſs in ſuch Conceſſions, and it was to quiet the Minds of the People, as well as to conſult the Welfare of their Dependants, that together with theſe they paſſed other Laws of a milder Tendency.

[k] Henry aſſumed the regal Title when towards Thirty Years of Age, and when of courſe his Diſpoſition was fixed, and his Character formed. He had long lived in Exile, expoſed to repeated Dangers, and from thence in continual Anxiety; often betrayed from Principles of Fear or of Intereſt by thoſe who had made him the warmeſt Profeſſions, which taught him Diſtruſt and Suſpicion. As he had long known the Want, as well as the Uſe of Money, he became ſtudious to acquire, and unwilling to part with it. By repeated Diſappointments he had acquired a Habit of finding Reſources He was willing to receive Advice from thoſe he thought capable of giving it, but having from thence formed, perſiſted ſteadily in his Reſolutions. By living in continual Difficulties he had little Elevation of Sentiment, and made up by Vigilance and Attention that Want of Vivacity which Nature had denied him. The Courſe of his Reign was filled with Events no way calculated to alter his Manner of Thinking. The Victory of Boſworth decided the Diſpute, but he very well knew did not ſettle the Opinions of the People. His Firſt Care was to remove the young Earl of Warwick and the Princeſs Elizabeth from Sheriff Hutton to the Tower. He placed his Confidence in the Companions of his Misfortunes and the Authors of his Succeſs, the Adherents to the Houſe of Lancaſter. He extended it afterwards chiefly to the

Clergy

THE Hiſtory of this Reign hath been ſo often, and ſo fully written, that it will be neceſſary for our Purpoſe, only to run over ſuccinctly the principal Events at Home, the King's Conduct in regard to foreign States, and then, which concerns us moſt, to contemplate his legal and political Inſtitutions. The Storms that had ſo long agitated the Nation, though they ſubſided for the preſent, were quickly felt again when the King's victorious Army was diſmiſſed, except the Corps of Fifty Yeomen of the Guard, whom, partly for State, and partly for the immediate Safety of his Perſon, he retained. In his Progreſs to York, with an Intention to ſettle a regular Government in the Northern Counties, he was ſuddenly alarmed with the News of Two Inſurrections, one by the Viſcount Lovel, and the other by the Two Staffords. He aſſembled haſtily a ſmall Force under his Uncle the Duke of Bedford, and as ſoon as they were in the Field publiſhed a general Pardon to ſuch as returned to their Duty. This diſſolved the Forces under Lord Lovel, who thereupon fled to the Low Countries, and was protected by the Dutcheſs of Burgundy, Siſter to Edward the Fourth, and Richard the Third, to whom he had been Lord Chamberlain. Upon the News of this the Staffords in like Manner diſbanded their Men, and took Shelter themſelves in a Sanctuary [l].

A VIOLENT

Clergy and to the Lawyers, whom he found moſt uſeful in his Affairs, and whom he could reward without Expence. He raiſed his Uncle Jaſper Earl of Pembroke to the Title of Duke of Bedford, his Father-in-law Lord Stanley he made Earl of Derby, and reſtored to the Family of Courtney the Title of Earl of Devon. In his Firſt Parliament the Houſe of Peers was ſcarce Thirty in Number, and though by his dextrous Management he obtained many Things from the Commons, yet, as the Continuation of the Abbey of Crowland, which ends here, plainly ſhews it was not without many Altercations, more eſpecially in regard to the attainting thoſe who had been in the Field with his Competitor; and though he got over this for the preſent, yet he wiſely adopted their Sentiments who oppoſed it on a future Occaſion. Beſides the uſual Grants he obtained a Tenth from the Clergy, and as a Pledge of their Fidelity borrowed a ſmall Sum of the City of London. His Courage was never doubted; his Conduct, or as ſome call it Cunning, was uniform through his Life.

[l] This Francis Viſcount Lovel, with Sir Humphry Stafford and his Brother Thomas, had, after the Defeat at Boſworth, taken Sanctuary at Colcheſter. But as ſoon as they had Intelligence of the King's Progreſs they departed into the Countries where they had Intereſt, and with wonderful Celerity aſſembled great Forces. The Staffords took Glouceſter, and were on the Point of attacking Worceſter. Lord Lovel, who, though his principal Seat was in Oxfordſhire, had an Eſtate alſo in Yorkſhire, aſſembled his Troops at Rippon, and from thence intended to have marched directly to York. Theſe Inſurrections, though as ſuddenly quaſhed as they were raiſed, were in fact the moſt dangerous to which the King was expoſed; for he was in a Country univerſally diſaffected, ſo that he could have had no Reliance on the People, if he had raiſed them. His ſole Reſource was in the Nobility who attended him, and their Retinues, which having embodied he ſent under his Uncle the Duke of Bedford to ſtop the Progreſs of Lord Lovel, and the Duke proclaiming Pardon to all without Diſtinction who came in and ſubmitted, this cauſed a Wavering in Lovel's tumultuous Followers, which he perceiving left them in the Night, and proceeded to Sir Thomas Broughton's in Lancaſhire, on which they ſubmitted and diſperſed. The Staffords fell into a like Panick, retired to Culnham in Berkſhire, and claimed

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A VIOLENT Fermentation in Men's Minds ſtill remaining, the next Attempt to diſturb Henry was more deliberately concerted, and from thence attended with more formidable Effects. Richard Simons, a Prieſt at Oxford, having under his Tuition a Youth of comely Perſon, graceful Mien, and quick Parts, though of mean Parentage, reſolved to make Uſe of him, to raiſe them both out of that low Condition in which Nature had placed them. In order to this he inſtructed him to perſonate a Prince of the Houſe of York, and in this Scheme met with all the Succeſs he could wiſh in the Docility and circumſpect Behaviour of his Pupil. What chiefly ſwelled his Hopes, were the Rumours that flew abroad, and were greedily received, that the Sons of King Edward the Fourth were yet living ſomewhere in Obſcurity Abroad, and that Edward Earl of Warwick the only Son of the Duke of Clarence was murdered in the Tower, to which Place King Henry had removed him. The Firſt of theſe Reports was raiſed to flatter the Hopes of ſuch as had an Affection for Edward's Family, and the latter to render the King odious to his Subjects. When the Prieſt had ſufficiently inſtructed his Scholar, he went with him privately into Ireland, where, as a Prince of the Houſe of Plantagenet, he was joyfully received by all Ranks of People, and even by the greateſt Perſons in the Kingdom, and without Heſitation proclaimed, and ſoon after with great Solemnity crowned. He was there alſo joined by ſome of the principal Malecontents who had fled out of England, and by a ſmall Body of veteran German Troops furniſhed by Margaret Dutcheſs of Burgundy. With theſe Forces he landed in Lancaſhire, where a Number of his Confederates were ready to receive him. He thence marched through Yorkſhire into Nottinghamſhire, and the King advancing from Coventry into the ſame County, the Armies met at the Village of Stoke, where after an obſtinate Diſpute, in which moſt of their chief Leaders were ſlain, the Rebels were totally defeated. Simons the Prieſt and his Pupil were taken, the former thruſt into a Dungeon for Life, the latter made a Turnſpit in the King's Kitchen, and afterwards his Falconer [m].

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the Protection of the Abbot of Abingdon. The King recovered from his Surprize, made ſuch ſtrict Inquiſitions in Yorkſhire, as ſtruck a great Terror through the Commons. He afterwards cauſed the Privilege of Culnham to be examined in the King's Bench, where it was found that the Grant of King Kenwulf did not render it a Sanctuary for Treaſon, on which the Staffords were taken out by Force, Sir Humphry tried and executed at Tyburn, and his Brother pardoned. For his farther Security the King ſome Years after procured a Bull from Pope Innocent VIII. in reſpect to Traitors taking Sanctuary. The Reader will diſcern from hence the ſtrange State of this Country at this Juncture, and with all this Monarch's Dexterity in managing his Lawyers at Home, and his Influence Abroad at the Court of Rome, which Engines he continued to uſe through the Courſe of his Reign.

[m] As we differ a little in the Text from what is aſſerted by moſt of our Hiſtorians, it may ſeem neceſſary to explain it here. They ſay that the Prieſt firſt inſtructed his Pupil to call himſelf the Son of

The King after his Victory continued his Progreſs through the North, to extinguiſh the Embers of Rebellion, and on his Return to London, to ſatisfy the Deſires of the People, cauſed the Queen, who had born him a Prince, to be crowned with great Splendour. The Parliament having granted him a Supply for aſſiſting their old Allies the People of Bretagne to preſerve their Liberties, the Inhabitants of Durham and the adjacent Country abſolutely refuſed to pay what was aſſeſſed on them, and Henry Earl of Northumberland by the King's expreſs Commands endeavouring to levy the Tax, a Tumult enſued, in which, with many of his Servants, he was murthered. In order to reſtore Quiet in theſe Parts, and to do Juſtice on the Earl's Murtherers, the King diſpatched the Earl of Surry Northwards with a ſmall Force, and followed himſelf, as in that reſpect he was always ready, with an Army. The Rebels in the mean time were become more numerous, and formidable, and had engaged Sir John Egremont to put himſelf at their Head, profeſſing their Intentions to maintain their Liberties. But the Earl of Surry advancing with great Celerity, their Hearts failing them, they were eaſily diſperſed, the chief Actors in the Firſt Riot taken and executed, but Sir John eſcaped into the Low Countries, from whence it was conjectured that there was more in his Inſurrection than appeared.

of King Edward, but afterwards to ſtile himſelf Earl of Warwick. This Change ſeems not a little improbable. But a Perſon of better Authority than any of them, Bernard Andreas, who at this Time, as we find in Rymer, Tom. xii. p. 317, was Poet Laureat to King Henry, affirms that he gave himſelf out for the Son of King Edward, and as ſuch was proclaimed in Ireland. This ſeems the moſt probable for Three Reaſons; firſt, becauſe the Report being current, that the Two Sons of Edward were alive, it would have been ſetting them aſide, to have owned the Earl of Warwick, whoſe Title was inferior to theirs. In the next Place, Henry's Suſpicions led him to ſeize the Queen Mother, and to confiſcate her Eſtate, and alſo to impriſon the Marquis of Dorſet her Son, who might be both preſumed to have a Tenderneſs for a Son and Brother, but could hardly be thought Friends, eſpecially againſt a Daughter and Siſter, to the Son of the Duke of Clarence, whom they had perſecuted. Laſtly, John Earl of Lincoln, who came over to the Aſſiſtance of Lambert, and commanded his Forces, had been by Richard III. preferred in the Succeſſion to the Earl of Warwick. It may be objected that the King brought the Earl of Warwick out of the Tower, and ſhewed him to the Nobility, which he might do, to diſprove the Rumour of his having cauſed him to be murdered. However this Pretender was owned by the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Chancellor, and many of the Peers and Prelates of Ireland, ſome of the former coming over with him into Lancaſhire, with Martin Swart, who commanded Two thouſand Germans, ſent by the Dutcheſs of Burgundy. It is certain, that he, together with the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, and ſome other Iriſh Men of Quality, were killed in the Battle of Stoke. But Francis Viſcount Lovel, and Sir Thomas Broughton eſcaped, and lived concealed long after. Henry had given Directions to ſpare the Earl of Lincoln, that from him he might know the Bottom of this Buſineſs, to prevent which, and the Conſequences that might have attended his Diſcoveries, it is alſo ſaid that he was killed. This ſhould ſeem another Circumſtance not very compatible with Lambert's paſſing for the Earl of Warwick, as to which Henry had already every Information in his Power; whereas if he ſet up for the Son of Edward the Fourth, he might well deſire to know on what Grounds the Dutcheſs of Burgundy and the Earl gave Countenance to ſuch an Impoſture.

But notwithſtanding the Severity with which theſe Northern Men were treated, a new Tax ſome time after produced a freſh Rebellion in Cornwall, attended with more alarming Appearances. For theſe Men, though headed only by a Lawyer and a Blackſmith, after killing ſome of the Collectors of the Subſidy, marched through the Heart of the Kingdom, without committing any Spoil, directly towards the Capital. In their Way they were joined by Lord Audley, and came as far as Blackheath, where not without ſome Bloodſhed they were beaten and diſperſed, their Three Leaders being taken and executed [n]. Yet the Miſchief did not end here, for out of the Aſhes of this Fire aroſe the laſt Flame of civil Diſſenſion which diſturbed this Reign, the Cauſes and Progreſs of which we ſhall as briefly as poſſible relate.

The Report that One of the Sons of Edward the Fourth remained ſtill alive continued to prevail, and a young Man arriving in Ireland ſtiling himſelf Richard Duke of York, was received as ſuch by many, and amongſt theſe ſome Perſons of Diſtinction. He was invited from thence by the French King Charles the Eighth, with whom Henry was at War, and on his Arrival at Paris had all the Honours ſhewn him due to the Rank which he aſſumed. A Peace being concluded between the Two Kings, he retired to the Court of Margaret Dutcheſs of Burgundy, who acknowledged him as her Nephew, aſſigned him a Guard, and willingly received and entertained ſuch Engliſh Gentlemen, who were not a few, or of mean Quality, as reſorted to him. This occaſioned many Jealouſies and various diſaſtrous Events in England, till Henry by indefatigable Enquiries traced out, and with

[n] The Rebellion in the North flowed from Two Sources, Diſlike to the Meaſures of his Government, and Diſaffection to Henry's Title and Perſon. Theſe concurred in the popular Hatred to Henry Earl of Northumberland, a Man of a haughty Temper, who had undertaken in a rough Manner the Execution of a harſh Buſineſs, and was beſides obnoxious for having deſerted King Richard, whoſe Memory was very dear to theſe Northern People, for Reaſons that fully appear in Drake's Hiſtory of York. The Earl of Surry having extinguiſhed this Fire, Henry went in Perſon to the laſt-mentioned City, where he cauſed the Firſt Stirrer in this Commotion, John a Chambre or Chamberlain, to be hanged on a very high Gibbet in the Midſt of a ſquare Gallows, upon which hung Numbers of his Companions. He then left Sir Richard Tunſtall to levy the Tax to the laſt Penny, and to fine and ranſom inferior Offenders, according to his Cuſtom of turning every Thing to Profit. The Tax againſt which the Corniſh roſe, was granted on account of the Scots War, in which theſe People conceived they had no Concern, from a Conceit that the Northern People by their Tenures were bound to defend themſelves. They declared againſt the King's Miniſters, who they ſaid put him upon fleecing his People, and they committed no Devaſtations in their Paſſage, in Hopes of making it a common Cauſe, and were eſpecially perſuaded that the People of Kent would join them, in which however they were diſappointed. Their coming to Deptford occaſioned a great Diſturbance in the City of London, though the King had encamped a numerous Army on St. George's Fields to cover them. As ſoon the Rebels were defeated, Henry, to ſhew that he could praiſe as well as puniſh, ſent Commiſſioners into Kent to acknowledge in very ſtrong Terms his Senſe of the Loyalty of that County, the Effects of which appeared ſoon after, when Perkin came with his Ships upon their Coaſt.

unrelenting

unrelenting Severity deſtroyed the moſt formidable of his Adherents*. This threw ſuch a Damp on his Deſigns, that, to prevent his Cauſe from ſinking into Oblivion, this Adventurer, whom our Hiſtorians call Perkin Warbeck, with a few hundred Men put to Sea, and anchored with his ſmall Fleet in the Downs, hoping that the People in Kent would have riſen in his Favour. In this he was not only miſtaken, but narrowly eſcaped being ſurprized, loſing One-fourth Part of his Men, who were ſeized on their Landing, and who were all of them afterwards executed.

He thereupon ſailed again into Ireland, and from thence, by the Advice of the few who ſtill adhered to him, he paſſed over into Scotland. James the Fourth received him with great Courteſy and Kindneſs, at the Interceſſion of the Emperor Maximilian, the French King, and of the Dutcheſs of Burgundy, treating him as a Prince, which Character it is on all Hands agreed He with great Dexterity ſuſtained. In his Court, and with the King's Conſent he married the Lady Katherine Gordon, who was that Monarch's Relation, and in the War that broke out between the Two Kings he en-

* The Spirit of Confuſion which had ſo long reigned continued ſtill as ſtrong as ever, from the Jealouſies of ſome, the Ambition of others, and the Deſpair of Numbers. This kept the Nation in a reſtleſs Condition, and no Doubt weakened in no ſmall Degree the Endeavours of the King and Parliament to promote public Tranquillity; which, for his own and his Family's Sake, was Henry's Intereſt by promulgating wholeſome Laws for eradicating old Abuſes, and promoting general Induſtry. The Rumour of the Duke of York's being in France rouſed the Attention of ſuch as wiſhed to raiſe their own Fortunes by another Revolution. Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and many other Gentlemen reſorted to him there, as did likewiſe one Frion (with what View the Reader will for himſelf determine) who had been the King's French Secretary. They ſent over ſuch flattering Accounts to the Friends of the Family of York, as put them in Motion, and induced them to ſend over Sir Robert Clifford, a Man of Rank and Character, who knew perfectly the Son of King Edward, to ſettle their Sentiments. He aſſured them that this young Man was certainly that Prince, and his Report had ſuch Effects as alarmed the King exceedingly. He took Two Methods to defeat theſe Deſigns, the Firſt was attempting to prove the Murder of the Two Princes by Richard, from the Evidence of Sir James Tirrel, who was ſaid to have directed that execrable Deed, and one Dighton, who it was believed had performed it. Lord Bacon agrees that in this he was not very ſucceſsful. The next Step was to diſcover who this Adventurer really was, in which he was eſteemed to have been more lucky, and publiſhed a plauſible Narrative, which Nobody durſt contradict. His moſt effectual Engine was the corrupting ſome of the pretended Duke's Adherents, and in conſequence of their Informations, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Dawbeny, Eſq; and ſeveral other Gentlemen, were convicted and executed. The Dean of St. Paul's, and ſome other Clergymen of Character, were condemned, but not put to Death. At length Sir Robert Clifford came over, accepted the King's Mercy, and accuſed Sir William Stanley, the Brother of the Earl of Derby, Henry's Father-in-law, his own Lord Chamberlain, and the very Man who ſet the Crown upon his Head, all which could not ſoften his Reſentment. Sir William was convicted and ſuffered; and by his Attainder Forty thouſand Marks in ready Money, and Three thouſand Pounds a Year came to the Crown.

tered England with a Scottiſh Army, and publiſhed a Kind of Manifeſto againſt Henry, couched in very plauſible Terms P.

In this Expedition he met with little or no Support, and upon a Treaty between the Two Nations, he was obliged to retire again into Ireland with his Conſort, and was there ſo well received, as to be able with the Forces he raiſed to beſiege the City of Waterford; being repulſed from thence, and receiving an Invitation from the Corniſh, who had met with his Proclamation in their Expedition to Blackheath, he readily accepted it, and with a few of his Followers croſſed over to them. In a very ſhort Space he drew together an Army of reſolute Men, and with them came before Exeter, which he attacked with great Fury; but not being able to take it, he from thence marched to Taunton. The King's Forces approaching, he, notwithſtanding his Adherents were diſpoſed to riſk a Battle, withdrew from them with a few of his Aſſociates, and flying to Beaulieu, put himſelf there into Sanctuary. Yet finding the Place ſoon after inveſted by a Body of Horſe, on the Promiſe of his Life being ſpared, he came out and ſurrendered to the King. When he was thus in his Power, he made a Confeſſion, which was rendered publick, and his Lady, who was taken a little after him, was very kindly treated, and ſent to remain with the Queen.

This unfortunate Man being left in a Sort of free Cuſtody, eſcaped from his Keepers, endeavouring to fly out of the Kingdom, but finding this altogether impracticable, applied himſelf to the Prior of Sheene, at whoſe Interceſſion his Life was once more ſpared. This did not however hinder his being

P This Proclamation was preſerved by Sir Robert Cotton, and is publiſhed at large by Lord Bacon, notwithſtanding it contains a very different Picture of Henry's Reign from that exhibited by his Lordſhip. In this Piece, the Perſon ſtiling himſelf Duke of York gives a very ſuccinct Account of his Preſervation when his Brother was murdered, yet commends in other Reſpects Richard's Adminiſtration, laments the Fate of Sir William Stanley and other noble Perſons who had ſuffered in his Cauſe, charges Henry with employing none but mean and intereſted Miniſters, whom he enumerates. Affirms, that though he pretended to have deſtroyed a Tyrant, he was himſelf a greater, inſtancing his Oppreſſions, Talliages, and Exactions, all which he promiſed to remove in caſe of Succeſs, and to govern as Edward the Fourth had done in the latter Part of his Reign. He promiſes a Reward of a Thouſand Pounds in Money, and One hundred Marks a Year, to whoever ſhould kill or take his Enemy (King Henry) and concludes with declaring, that the King of Scots aſſiſted him upon Principles of Generoſity and Honour, and had not exacted from him any Conditions whatever. This Declaration produced no Effect, probably for theſe Reaſons: The principal Perſons attached to the Houſe of York were already put to Death, fled to Sanctuary, or in Priſon. The People in the Northern Counties had been already expoſed to ſuch ſtrict Inquiſitions, and ſuch ſevere Treatment, that their Spirits were broke. Laſtly, he came in with an Army of Scots, againſt whom theſe People had an hereditary Hatred. Henry the Seventh had in this Reſpect the good Fortune of Henry the Fourth. He encountered and deſtroyed in Detail, Enemies that probably might have borne him down, if they had attacked him at once and in Concert.

expoſed in the moſt ignominious Manner, after which he was ſhut up in the Tower. There it was ſaid that he contrived to make his own Eſcape, and to have perſuaded the young Earl of Warwick to have gone with him, for which they were both indicted, convicted, and ſuffered Death, though in different Ways. Theſe Proceedings were attended with Circumſtances that occaſioned many Suſpicions, and certain it is, that in providing for his own Security and that of his Family, the King ſtooped to and perſiſted in Arts little ſuited to the Majeſty of a Prince, and acted alſo in ſeveral Inſtances with a Severity which even the Pretence of Neceſſity (much leſs Reaſon of State) could never excuſe q.

In reſpect to the Realm of Ireland, the King acted with much more Temper and Lenity, though it ſhould ſeem that he had met there with more and greater Provocation than in England. This however muſt be aſcribed to his refined Policy; for he knew not only the ſmall Number of his Friends amongſt the Inhabitants, who were generally attached to the Houſe of York, but alſo the great Declenſion of the Engliſh Intereſt, and therefore he ſoothed the Nobility in that Country till ſuch Times as his Affairs were in better Order, and he was more thorougly informed of the Nature of thoſe Remedies that were fitteſt to be applied. He then acted with Firmneſs

q The Confeſſion of Perkin Warbeck, mentioned by the King, when it was firſt taken, in a Letter to the Mayor of Waterford (18th Oct. 1497) repeatedly read by himſelf, and at the Place of Execution, did not afford full Satisfaction in thoſe Days, when the Multitude beheld his Miſeries with Wonder, and many amongſt them with Pity. A Prieſt deſirous of availing himſelf of popular Diſcontent, carried one Ralph Wilford the Son of a Shoemaker of London into Kent, where he endeavoured to make him paſs for the Earl of Warwick; for which the poor Creature was hanged. This ſome think haſtened the Fate of the Earl himſelf, which was moſt pitiable, as he was clearly incapable of committing any Crime, being ſo ignorant, that he did not know one Animal from another (Hall Henry vii. fol. 50.) In Ireland, a Conſpiracy was formed in Favour of a Baſtard Son of Richard the Third, who had been kept long in Priſon, and finiſhed his Days there at this Juncture. Edmund Earl, or as the Continuation of Fabian's Chronicle calls him Duke of Suffolk, retiring on ſome Diſcontent into Flanders, the King full of Jealouſy directed Sir Robert Curſon Governor of the Caſtle of Hamme to deſert to him, and to give him the more Credit, cauſed him, together with the Earl and Five more, to be ſolemnly accurſed as his Enemies at St. Paul's Croſs. Upon his Informations many People of Quality were arreſted, and Sir James Tirrel, Banneret, and Governor of the Caſtle of Guiſnes, who had failed the King's Expectations in proving the Death of Edward the Fifth, and his Brother, Sir John Windham and others were executed for holding a Correſpondence with him. Philip Arch-duke of Auſtria, under whoſe Protection Suffolk lived in the Low Countries, becoming King of Caſtile in Right of his Wife Joan, in his Paſſage with her to Spain was driven by a Storm on the Coaſt of England, and landed at Falmouth. The King to do him Honour invited him to his Court, and treated him with much Magnificence as well as Kindneſs, yet before he ſuffered him to depart, prevailed upon him to ſend for Suffolk, who was carried to Calais, from thence brought over under a ſtrong Guard, and committed to the Tower, where when he had remained ſome Years (the King having promiſed his Life to his Brother of Spain) He was, as Lord Herbert ſays, beheaded without legal Cauſe by Henry the Eighth, in conſequence, as it was thought, of his Father's Injunction.

and Vigour, ſending over Sir Edward Poynings with the Title of Deputy, who was a Man of Reſolution and Wiſdom. He carried with him a competent Force, and executed his Inſtructions with Spirit and Moderation, but being aware of the Inefficacy of ſuch temporary Expedients, he went a great deal farther, and by the Authority of Parliament, the ſole ſalutary Inſtrument of public Safety, ſettled a permanent Conſtitution, and by the Act that bears his Name, ſecured a laſting Reputation to himſelf, and fixed on a ſound and ſolid Baſis, the Connection between the Kingdoms, to the mutual Advantage of them both, and to the Honour of the Nation, by whoſe ſpontaneous Suffrages this Statute was enacted [r].

The Conduct of Henry, in regard to Scotland, was equally artful and cautious, regulated by the Circumſtances of that Nation, and his own Inclinations to maintain Peace, and prevent as far as poſſible any Interruption from thence of his own Deſigns, either foreign or domeſtick. In the Beginning of his Reign James the Third retook Dunbar, and as Henry's Affairs were at that Time embarraſſed, this did not occaſion a War or prevent a Repetition of Truces during the Remainder of that unfortunate Monarch's Reign, who, after a long Succeſſion of Diſputes, was at laſt ſlain in a civil War by his own Subjects, in which however Henry took no Part. James the Fourth was a Prince of an active and martial Spirit; his Subjects retained their old Jealouſies and Prejudices againſt their Neighbours, which

[r] The Firſt Plan of a regular eſtabliſhed Government in Ireland was laid in the Statutes made in a Parliament held at Kilkenny in the 40th of Edward the Third, by his Son Lionel Duke of Clarence, who poſſeſſed by Inheritance in Right of his Wife One Third Part of the Kingdom. The greateſt Part of this fell through the Mortimers to Richard Duke of York, Father of Edward the Fourth, who governed here near Ten Years, in ſuch a Manner, as equally gained the Hearts of both the Engliſh and Iriſh, and was the Source of that univerſal Affection borne there to his Family. This proved a great Detriment to the Kingdom, for moſt of the Heads of the great Engliſh Houſes came over hither in his and his Children's Quarrel, in which many of them loſt their Lives. The native Iriſh, and Numbers of the Engliſh who intermarried with and adopted their Manners, acquired with Eaſe in this Situation of Things the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, ſo that the Government and Laws were reſtrained within the narrow Bounds of what was called the Engliſh Pale, which comprehended only Four ſmall Counties. In this State of Affairs Sir Edward Poynings came to the Adminiſtration, and paſſed his famous Act, by which all the Statutes made in England before that Time were rendered of Force in Ireland. He alſo provided by another Law, that no Act ſhould be propounded in any Parliament of Ireland, but ſuch as ſhould be firſt tranſmitted to England and approved by the King and Council under the Great Seal. This was done at the Prayer of the Commons, from a full Perſuaſion that the Oppreſſions under which they ſuffered, were chiefly owing to Laws made by Governors of their own Nation, who, inſtead of conſulting the public Intereſt, ſought only their private Benefit and the Support of the Faction they formed. Sir Edward made many other good Laws for advancing the Revenue, promoting Civility, and extending legal Authority through the Kingdom. He was enabled to do this, by convincing the Nobility and Gentry, that he had the common Good and no ſiniſter Ends at Heart, and his Actions correſponded with his Profeſſions.

French Intrigues were never wanting to foment. As the natural Conſequences of theſe, ſome Hoſtilities paſſed between the Two Nations, which from time to time were ſuſpended by Truces, not very ſtrictly obſerved on either Side, but ſtill a Spirit of Negotiation was kept alive. At length, as hath been before hinted, James made Two vigorous Incurſions into England, and the Earl of Surry in return carried Fire and Sword into Scotland, ſo that a long and bloody War ſeemed inevitable, when, without the leaſt Injury to his own Honour, Henry found Means to ſet on Foot a new Treaty, by the Mediation of a Spaniſh Ambaſſador, which, after a long Train of Negotiations, terminated as he wiſhed in a Peace, cemented by a Marriage between James and the Princeſs Margaret, eldeſt Daughter to Henry, which gave preſent Joy to both Nations, and proved in reſpect to Poſterity pregnant with the moſt happy Events [s].

The King in reſpect to foreign Affairs acted with a Degree of Circumſpection that expoſed his Conduct, in his own and in ſucceeding Times, to much Cenſure. He had, while only a private Man and in Exile, lived long in Bretagne under the Protection of Francis II. the reigning Duke, who was conſidered as the ancient and natural Ally of the Engliſh Nation. A War

[s] Amongſt other Methods which the King practiſed to amuſe James the Third, there was One very ſingular, which was the connecting their Families by Three Matches. To the King he offered the Dowager of Edward the Fourth, and Two of her Daughters for his Two Sons. It came to nothing, and very probably was never intended. As he gave that Prince no Aſſiſtance in his Troubles, ſo he kept a ſtrict Eye on his Son, though a Stripling, from the Moment of his Acceſſion, and to prevent his giving him any Trouble, either formed or at leaſt encouraged a Deſign of ſeizing his Perſon, and that of his Brother the Earl of Roſs, in which we may be ſure he was in earneſt, from his advancing a Sum of Money to Three Perſons of ſome Quality who undertook it, Rymer, Tom. xii. p. 440. He had enough to do with this young Prince afterwards, who at the Inſtigation of the French King and his Queen was frequently diſpoſed to give him Trouble, but at the ſame Time found Employment for the Northern Lords in the Defence of their Property on the Borders. The Two Inroads he made in favour of Perkin engaged the King (as is ſaid in the Text) to make uſe of Don Pedro de Ayala, Ambaſſador from Ferdidand and Iſabella, by whoſe Negotiation it is thought he gained a thorough Inſight into that Prince's Diſpoſition, whom he managed afterwards by Dr. Fox, then Biſhop of Durham, who propoſed to him the Marriage with the Princeſs Margaret, at that Time very young, and by the Hopes of it kept him quiet till it was accompliſhed, when ſhe was in her Fifteenth Year. Her Portion was Thirty thouſand Nobles or Ten thouſand Pounds, her Jointure Two thouſand Pounds a Year, and One thouſand Pounds Scots, which made Five Hundred Marks Sterling for her Privy Purſe during the King's Life. The Jointure was confirmed by Parliament. It may not be amiſs to add, that the Marriage Portion given with Katherine of Spain to Prince Arthur was Two hundred thouſand Crowns, making about Forty-one thouſand Six hundred and Sixty-ſix Pounds, and that the Portion which Henry ſtipulated to give with his Daughter Mary to the Arch-duke Charles of Auſtria was Two hundred and Fifty thouſand Crowns, which Marriage however never took Effect. Henry himſelf entered into a Contract (which never took Place) for a Second Marriage with Margaret Dutcheſs Dowager of Savoy, and King Philip ſtipulated to give her Three hundred thouſand Crowns, amounting to Sixty thouſand Pounds Sterling.

breaking

breaking out between this Prince and the French, Henry inſtead of affording him immediate and powerful Aſſiſtance, contented himſelf with offering his Mediation. The French not only accepted it, but teſtified alſo a Diſpoſition to an amicable Compromiſe of their Differences, but at the ſame Time carried on the War with Diligence and Vigour. The King continued to temporize, yet ſuffered Woodvile, who was Governor of the Iſle of Wight, to tranſport into Bretanny a few hundred Men, with whom he joined the Duke's Army, and not long after periſhed with them and the whole Force of Bretagne, in the fatal Battle of St. Aubin.

The Duke dying, left an only Daughter, who was contracted to Maximilian King of the Romans, who by the Acquiſition of the Dutchy in her Right, muſt have become a formidable Enemy to France. In their Quarrel Henry ſeemed reſolved to engage, and for the Support of ſo popular a War, obtained a competent Supply from Parliament. In conſequence of this he ſent over Six thouſand Men under the Command of the Lord Brooke, who rendered great Service while he remained there, which was not long. He found the Miniſters of the young Dutcheſs involved in Diſputes among themſelves, ſo that nothing of any Moment could be undertaken, and that the very Subſiſtence of the Engliſh Troops was eſteemed by her Subjects as a greater Burden than their Services could balance. The French availed themſelves of theſe Intrigues, which very probably they had excited, by offering to the Dutcheſs the Participation of the Throne of France, though ſhe was contracted to Maximilian, and their King Charles the Eighth to his Daughter, then a Child, reſiding at Paris, and treated as Queen of France. This Negotiation was managed with ſuch Secrecy, and with ſuch Addreſs, that nothing tranſpired till it had taken Effect; and thus by a Marriage rather neceſſary than voluntary, this great and important Fief was annnexed to the Crown of France, of which at Home and Abroad Henry bore all the Blame [t].

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[t] Notwithſtanding the numerous and bitter Reflections on Henry the Seventh for his Behaviour in this Affair of Bretagne, ſome Apology may be made for it. In reſpect to Gratitude, if he was indebted to the Duke, he was no leſs ſo to the King, by whoſe Aſſiſtance He was enabled to make that Deſcent on England which brought him to the Throne. In the next Place, the French King was not clearly the Aggreſſor; ſince the Duke, previous to the War, had received and aſſiſted his Rebels. It ſhould from thence ſeem that King Henry was not ſo blameable in aſſuming the Character of Mediator. In reſpect to both Parties, their Forces, Inclinations, and Intrigues, Henry underſtood them better than any other Man of his Time, and might therefore be preſumed to act from that Knowledge. His own Affairs during the Courſe of this Diſpute were in none of the beſt Poſtures. At the beginning of it he had Lambert Simnel and his Aſſociates on his Hands. The Loſs of Woodvile, and thoſe brave Men whom he commanded, might appear to him an ill Omen, and he was not like to be better diſpoſed from the Inſurrection in the North, on account of the Subſidy he demanded and obtained from Parliament for ſending Succours

The King was by no Means inſenſible, either of the Affront or the Aſperſion, and therefore to ſhew at once his Force and his Reſentment, as well as to gratify the Humour of his People, made immediately open Preparations for a War againſt France, and even avowed an Intention of reviving old Claims, and of making an abſolute Conqueſt of that Kingdom. In ſupport of theſe Declarations he entered into very prudent and proper Alliances Abroad, raiſed large Supplies, and drew together a very formidable Army at Home. Theſe Forces, commanded by moſt of the Nobility of the Kingdom, he tranſported in the Autumn to Calais, and though late in the Seaſon undertook immediately the Siege of Bologne, which he puſhed on with great Vigour. He well knew the State of France at that Time, and the Diſpoſition of the French King, and that both theſe were very favourable to his concealed Views. In this Situation of Things the Enemy made Overtures for a Peace, theſe were ſeconded by the Advice of the Marquis of Dorſet, and the principal Officers of his own Army, ſupported by a long Train of ſpecious Reaſons. This produced an immediate Negotiation, which in due Time ended in a Treaty, conceived in Terms perfectly conformable to his Notions, and purchaſed, as he wiſhed, at a very dear Rate; notwithſtanding which it was then, and hath been ſince conſidered in no very advantageous Light[u].

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cours into Bretagne It is true, that he made very ſtrict Stipulations with the Dutcheſs for the Repayment of the Expences, that as an Auxiliary he incurred, and had certain Places put into his Hands by way of Security. But theſe Points being ſettled, he actually ſent over Six thouſand Men, and his Frugality with reſpect to the Blood and Treaſure of his Subjects, the State of the Nation at that Time conſidered, may to a candid Politician not appear either inglorious or criminal. After the Succours were ſent, it clearly appeared that the Dutcheſs could not carry on the War, from Cauſes in which he had no Concern, and whatever his Behaviour might be to her, it is allowed that hers was not very commendable in reſpect to him, ſince, contrary to her expreſs Engagement, ſhe contracted herſelf to Maximilian without his Conſent, and with the Factions in her Court which brought about the Diſſolution of that Marriage, and her entering into another with Charles the Eighth, he had nothing to do, and when it broke out he acted in ſuch a Manner as did not betray any Want of political Prudence or Magnanimity. He had then juſt Reaſon to reſent the Behaviour of the French King; he did ſo, declared it openly, and took the proper Steps to make him feel its Effects. It was the Addition of Power this gave to France that excited a general Alarm, as if ſhe was become thereby invincible. Henry could not uſe a more clear or convincing Argument to his own Subjects, to his Allies, or to the Reſt of Europe, than by declaring War immediately againſt this formidable Crown, to ſhew that ſhe was ſtill in his Opinion vulnerable.

[u] The King in a wiſe and weighty Speech explained the Cauſes of the War to his Parliament He ſaid he had been neglected, deceived, and inſulted by the French King, that his Allies were Maximilian, who was Maſter of the Low Countries, and Ferdinand King of Spain; but that without counting upon theſe, he meant to make good his Quarrel by his own Force, and to make the War pay itſelf. His Army conſiſted of Twenty-five thouſand Foot, and Sixteen hun-

As to the other Potentates of Europe, he maintained ſuch a Correſpondence with them, as procured great Reſpect to himſelf, and derived conſiderable Advantages to his Subjects. His Intereſt at the Court of Rome during Five Pontificates was ſo prevalent, that he ſcarce met with any Refuſal in his Requeſts, which, as we have ſeen, he turned to great Utility at Home, and which conſtantly preſerved to him the Attachment of the Clergy. He was even courted by the Holy See, received Preſents from ſeveral Popes, and was regarded as their Protector, which contributed not a little in thoſe Times to raiſe and ſupport his Character through all Chriſtendom. The Emperor Frederick held him in great Eſteem, and with much Reaſon, for at the Requeſt of his Son Maximilian, he granted a Supply of Ten thouſand Pounds, no ſmall Sum in thoſe Days, towards the Expences of the War againſt the Turks. He made Two Treaties with King John the Second of Denmark, both of them very beneficial to his People. With the commercial Republic of Florence he concluded an Alliance of very great Conſequence to the Nation, as it ſerved equally to extend both their Commerce and Navigation. Through the whole Courſe of his Reign he maintained a cloſe Connection with Ferdinand and Iſabella, Sovereigns of Spain, which was in all Reſpects honourable to him, and profitable to his People, in which laſt Reſpect he concluded with King Philip while here, a beneficial Treaty of Commerce. He kept the Hanſe Towns in Awe, though they could not help ſeeing with Regret the great Trade carried on by his Subjects in their own Ship-

dred Horſe, which were embarked on Five hundred Tranſports, commanded under Him by his Uncle the Duke of Bedford, the Marquis of Dorſet, and many other Nobles. Maximilian, inſtead of being able to aſſiſt him ſtood in need of his Aid againſt his own rebellious Subjects, and received it. Ferdinand King of Caſtile, like a wiſe Prince, made a ſeparate Peace, and gained thereby Two good Provinces. In this Situation Henry made out a long Bill for the Arrears of Tribute due from the Reign of Edward the Fourth, the Amount of the Succours he had given to the Dutcheſs of Bretagne then Queen of France, and the Expences of the War, amounting in the Whole to Seven hundred Forty-five thouſand Ducats, computed by a Writer of thoſe Times at One hundred Eighty-ſix thouſand Pounds, though perhaps a little largely, which the French King undertook to pay at One hundred Twenty-five thouſand Livres, half yearly; which Agreement was ratified by the Nobles of France, and the King farther conſented to be excommunicated by the Pope if he failed in his Payments, which neither he nor his Succeſſor did. The King acquainted the City of London, by his Letter, of the Terms he had made, and finiſhed the Whole of his Expedition in Three Months. It hath been ſaid by way of Reflection on this Treaty, that the King ſold his People War, and his Enemies Peace; but if we conſider that he was deſerted by his Allies, that he made very honourable Terms, and compelled France to pay very dear for the Injury he had received, and conſider likewiſe that at this Juncture he was in Danger on the Side of Scotland, and that the Dutcheſs of Burgundy was contriving an Inſurrection in England, we ſhall perhaps think he did as well to content himſelf with what he ſtiled a Tribute, rather than at the Expence of Blood and Treaſure to have acquired a Province or Two in France, which muſt have been, as Experience ſhewed, a conſtant as well as a heavy Burden on his Subjects.

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ping in the Baltic, which they had till then in a great Meaſure monopolized [w].

But the ſtrongeſt Marks of his conſummate Skill in Negotiation appeared in his Tranſactions with the Sovereigns of the Low Countries, which were then in their moſt flouriſhing Condition, with whom he was in continual Correſpondence, and to whoſe Intereſts, from Motives of true Policy, he was obliged to pay almoſt as much Attention as to his own.

This aroſe from the double Relation in which that Country ſtood to ours. For, conſidered in a political Light, the Houſe of Burgundy had been long our moſt uſeful Ally againſt France, and as ſuch was peculiarly ſo in the State of Things during his Time. In a commercial View, the Ties were no leſs ſtrong between the Two Nations. Yet notwithſtandthis, and all the Pains taken by Henry to maintain the ſtricteſt Harmony with the Flemings, it was ſometimes interrupted in regard to both Connections. The Affairs of Maxmilian King of the Romans, Arch-duke of Auſtria, and Tutor to his Son Philip, who in Right of his Mother was the Heir of the Houſe of Burgundy, were in continual Diſorder, and though he was often relieved and always ſupported by Henry, was nevertheleſs at certain Times far from being on good Terms with him or with his own Subjects, whence many Miſchiefs and Miſunderſtandings enſued. On the other Hand, the great Wealth accruing from their numerous Manufactures and extenſive Commerce, excited a Degree of Arrogance, and a ſtrong Spirit of Monopoly in the Flemings, which in their

[w] Theſe Treaties with the King of Denmark, who at that Time poſſeſſed alſo Sweden and Norway, are to be found in Rymer, Tom. xii. p. 374. 381. Seldeni Mare clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 32. and deſerve great Conſideration. By them Permiſſion is given to the Engliſh freely to viſit Iceland, and to furniſh the Natives with Woollen Cloth, as well as to fiſh upon the Coaſts, which before the Diſcovery of Newfoundland afforded a very beneficial Branch of Commerce. They were alſo allowed to purchaſe Lands to build Houſes and Magazines at Bergen, and in other Parts of the Daniſh Dominions, and to elect a Magiſtrate to preſide over their Factories. By the Treaty with the Republic of Florence, Rymeri Fœd. Tom. xii. p. 390. the Wools ſent into Italy, except Six hundred Sacks to Venice, were to be carried into their Dominions, and in Engliſh Shipping. At the very Beginning of his Reign Henry granted ſome Indulgencies to the Subjects of this Republic in reſpect to the Cuſtom upon the Goods they exported. Towards the Cloſe of it he remitted to the Venetian Merchants certain Penalties that they had incurred. We ſee in theſe Inſtances in how different a Manner he could act with reſpect to Foreigners, though very ſevere in the like Caſes with reſpect to his own Subjects. His Intereſt was the Spring of Action in both; for he well knew, that leſs of our national Produce would be exported under Duties grievous to the Merchant, and that in reſpect to Commerce it was better to paſs by ſmall Offences than to hazard either the Interruption or the Decreaſe of it. To ſay the Truth, the Treaties in theſe Three Reigns, maturely conſidered, will convince the Reader that the Traffick of the Engliſh Subject was much more extenſive than is commonly apprehended.

Conſequences created frequent Diſputes with the Engliſh, and heavy Complaints on both Sides.

In ſuch a Train of complicated Concerns, this Monarch proceeded with equal Patience and Perſeverance, diſſembling at ſome Periods his Diſcontents, and availing himſelf at others of critical Conjunctures, by which he was enabled to do at one Time what would have been abſolutely impracticable at another. He was never actuated in reſpect to theſe People either by Reſentment or Caprice, and yet, when his ableſt Miniſters failed of obtaining Satisfaction from them by fair Means, he had Recourſe to an abſolute Prohibition of Trade between the Two Countries, which, though attended with no ſmall Inconvenience to his own Subjects, bore ſo much harder on the Flemings, that they were at length glad to accommodate Matters on his Terms, which were however highly reaſonable; and when this Reconciliation had once taken Place they never ventured to differ with him afterwards, but prudently endeavoured to maintain that Harmony which ſo manifeſtly promoted the commercial Intereſts of both Nations [x].

We come now to that Part of this Reign, which in the View in which we conſider it, we have already hinted is of no ſmall Importance, an Account of the Conduct of this Monarch as a Legiſlator. He was ſo, ſtrictly ſpeaking, his Laws proceeding in a great Meaſure from himſelf, and in that Reſpect bearing the Stamp of his Character. The Three great Ob-

[x] The Cauſe of that great Quarrel mentioned in the Text was Maximilian's conniving at, or rather concurring in the Intrigues of Margaret Dutcheſs Dowager of Burgundy to diſturb Henry's Government, on which he prohibited Trade with the Low Countries, and obliged the Flemings to quit his Kingdom, which they retaliated. This Interruption of Commerce was moſt ſeverely felt by the City of Antwerp, which had riſen from a very inconſiderable Place to great Wealth and Splendour by the Reſidence of the Engliſh Merchants. Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce, p. 16, 17. About Three Years after, when Philip came to govern his own Dominions, he by his Ambaſſadors deſired to renew the old Correſpondence. Henry was by no means averſe; for though the Company of Merchant Adventurers took all the Cloths that were made in England, which ſhewed the Importance of that Company, yet many Inconveniencies were felt, ſo that the Concluſion of a large and explicit Treaty, which may be found in Rymer, Tom. xii. p. 587. was very acceptable to both Nations. This was called Intercurſus Magnus by the Flemings, becauſe it ſettled all Diſputes, and was very favourable to their Fiſheries, and when the Engliſh Merchants returned again in conſequence of it to Antwerp, ſolemn Proceſſions were made, and they were received with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy. But about Ten Years after, when Philip King of Caſtile their Sovereign was here, Henry engaged him to conclude a new Treaty leſs favourable to his Subjects in ſome Reſpects, Rymer, Tom. xiii. p. 132, and this the Flemings ſtiled Intercurſus Malus. However, Henry not long after conſented to a proviſional Treaty of Commerce with Margaret Dutcheſs of Savoy, then Governeſs of the Low Countries, for her Nephew Charles of Auſtria, afterwards the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

jects that occupied his Attention were the fixing his Power, the filling his Purſe, and the eſtabliſhing his Poſterity. As he was ſteady and uniform in all his Purſuits, we have from hence a Clue that will lead us through all the Labyrinth of his Policy. His Abilities were, as hath been already hinted, rather ſolid than ſhining; he was guided by the Lights of Obſervation and Experience, and was indefatigable in point of Application. He came perfectly well informed as to the State of the Country and its Inhabitants, by thoſe well acquainted with both, at his ſeating himſelf upon the Throne. He was well aware that no Authority could be exerciſed over a diſtracted and tumultuous Race of Men, who were firſt to be reduced and gradually reconciled to Order, by feeling its good Effects. He was very ſenſible that no great Revenue could be raiſed upon an indigent People, and he very well knew that Induſtry alone was the Wealth of a Nation. He was alſo convinced, that Commerce as well as Conſideration in the Eye of the Reſt of the World, could be no otherwiſe acquired or maintained than by a fair Correſpondence and judicious Connections with foreign States. To the Attainment of theſe Ends therefore his Laws were directed; and the carrying them into a conſtant, regular, and ſtrict Execution, was the unceaſing Buſineſs of his Adminiſtration [y].

The ſame Motive determined him in the Choice of his Inſtruments. The great Officers of his Court, the Government of Provinces and Fortreſſes, and the Command of his Armies at Home and Abroad, he gave to

[y] It is generally allowed, that the perſonal Characters of Princes when judiciouſly drawn, are of great Utility, as well as very ornamental in Hiſtory. Yet this certainly was not the Buſineſs of the preſent Work, and if they have been ſometimes introduced, it was from a real, or at leaſt a conceived Neceſſity of illuſtrating the Subjects here treated; but in no Caſe have we entered ſo deeply as in the preſent, and the Reaſon is obvious, the perſonal and political Character of Henry being preciſely the ſame. He was at all Times, on all Occaſions, and in every Situation a King. He ſeated himſelf on the Throne with ſo dubious a Title, and found that ſo often called in Queſtion, that he had no Leiſure to act otherwiſe. He was conſtrained to have his Wits always about him, to be ever upon his Guard, and to have the Support of his Dignity continually in View. He was certainly an unamiable Prince, from his continual Attention to Himſelf and to his own Intereſt, and therefore it is no Wonder, that his Conduct hath been ſeverely criticiſed. The being obliged to dwell ſo particularly on his Story was by no means agreeable, but being neceſſary we have endeavoured to treat it fairly, without favouring, flattering, or libelling his Meaſures. Where it is ſaid in the Text that his Laws were peculiarly his own, it was not meant that he dictated them at his Will, and obtruded them on the Legiſlature, for that was by no means his Method. But they were for the moſt Part planned and digeſted in his Council, and when brought into Parliament, had ſuch a Colour of common Benefit and public Good, as induced both Houſes, and the Commons in particular, to adopt them with great Readineſs, in which they conſidered their own Benefit, though in their Firſt Conception, the King no Doubt conſidered his. Upon the Whole we have drawn his Character from Facts, and the Praiſe we have given to his Laws ſtands on the ſame Baſis. With reſpect to his Motives, they can only be reached by Conjecture; but as to the Effects of his Statutes, which we have chiefly conſidered, it muſt be do wellathat there is a Degree at leaſt of Certainty.

Men.

Men of Birth and Quality diſtinguiſhed by their Talents. The Clergy he employed in Embaſſies, received them into his Council, and confided in them for the Management of his moſt ſecret Affairs. His Lawyers had no ſmall Share in his Favour, and in all his Tranſactions with his People, being ſuppoſed to cloath the King's Sentiments with proper Words, in all Acts of State. In theſe and in many other Inſtances he followed the Examples of his immediate Predeceſſors; for though he hated the Family, and perſecuted the Adherents of the Houſe of York, yet he adopted without Scruple their Maxims of Government [z].

In regard to Law, he provided by a Statute, that Fines duly acknowledged ſhould bar dormant Claims, which added much Security to landed Property. He laboured to repreſs the Partiality and Corruption of Juries, which was then a common and dangerous Offence. The Puniſhment of Murder, which till then was very frequently evaded from leaving too much in the Power of the Appellant, was by Statute made more certain and effectual, by directing an immediate Proſecution againſt Offenders at the Inſtance of the Crown. The Puniſhment of Burning in the Left Hand, when the Benefit of Clergy was allowed, took Place in this Reign; and this Benefit was at the ſame Time limited to the Firſt Offence. The carrying away Women by Force, for the Sake of their Fortunes, was made Felony. All Perſons impriſoned for Crimes were directed to be called over by the Juſtices of Gaol Delivery, in order to their being puniſhed or diſcharged. The Negligence or Partiality of Juſtices of the Peace, on whoſe Vigilance the public Quiet was held to depend, was

[z] It will be expected that I ſhould bring ſome Proofs of what is ſaid in the Text. He began his Reign in the ſame Manner with his Predeceſſors, by a Law to declare his Title, another to ſettle the Succeſſion, and by a Reſumption. He borrowed Money frequently from the City of London, at firſt with Difficulty, afterwards without, and this he did when in no Want, that by the Punctuality of his Payments he might gain Credit. He ſent for the great Lords of Ireland over, after Lambert Simnel's Buſineſs, reproved and afterwards careſſed them, and made a conſiderable Preſent to the Lord Howth. He revived the Benevolence invented by Edward the Fourth, Lord Bacon ſays by Conſent of Parliament, which is not ſtrictly ſo, yet he mentioned his Intention in his Speech, and his Reaſon, that the meaner Sort of People might be ſpared. He afterwards obtained an Act to levy the Arrears of this Benevolence. In making Peace with France he purſued Edward's Meaſures Step by Step, and like him permitted his Nobility to receive Penſions. He took great Pains to ingratiate himſelf with the City of London, condeſcended to be Maſter of the Merchant Taylors Company, and dined with them in their Hall in his Habit. He built large Ships and lent them to the Merchants, whom he alſo accommodated with Money to enable them to enlarge their Commerce. In conſequence of the great Effects produced by his Treaties with Denmark he incorporated the Stock-fiſh Mongers. It was not for the Sake of advancing ſomething new, that this Remark was made, but for a better Reaſon, to ſhew that the ſame Plan of Government ſubſiſted here, for almoſt Half a Century, which will in ſome Meaſure account for the very extraordinary Effects that it produced, and which are not therefore to be aſcribed entirely to this Prince.

quickened

quickened by a Law, the Contents of which were properly made known to the People, who from thence, if they were injured, knew where, how, and from whom to ſeek Redreſs. In our Days ſeveral of theſe Statutes may ſeem to be of ſmall Moment, and others perhaps looked upon as ſevere. But if we go to the Bottom, reflect on the long Period in which theſe Evils had remained without Remedy, conſider the Effects that they muſt have produced, and contemplate impartially their Conſequences, we ſhall very probably diſcern, that much of the Quiet we enjoy, much of the Security we poſſeſs, and much of the Civility of which we boaſt, may have been owing to the Alterations made by theſe Laws, and their gradual Influence on the Tempers and Manners of the People [a]

In reſpect to the general Oeconomy of the Subjects in his Dominions, many Statutes were made in his Time, and though ſome of theſe might be improper, others prove ineffectual, and it may be a few might be injurious in their Conſequences, yet were many of them highly uſeful, and all of them apparently well intended, for which he deſerved great Praiſe. He ſaw with very juſt Concern, that Paſſion which diſcovered itſelf in his Time for Incloſures, in order to throw the greater Part of the Land into Grazing, and endeavoured by a Statute to reſtrain it, which was often revived, on a Suppoſition that it might gradually make Things

[a] The Firſt of the Laws mentioned in the Text, is 4 H. VII. cap. 24. which has been improperly ſtiled the Statute of Alienations. This Error perhaps might ariſe from a Tradition warranted by Hiſtory that many of the Nobles did ſell or alienate their Eſtates to furniſh themſelves with Money when they attended the King into France. This might be in conſequence of another Law, 7 H. VII. cap. 3. and it is not improbable, that it was in order to make them ſome Amends, the King allowed them to receive Penſions from France. In reſpect to Murder it is really amazing how looſe the Law had ſtood to this Time. We have heretofore obſerved, that the very Term did not ſignify what it does now, but the Killing of a Man in ſo ſecret a Manner, that the Offender could not be known. The killing a Man out of Malice or Reſentment was left to the Vengeance of the next Relation, who proſecuted within a Year and a Day by Appeal. If this was not done, the Offender might be indicted on the Part of the Crown. But an Appeal being a perſonal Action, attended with Trouble, Expence, and Delay, Offenders frequently eſcaped, which was the Motive to this Law, which though it ſubjected the Criminal to an immediate Indictment at the Suit of the Crown, did not take away the Subjects Right of Appeal, but left it as it was; ſo that whether the Offender was convicted or acquitted upon the Indictment, he might be proſecuted by the Perſon intitled to the Appeal within the Year and a Day. As to the taking away the Benefit of Clergy after the Firſt Offence, it was with the ſame View of leſſening the Frequency of ſuch Crimes, by removing One of the Methods by which the Puniſhment due to them was evaded. In thoſe Days this was thought very hard, and the King was aſperſed for violating the Rights of the Church. By the 12 H. VII. cap. 7. the Benefit of Clergy was totally taken away in caſe of petty Treaſon, but it was not till the next Reign that it was taken from Murder, which ſhews how tenderly this black Crime was then treated. It is a ſtrong Proof of the Wiſdom of the before-mentioned Law, by which even for the Firſt Offence the Criminal incurred the burning in the Hand, that, though altered by a ſubſequent Statute to burning in the Cheek, it was found neceſſary to repeal that, and to re-eſtabliſh the former Method of Puniſhment.

better,

better, or at leaſt hinder them from growing worſe [b]. He puniſhed the Counterfeiting foreign Gold Coins that were current in his Dominions. He recoined light Money, and was exceedingly careful that the new Specie ſhould be of full Weight, of due Fineneſs, and of great Beauty. Goldſmiths were obliged to make all their Plate agreeable to the Standard. He likewiſe appointed ſtandard Weights and Meaſures to be kept in certain Cities and great Towns, intending thereby to introduce a Uniformity in this Reſpect, in which, if he failed, future Attempts have not been much more ſucceſsful. He made repeated Efforts to ſupport the Rights of his Subjects againſt thoſe Combinations formed by rich and great Men, to maintain a Power inconſiſtent with Juſtice. He ſhewed no leſs Attention to ſecure honeſt and induſtrious Perſons from the Intrigues of ſuch as took themſelves to be beneath the Notice of the Law, than he had done to protect them from being oppreſſed by ſuch as affected to be above it; and this he did by puniſhing ſeverely Vagrants and Vagabonds, prohibiting at the ſame Time thoſe Sports, Games, and Plays, that by encouraging Idleneſs proved a Nurſery for Malefactors, and diffuſed a Spirit of licentious Indigence, incompatible with that Order which is the Eſſence of civil Society [c].

In Reference to Manufactures, he was very deſirous to encourage and ſupport them, more eſpecially the Woollen, in regard to which, many uſeful Regulations were made. Care was alſo taken that the home Manu-

[b] This Statute, which was 4 H. VII. cap. 19. is very well and clearly explained by Lord Bacon, who has fully juſtified the King's Intention, which was to encourage a Number of ſmall Farms. Another Statute in the ſame Parliament for preventing more than One Farm from being held by the ſame Perſon in the Iſle of Wight, was formed upon the ſame Principle, which was to increaſe the Number of People, and the Strength of the Country thereby. But the Rectitude of the Intention could not ſecure Succeſs. The Truth is, Incloſures did not cauſe but were the Effects of Depopulation. We have ſhewn the Number of People had been decreaſing for many Years, and this could not be immediately helped by any Statute. Beſides Agriculture was at this Time very incertain, Wheat ſelling ſometimes at Four Shillings a Quarter or under, ſometimes at Six Times that Price, and above. The Wages of Manufacturers induced ſuch as were inclined to Labour, to follow that Courſe. The Owners of Land therefore could find but few Hands to employ, and this, together with the immediate Profit ariſing from Sheep and Wool, induced them to turn their Thoughts generally to grazing. This ſeems at leaſt a probable Account of the Matter, and of the little Effect that this and other Statutes of a like Kind, for a long Series of Years produced.

[c] The foregoing Hiſtory, and the Remarks thereon, to ſhew the State of the Nation, demonſtrates ſufficiently the Neceſſity of ſuch Inſtitutions. The Nature of the Regulations they were to make, the Miſchiefs they were to remove, and the Benefits they were to beſtow, prove their Utility. As moſt of them were made not only with the Conſent but at the Requeſt of the Commons, it appears they were acceptable. The Alterations they produced are Arguments that evince their Expediency, and that moſt of them continue in Force, and that the Principles of the Reſt have been adopted in ſucceeding Times, leaving us no Room to doubt, that as they were well conceived they were alſo well digeſted.

facturer

facturer ſhould be ſupplied with Wools before any were exported, and that theſe ſhould be ſent into foreign Parts in our own Bottoms. The City of Norwich, and afterwards the whole County of Norfolk, were exempted from that ſtrange Law that reſtrained Children from being bound Apprentices, if their Parents had not Twenty Shillings per Annum in Land. He added ſeveral new Corporations in London, and gave additional Privileges to others, particularly to the Leather-ſellers, who were impowered to inſpect the Making of that Commodity through the Realm, which had very good Effects. Such ſmall Silk Wares as were made here, he prohibited to be imported, as he did other Manufactures we had gradually gained; and provided againſt Impoſitions in various Sorts of Goods, that were brought from foreign Countries. In fixing by Law the Prices of Goods and ſettling the Wages of Workmen; the Notions current in thoſe Times prevailed, and ſo far they are excuſable.

As to domeſtic TRADE, it is evident that all the Steps taken to eſtabliſh general Quiet, to excite Induſtry, and to ſuppreſs Idleneſs and Licentiouſneſs, had a Tendency to promote it, and that it actually did ſo, appears from the Extenſion of the Woollen Manufacture in the Northern Counties. He by Statute took away many of thoſe Reſtraints on Trade, which for the Sake of local Advantages, Corporations had impoſed, ſuch as Tolls at their Gates, and on navigable Rivers. A Bye-Law of the City of London to prevent its Inhabitants from frequenting Country Fairs was annulled by Parliament. By another Law the Power of Corporations in making Rules for their own Members, were put under ſuch Reſtrictions, as to prevent ſacrificing to private Benefit the public Good [d].

[d] It is an Obſervation not confined to this Country, that the partial and narrow Views of particular Traders become oftentimes the greateſt Hindrance and Impediment to Trade. Thus the impoſing of Tolls for Goods brought to this or that Market, Paſſage Duties on navigable Rivers, and indeed petty Impoſitions of every Kind, though they may ſeem advantageous for a Time, yet in the End prove detrimental even to the Places for the Benefit of which they are levied. For Trade, like Water, loves a free Paſſage, and if impeded in One Courſe, will divert itſelf into another. Corporations had now acquired ſuch a Degree of Strength, as enabled them to abuſe that very Power, and thoſe very Privileges by which they acquired it; and from making Bye-Laws requiſite for the common Benefit of their Members, began to lay upon them Reſtraints, which they were not able to endure, and of which as Freemen they had a juſt Right to complain. It was therefore by Statute provided, that a Bye Law ſhould have no Force unleſs approved by the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Two Chief Juſtices, or at leaſt Two of theſe, or Two Judges of Aſſize. The particular Bye-Laws of the City of London for preventing Citizens from carrying their Goods to Country Fairs, was with a View to enforce a Reſort of Country Traders to London, and the Hardſhips being felt by ſome of the Citizens themſelves, they had Recourſe to Parliament for Relief, which they obtained. This is a pregnant Inſtance of the great Utility of the Legiſlative Power, by which alone ſuch Evils can be corrected, and the public Intereſt and public Liberty ſecured.

As to the great Buſineſs of FOREIGN TRAFFIC, his long Reſidence in Bretagne had given him much Experience, the Effect of which clearly appears in all the Treaties of Commerce concluded by him with foreign Powers. He by Law obliged Deniſons to pay alien Duties to prevent Frauds in the Cuſtoms, yet he frequently granted Licences to foreign Merchants to export our Native Commodities. He revived and enforced the old Navigation Laws in order to promote Ship-building, to encreaſe the Number of Seamen, and to preſerve the Freight for his own Subjects. He encouraged and ſupported Factories in foreign Parts. Diſtant Diſcoveries he patronized, and the Firſt made by this Nation were in his Reign. The Merchant Adventurers received a New Charter, and that Appellation from him, and they were likewiſe emancipated from the Encroachments of the London Merchants by Law, which ſhewed a juſt Concern for Commercial Liberty [e]. He built large Ships, that he might encourage and improve his Shipwrights, demonſtrate the Utility of ſuch Veſſels, and thereby introduce the Uſe of them; and to effect this the more ſpeedily, when he had no immediate Occaſion for them, he let them out to Merchants, and ſupplied them alſo with Money without any Profit, that they might engage in more extenſive Adventures. Himſelf embarked in foreign Commerce, as Edward the Fourth had done before, and was no Doubt a very great Gainer by it, at the ſame time that his Example raiſed the Credit of Trade, and in other Reſpects had an Influence upon his People.

[e] This Corporation was originally ſtiled, The Fraternity of St. Thomas à Becket, and the Firſt Company erected in this Kingdom. The Reader may ſee the Hiſtory of their Eſtabliſhments at Home and Abroad, very well worth knowing, in Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce. As to the preſent Point, Trade being become much more conſiderable, and the Merchant Adventurers (for ſo they ſtiled themſelves) very numerous in different Parts of England, thoſe reſiding in London took upon them to enlarge the Admiſſion Fine, originally no more than a Noble, by ſlow Degrees to Forty Pounds, and till this was paid by the Merchants reſiding in different Parts of the Kingdom, they would not ſuffer them to expoſe their Goods to ſale in the foreign Marts. Upon this the Merchants at large petitioned the diſcreet Commons, ſo the Words of their Complaint run for Redreſs, ſetting forth, not only the particular Hardſhips and Diſcouragements they were under, but the great Detriment ariſing from hence to the Trade of the Nation in general, in Terms very well worth the Peruſal. Upon this the Statute of the 12 Hen. VII. cap. 6. was made, by which the Admiſſion Fine is fixed at Ten Marks. This Company had Three ſeveral Charters granted them by Henry the Seventh, and a Place aſſigned them with large Privileges in the Town of Calais, when, as we before obſerved, they were obliged to remove from Antwerp, and for the Services rendered to the Public at that Time they were honoured by Charter with the Title of Merchant Adventurers of England. In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, when their Intercourſe with the Low Countries was again interrupted, they were impowered to trade into Germany, and being invited to ſettle at Hamburgh, they are now ſtiled The Hamburgh Company.

The Poor were by no means below his Notice, on the contrary it may be truly aſſerted, that he ſhewed greater Attention towards them than any of his Predeceſſors. In the Statute againſt Vagabonds, it was directed that the Aged and Infirm ſhould be conveyed to the Place of their Birth, that they might be relieved from the natural Affection of their Relations, or maintained by the Charity of the Monaſteries. He provided by another Statute, that in caſe of their being wronged they ſhould have the full Aid of the Law, and the Aſſiſtance of Lawyers without Expence, that Poverty might be no Bar to the obtaining Juſtice, or Difference in Circumſtances give One Subject an Advantage over another. He founded alſo and endowed an Hoſpital for their Reception and Maintenance, when they came to London to attend their Suits in his Courts. We may add to this, that he employed Numbers in his Buildings in Town and Country, as well as in his Docks; and the Laws for ſettling the Prices of Labour, the Cheapneſs of Living conſidered, are allowed to have been liberal [f].

By the great Change theſe Inſtitutions wrought in the Country and its Inhabitants, the Constitution was much ſtrengthened and improved, and all the Branches of the Legiſlature acted with more Regularity and Dignity as well as Freedom. To keep good Order, to prevent Tumults, and to carry into full Execution the Laws againſt Retainers, a Statute was made in Support of the Court of Star-chamber, with ſuch Powers as were thought neceſſary to correct the enormous and inveterate Abuſes that had grown up during the long Continuance of the Civil Wars, which Court in ſucceeding Times becoming arbitrary and oppreſſive, was by the Legiſlative Authority very wiſely ſuppreſſed. By another Law he provided, as far as it was poſſible, for the Security of ſuch as at any Time ſhould

[f] The Statute of the 11 Hen. VII. cap. 12. which is intituled, "A Mean to help and ſpeed poor Perſons in their Suits," is very ſuccinct, but not obſcurely worded. At preſent a Perſon who will ſue in *Forma Pauperis*, makes an Affidavit that he is not worth Five Pounds beſides his wearing Apparel, and this with a Council's Opinion that he hath a juſt Cauſe of Action, gives him a Right to ſue without paying either Fees or Stamps. The ſevere Statutes againſt Maintenance and Champerty, made ſuch a Law neceſſary, which however hath been thought to ſtand in Need of ſome Amendments, ſuch as having the Cauſe of Action examined and certified by ſome Perſon of ſuperior Rank in the Law in order to give Credit to the Pauper's Cauſe, and in caſe of Succeſs to allow proper Coſts out of what the Plaintiff obtains, which might excite Zeal and Expedition. The Court of Requeſts, which now no longer exiſts, permitted all Petitions to the King for Redreſs to be proſecuted without Fees, and had from thence the Title of The Poor Man's Court, as Sir Thomas Smith tells us. For the ſame Reaſon, Henry is thought to have obtained the Title of the Poor Man's King, which Mr. Barrington very judiciouſly ſays, is a more honourable and laſting Monument, than that erected to his Memory in his own Chapel.

take up Arms in Defence of the King in Poſſeſſion, whatever the Event of the Diſpute might be. He by this and other beneficial Laws, as well as by the Succeſs that attended his Undertakings, grew into much Credit with the Commons, and they had no leſs Credit with him, as appears by his Confidence in Applications to his Parliaments, and by the free Language held by the Commons in their Petitions from the very Beginning of his Reign, and which they held on without his taking any Offence to the very End g.

It will appear from theſe Particulars, and many more might be produced, that this Monarch had ſome great Qualities, though certainly mixed with many bad and even mean Diſpoſitions. We have already mentioned many Inſtances of Artifice and Falſehood, as well as of Auſterity or rather Cruelty, but his predominant Vice, which continued to increaſe as he grew in Years, was Avarice. In the former Part of his Reign this was imputed to his Miniſters Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, but without Cauſe, as it appeared more flagrantly when he employed Sir Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley, Men conſpicuous only in being his Inſtruments in this dirty Buſineſs. It would be unjuſt to palliate, and much more to defend theſe infamous Extortions; let it ſuffice to ſay, that to enhance as well as to ſecure his Profits, they fell not on the meaner, or even on the middle Sort of People. Yet with all his Blemiſhes, which were not either ſmall or few, this Nation ſtands indebted to him, not only for various but for great and laſting Benefits h. He put an End to civil Wars,

g As Henry made Laws to reſtrain the exorbitant Power and Oppreſſions of the Nobility, ſo he endeavoured to inſpire them by his Example, with a Spirit of ſupporting their Dignity by milder and more munificent Methods. He was very magnificent in his Court, and upon all public Occaſions, ſuch as the Coronation of his Queen, the Marriage of his Daughter by Proxy to the King of Scots, as well as in that of Prince Arthur to the Princeſs Katherine of Spain. His Buildings were ſtately, and he encouraged Men of Learning and Genius. He alſo introduced great Decorum in the Houſe of Peers, which had ſo good an Effect, that Sir Edward Poynings judged it expedient to purſue the like Method, in order to give Luſtre to the Houſe of Lords in Ireland. His Council was always compoſed of very able and wiſe Men, which gave weight to their Deciſions; and it is remarkable, that except Sir William Stanley, he diſgraced no great Officer during his Reign. In the latter End of it, Sir Thomas More, who was a Burgeſs in the Houſe of Commons, made a warm and weighty Speech againſt a Subſidy, a Freedom that had not been taken before.

h The principal Dates that relate to his Reign are A. D. 1485, 30th October crowned; 7th of November opened his Firſt Parliament. A. D. 1487, June 16th the Battle of Stoke, in which the Earl of Lincoln was ſlain; 25th November, Queen Elizabeth crowned. 1488, July 28th, Battle of St. Aubin du Cormier in Bretagne. A. D. 1492, October 6th, the King debarked his Forces at Calais; 3d of November Peace ſigned at Eſtaples. 17th of December returned to England. A. D. 1494, it ſhould ſeem, that the Dutcheſs of Burgundy intended to have ſent over the Perſon

Wars, which had ruined the Country, and exhauſted its Inhabitants. His Government was what in ſuch a State of Things the Welfare of the Subject required, as appeared by his reſtoring Order, Civility, and the free Courſe of Juſtice. The naval Expeditions he patronized excited a Spirit of Diſcovery, which gave us a Title to the great Country of Florida, which now in its utmoſt Extent we poſſeſs. We owe to him the Firſt Eſtabliſhment of the Royal Navy on a firm and ſolid Baſis. He reſtored the Tranquillity and fixed the political Conſtitution of Ireland, to which his Son gave the Title of a Kingdom, as it well deſerved. He it was that projected the Union of the Two Crowns, which when it afterwards took Place removed innumerable Evils to which both Countries had been expoſed, and brought thereby ſuch an Acceſſion of Strength, as hath rendered GREAT BRITAIN the moſt independent and the greateſt Maritime Power the World ever ſaw. In how much better a State he left his Dominions than they had ever been in from the Time of the Norman Conqueſt, the Treaſure he left at his Deceaſe, and the Teſtimonies of Writers of thoſe Times, furniſh full Proofs [i].

WE

ſon ſhe ſtiled her Nephew in this Year, as ſhe ſtruck a Silver Coin weighing Sixty Grains with this Inſcription, Domine ſalvum fac Regem. On the Reverſe, Mani Teckel Phares. In a Treſſure of Four Curves a Flour de Luce and a Lion of England, an arched Crown between them above, and a Roſe below. Supplement to Folkes's Engliſh Coins, p. 191. Many Perſons of Diſtinction were executed this Year for correſponding with him. A. D. 1495, 15th February, Sir William Stanley beheaded. A. D. 1497, 17th June, the Battle of Blackheath. A. D. 1499, 16th November, Perkin Warbeck arraigned; 28th of the ſame Month the Earl of Warwick beheaded. A. D. 1500, Duke of Suffolk retired into Flanders; 14th November Prince Arthur married to Katherine of Spain. A. D. 1501, 2d of April, Prince Arthur deceaſed; 5th of May Sir James Tyrrel executed. A. D. 1503, 11th of February, Queen Elizabeth died in Child-bed in the Tower; 8th of Auguſt Princeſs Margaret married to the King of Scots at Edinburgh. This Year died Margaret Dutcheſs Dowager of Burgundy Siſter to Edward the Fourth. A. D. 1506, Duke of Suffolk brought over and committed to the Tower. A. D. 1509, 21ſt of April, ſays Fabian, with whom agrees the large Account of the King's Funeral, but Speed and Bacon both ſay the 22d of April, with whom our regal Table agrees; this King deceaſed at his Palace of Richmond in the Twenty-fourth Year of his Reign, and when he was about the Age of Fifty-two.

[i] We have no leſs than Three reſpectable Authorities, in reference to the Wealth left by this King, in which as they differ widely it will be proper to give their own Words. "He left at "his Death, ſays Lord Bacon, moſt of it in ſecret Places under his own Key and Keeping at "Richmond, as by Tradition is reported, the Sum of near Eighteen hundred thouſand Pounds "Sterling, a huge Maſs of Money, even for theſe Times." Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 108. Edit. 4°. 1761. "He heaped up his Maſs of Treaſure, ſays Sir Robert Cotton, ſo that he left in Bul- "lion Four Millions and a Half, beſides his Plate, Jewels, and rich Attire." Reaſons againſt foreign Wars, p. 53. He there profeſſes, that he took this from a Book of Accounts between the King and Edmund Dudley. The laſt is the greateſt Authority of all. "By the Cloſe Roll, "ſays Sir Edward Coke, Anno 3 H. VIII. it appeareth, that the King left in his Coffers Fifty "and Three hundred thouſand Pounds, moſt Part in foreign Coin, which in thoſe Days was

"not

We have now finiſhed the Chapter, and therewith brought this Book to a Concluſion, in which it hath been endeavoured, through a long Series of Ages to trace, as far our Materials and Capacity would allow, the political State of this Nation. In doing this the utmoſt Diligence hath been uſed to diſcover and to point out the real Cauſes of great Events, to ſhew the Method and Manner in which they were produced, and to deſcribe the Conſequences that have attended them. By ſuch Viciſſitudes to which all ſublunary Things are expoſed, Countries and their Inhabitants change their Appearances and their Characters in different Periods, ſo as to bear hardly any Semblance at One Time to what they really were at another. This hath been fully ſhewn to have been the Caſe in this Iſland, where ſometimes, according to the Genius and Condition of the People, the Soil hath been well cultivated, and in conſequence of that and its natural Fertility, ſuch an Abundance of all Things neceſſary produced, as to excite the Wonder and Envy of our Neighbours. In others, we have ſeen it to a great Degree waſte and barren, with ſcarce any Remembrance of former Improvements. In the Firſt State the Country was of courſe populous, full of Cities, Towns, and Villages; in the latter thinly peopled, and the ſcattered Inhabitants in a poor and low Condition. The Revolutions that produced theſe Alterations, ſometimes aroſe from foreign Invaſions, ſome-

" not of leaſt Value." Inſtitutes, Part iv. cap. 35. p. 198. But it muſt not be from hence ſuppoſed, that this Monarch locked up all or the greateſt Part of the Money in this Kingdom, or that the wiſe Laws he made, and which was ſtill of more Conſequence, ſaw punctually executed, ſhould have no conſpicuous Conſequence in regard to the Welfare of his Subjects. On the contrary, it clearly appears that there were many amongſt all Ranks of Men during his Reign in improved Circumſtances. Sir William Stanley we have heard had Forty thouſand Marks in ready Money. The like is ſaid of the Earl of Ormond. The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Surry, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Oxford, and others of the Nobility, had vaſt Eſtates. In reſpect to Church Men, Cardinal Morton ſpent immenſe Sums in repairing and rebuilding the Houſes belonging to his Two Dioceſes of Ely and Canterbury. Cardinal Wareham, beſides his ſplendid Inthronization at Canterbury, ſpent Thirty thouſand Pounds in public Works. Fox Biſhop of Wincheſter, beſides other Acts of Munificence, built Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford. Biſhop Alcock, who ſucceeded Morton in Ely, built Jeſus College in Cambridge, and Dr. Ruthal Biſhop of Durham, who died in his Son's Reign, amaſſed no leſs than One hundred thouſand Pounds. Godwin de Præſul. p. 754. In reſpect to the Law, the noble Houſes of Mulgrave, Peterborough, and Townſhend were all of them founded by Lawyers, who flouriſhed in his Reign, in which Sir Thomas More, when a very young Man, got Four Hundred Pounds a Year at the Bar. As to the opulent Merchants in London, Briſtol, Hull, and other Places, we have not Room to mention them. It may be ſufficient to ſay, that the Writers of our Hiſtory in and near his Time, ſome of whom were Citizens themſelves, concur in affirming that by the Countenance and Encouragement as well as Protection that he gave to Commerce, he cauſed immenſe Quantities of Coin and Bullion to be brought into this Kingdom by foreign Merchants, and as Hall obſerves, as he lived highly revered for his Power and Wiſdom by foreign Princes, ſo by his domeſtic Policies, he at his Deceaſe left his Subjects at Home full of Wealth, and in the Height of Proſperity

times

times from domeſtic Diſſenſions, generally from a Concurrence of both, and Things have been again brought into Order, by the gradual Reſtitution of an equal Form of Government, that by a due Temperament of Liberty with Authority, provided effectually for public Power and private Security. In bringing this to the View of the Reader, in order to inform, not to influence his Judgment, Facts have been plainly ſtated, and the Inferences from them as fairly deduced, from the earlieſt Times to the Settlement of that Conſtitution which ſtill endures, and which in virtue of ſuch Modifications and Improvements as the Change of Circumſtances rendered neceſſary, and public Wiſdom therefore adopted, have raiſed us to that flouriſhing and extenſive Empire we at preſent poſſeſs, and which may Divine Providence ever proſper and preſerve!

THE

THE POLITICAL SURVEY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Of Revenue amongſt the moſt ancient Inhabitants of Britain.

A Sufficient Force and a competent Revenue neceſſary to every Government. The due Regulation of one and the proper Application of the other, Points of the higheſt Political Importance. The End, Deſign, and Object of this Book ſuccinctly explained. This Country at the Coming of Cæſar divided into many Principalities. The Chief in each of theſe had a Militia and ſome Sort of Revenue. Cæſar acknowledges their Militia to have been alert, intrepid, and well trained. The Actions, Conduct, and Reſources of Caſſibelan plainly prove his having a Revenue, though we know not how it was raiſed. What Cæſar

Cæsar says of this Country's being without Gold or Silver explained and shewn not to be inconsistent with this Assertion. The People of Britain actually had these precious Metals, and even the Use of Gold Coin before the Invasion by the Romans. This Revenue, however levied, was not either grievous or oppressive. The People strongly attached to the Form of Government that then subsisted. After Cæsar's Departure the Country better cultivated and the Inhabitants became more polished. They maintained from that Time a Correspondence with Rome, and were in some Measure dependent on the Empire, the Britons though living still under their old Government enjoyed great Ease and Prosperity. The Avarice of the Romans the principal Motive to their resuming their Design of conquering the Island.

THE essential Difference between Savages and People living in civil Society is, that the latter have Property, the former none. This Property, that is, the certain and secure Possession of what a Man hath acquired, is derived to him from the Government under which he lives, whatever the Form of it may be, and for the Sake of this and other Advantages, civil Societies were formed; and in the full Enjoyment of these continue to subsist. For the Sake of these Advantages every Government is invested with Power and intrusted with a Revenue. In different Forms of Government, different Modes of settling these have prevailed, but the Necessity of settling them for the Support of Government, or in other Words, for attaining the Ends for which Government is established, have rendered such a Settlement universal. These, though they are derived from Individuals, cannot be said to be taken from them, because they are given for their Use. An Individual in a State of Civil Society employs his Property in procuring the Necessaries and Conveniencies he desires, and that Portion of it which is appropriated to the Support of Government is clearly appropriated for the Sake of that Protection which enables him to dispose of the Rest for procuring Food, Cloathing, Habitation, and other Uses. In this, which is the true Light in which it ought to be considered, the Revenue is beneficial to every Individual, and is therefore with great Propriety stiled the Revenue of the Public, and if at any Time the Weight of it becomes grievous or oppressive, it must be from its being injudiciously levied, or from its being diverted from its proper Uses [a].

[a] Simple and almost self-evident as these may appear, they are notwithstanding Truths of the utmost Importance. Tacitus, who is considered as an Oracle in Politics, hath laid down the Doctrine delivered in the Text with great Force and Precision, his Words are these: "Nulla "quies Gentium sine Armis, nec Arma sine Stipendiis, nec Stipendia sine Tributis haberi queunt." Hist. lib. iv. cap. 74.

These Circumſtances maturely conſidered, will very plainly ſhew, that the ſettling, altering, or new modelling a Revenue will be in every State a moſt intereſting Point of Policy. The Weight of all Impoſitions, however neceſſary, will be felt, and the ſimpleſt Method of leſſening this Weight, which is very requiſite alſo to its being cheerfully borne, is to lay it upon all. Any Order of Men exempt from that Burden which falls upon the Reſt, though they may be eaſed, cannot fail of being envied. In laying ſuch Impoſitions upon all, due Regard muſt be had to the different Circumſtances of Men; for a Tax very equal in Appearance may be found very unequal in its Conſequences. Suppoſing them however to be perfectly well adjuſted in this Reſpect, great Circumſpection will be neceſſary in the Methods of employing them. The very End will be fruſtrated if they are hoarded, and will be far from being anſwered if they are ſquandered, or in any other Way miſapplied. Evils of this Sort naturally produce Clamours and Confuſions. In free States, and it is indeed the Characteriſtic of their being ſo, the utmoſt Effort of human Wiſdom is exerted to guard againſt all theſe Miſchiefs, by placing the Power of giving for the public Service, and the Inſpection of the Manner in which the Revenue is expended, in the Hands of the People themſelves, or of their Repreſentatives [b].

We will now come to the proper Buſineſs of this Book, in which we by no means pretend to give a complete Hiſtory of our Finances, as that would require Lights and Informations to which we do not aſpire, and becauſe it would alone exceed the Limits within which this Work is to be confined. What we preſume to offer to the Reader is a ſuccinct View of our Finances in the ſame Manner in which we have gone through our Hiſtory in the preceding Book, and this with the very ſame Intention, that it may appear how the different Kinds of Taxes, and the different Modes of levying them, according to the different Forms of Rule that have prevailed in this Iſland, have operated on the State of the Country and the Condition of the People. If to any it ſhould ſeem, we might have purſued a ſhorter Method than this of taking up the Matter as it were Thread by Thread, we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that we will render it as little tedious as poſſible, and that we hope it will prove both more entertaining and more ſatisfactory, from its fully explaining the Truth of our previous Obſervations,

[b] Plautus, who looked very deep into human Nature, tells us, Money is the Blood of Mortals, Pecunia anima & ſanguis eſt Mortalibus. It certainly is ſo, and therefore ſhould never be drawn wantonly or in too great Quantities, but upon juſt Occaſions, and with much Circumſpection. We may farther add, that it is upon a free Circulation thereof, the Health of the animal Body and the Body Politic equally depend, and the great Secret is to prevent any Stagnation, which is ever dangerous in either.

enabling

enabling the Reader to diſcern the different Effects ariſing from this Cauſe in different Periods, and ultimately to demonſtrate, in what Manner our Reſources have been multiplied from the Increaſe of our Freedom, and thoſe Improvements that have from thence been gradually made in our political Conſtitution [c].

In the Beginning of the former Book it hath been clearly ſhewn, that when Julius Cæſar came hither he did not find this Country inhabited by wild undiſciplined Savages, but by People diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Nations, that is, living under diſtinct Governments. We will not recur to what is regarded as fabulous Hiſtory in Reference to theſe ancient Inhabitants, but take up Things as he has ſtated them, which is in truth fully ſufficient for our Purpoſe. He admits the Country was divided into many ſmall Principalities, each of theſe under a Chief, a Prince, or as he ſtiles them, a King. Theſe Principalities muſt at the Time of his Invaſion have ſubſiſted for ſeveral Ages, from the Numbers of Men they contained, from the Form of Policy under which they lived, and from their Acquaintance with Arms and Arts which he allows them. Each of theſe Principalities, however ſmall, had a certain Form of Rule; and from thence we may neceſſarily conclude, the Prince had a Military Power, and ſome Sort of Revenue. This Deduction is ſo natural that it cannot well be diſputed; for without ſuch a Force theſe ſeparate Territories could not have ſubſiſted, or their Princes have maintained that Rank without ſome competent Proviſion. As this is reaſonable, ſo it is likewiſe certain; for we are told that the Druids, who for that Reaſon were probably the Authors of this Conſtitution, were entirely free and exempt, which implies that the Reſt of the People were ſubject to thoſe Aids that every Government requires, and theſe were Military Services, and ſome Sort of Tribute. From the former the Druids were excuſed as Prieſts, and from the latter they were likewiſe free, though we are alſo told that they were the ſole Judges in judicial Caſes, which ſhews that the People had Property, from which, whatever it was, theſe Impoſitions muſt ariſe [d].

To

[c] This is bringing Things to the Teſt of Experience and common Senſe. If Men ſee that in different Ages, the ſame People have been in different Circumſtances, ſometimes eaſy and even opulent, at others low and miſerable, they are deſirous of knowing whence this aroſe, and wiſh to be acquainted with the true Source of Matters ſo very important. But when this relates to their own Country, and to their Anceſtors, however remote, it becomes a Thing of ſtill greater Conſequence, and naturally excites a ſtronger Spirit of Enquiry. It is to ſatisfy this that ſo much Pains have been taken, and if theſe are ſo happy in any Degree to anſwer that End, they will abundantly repay their Author, who pretends to no other Merit in theſe Diſquiſitions than Diligence and Sincerity.

[d] Cæſar de Bello Gallico lib. iv. cap. 27. lib. v. cap. 9. Tacit. in vit. Agricolæ. Pomp. Mel. de ſitu Orbis lib. iii. cap. 6. All theſe Writers agree as to this Point. Cæſar from what he ſaw

In regard to Military Service we have as full Evidence as can be desired. Cæsar at his First Invasion found himself opposed not by a raw and tumultuous Multitude, but by a regular, and in their Way a well-disciplined Army, consisting of Infantry, Cavalry, and armed Chariots, which were probably the Forces of the Four Kings which then reigned in Kent. They assailed his Army with great Spirit, and though repulsed, did not, as barbarous Nations are accustomed to do, disperse, and betake themselves to Flight. On the contrary he acknowledges, that they still continued to oppose him, to practise all the Arts and Stratagems of War, to avail themselves of all their natural Advantages, and of every Accident that happened, shewing on all Occasions that Activity, Firmness, and Sagacity, which arises from natural Courage, improved by Military Experience. In consequence of this vigorous Resistance, notwithstanding the several Checks, which he asserts they received, he grew weary of a Dispute which he did not expect, and after a Three Weeks Campaign shewed as great Readiness to listen to Propositions as they did in making them, and having entered into an Accommodation, which, even as he represents it, seems calculated to save the Honour of the Roman Arms and secure his Retreat, he re-embarked his Forces, resolved when he came next to bring a much superior Force. This he really did, for in his Second Expedition he employed Five Legions, making at least Twenty thousand Foot, a competent Body of Horse, and a Fleet of Eight Hundred Sail [c].

To resist so great an Army composed of Roman Veterans and commanded by the most experienced General of his Time, the Britons entered into a Confederacy, and appointed Cassibelan General and Commander in Chief of the Troops of the combined Kings. This Confederacy plainly proves their having early Intelligence, their steady Resolution to defend their Liberties, and the Preparations they made, and the Bodies of Men they brought into the Field manifested their having a great Strength, and this too directed

and knew. Tacitus from strict Enquiry, for making which he had the best Opportunity, and he asserts that the Britons had been long so governed. Justin from Trogus Pompeius affirms, that all ancient Nations were governed in the same Manner, which is conformable enough to the Sentiments of the most ancient sacred and profane Writers. These small Principalities being immediately under the Eye of their Sovereign, call him what you will, seem to have thriven exceedingly, and to have been for their Extent very populous, as they evidently were when Cæsar landed here.

[c] Tacitus treats this Matter very fairly. Julius, says he, of all the Romans was the First who led an Army into Britain, and though successful in several Actions, and being Master of the Coasts, yet after all seems rather to have shewn than to have delivered this Country to Posterity. Other Writers say plainly, that he was beaten by the Britons. Indeed Tacitus in another Place makes a British Prince, to encourage his Subjects to behave gallantly, put them in Mind that they were the Descendants of those brave Men who had repelled the Dictator Julius, and forced him to quit their Country.

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by a juſt Degree of military and political Prudence. That they were beaten by Troops ſo much better armed, ſo completely diſciplined, and in all other Reſpects ſo much their Superiors, affords no great Cauſe of Wonder. But that they ſhould ſtill perſiſt, notwithſtanding this Reverſe of Fortune, to continue the War, when probably from the Want of Means of ſubſiſting them, Caſſibelan was forced to diſmiſs his Infantry, and to retain only Four thouſand Chariots about his Perſon, ſhewed much Intrepidity as well as great Capacity in that Prince, who after all was more diſtreſſed by the Deſertion of ſome of his Confederates than by the Efforts of the Romans, who by the Information of theſe Deſerters were enabled to ſack his Capital. After all this he managed his Negotiation with equal Ability and Dignity, and his Circumſtances conſidered, made no diſhonourable Treaty. But can we imagine, that he did all this without a Revenue or Subſidies of ſome Kind or other? If we could ſuppoſe it, Cæſar himſelf hath put it out of our Power, for the Terms he demanded were Hoſtages and a Tribute. In what this was paid, if it was paid, he does not tell us, but it is not impoſſible that in Part at leaſt it was in Pearls, for a Shield covered with theſe he dedicated in the Temple of Venus, as a Trophy of his Victories in Britain [f].

If it ſhould be objected, that Cæſar ſays expreſsly there was no Gold or Silver in Britain, but that the People made uſe of Braſs Plates or Iron Rings of a certain Weight for Money. Should we grant this to be exactly true, it would not conclude againſt the Britiſh Princes receiving Aids from their Subjects, that is, from receiving thoſe Things which Gold and Silver, if they had poſſeſſed them, would have purchaſed, or which might have been had for theſe Braſs Plates or Iron Rings, in which Subſidies might

[f] Cæſar Bello Gallico lib. v. c. 19. Tacit. in vit. Agricolæ. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 35. Bed. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 1. Liſteri de Cochl. Fluv. cap. 2. It is true that Cæſar ſays nothing concerning Britiſh Pearls. But Pliny affirms, that he did not diſown that the Shield covered with Pearls, which he dedicated in the Temple of Venus Genetrix, was compoſed of the Spoils of Britain. His Silence with reſpect to Pearls ſhould as little prove that there were none in Britain, as that there were no precious Metals. It is certain they were here, and known to be here before he came. Tacitus ſays, and indeed Pliny alſo, that they were dark and ill-coloured. Beda with much more Truth, that they are of all Colours. Cæſar's Soldiers could not have found them here, for they were never within a hundred Miles of any River in which they are found, and therefore he obtained them either as Preſents or Tribute. They are ſtill found in the River Conway in Wales, in the River Irt in Cumberland, and a Patent was once granted for a Pearl Fiſhery there. In many Rivers and Lakes in Scotland, and in Ireland likewiſe. They are found uſually in large ill-ſhaped Muſcles, are moſtly brown, ſometimes well-ſhaped, fair, and bright, and are then ſold for Oriental Pearls. The ingenious Dr. Liſter conceived them to be the Effects of old Age, and a Kind of Scurvy in the Fiſh, and there are many of his Opinion.

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be paid, where they paſſed for Moneys. But with like Truth it may be ſaid, that Cæſar ſpoke only of what he ſaw or knew, and he therefore might ſay what he did, though at the ſame Time there might be theſe precious Metals in Britain.

Subsequent Authors acknowledge, that there were and the Fact is certainly true, that the Britons were by no means Strangers to Gold and Silver before the Romans came hither. There have been large Quantities of Gold Coin diſcovered, which from the Rudeneſs of their Impreſſion appear to have been Britiſh, and from that Circumſtance alſo are concluded to have been in Uſe before Cæſar's Invaſion. Some other Pieces have been found without any Impreſſion at all, which are with very great Probability ſuppoſed to have been ſtill earlier in Uſe. It is impoſſible from theſe Circumſtances to ſay in what Manner Subſidies were paid; but it ſeems to be ſufficiently certain, from thoſe Ends of Government being anſwered for which Subſidies are raiſed, that they were paid in ſome way or other, and very poſſibly in different Ways in the different Principalities into which the Iſland was then divided [h].

As

[g] If the candid Reader can poſſibly entertain a Doubt, notwithſtanding what is ſaid in the Text, of the Britiſh Princes having ſome Kind of Revenue, many other Particulars might be mentioned to prove it inconteſtably. Whatever ſecret Motives Cæſar might have, the avowed Cauſe for his invading Britain was, becauſe of the continual Supplies the Inhabitants afforded to their Neighbours the Gauls. Now what were theſe? Not ſurely Fleets of Cock boats, for he allows us nothing better; and if as ſome very intelligent Writers have conceived, the Britons had Ships of Strength even in thoſe Days, they muſt have been built at the public Expence. Or if this Aſſiſtance did not conſiſt in Ships, it muſt have conſiſted in Money, or in ſomething worth Money, and theſe Contributions muſt have come from the Britiſh Princes, who muſt of Neceſſity have raiſed them upon their Subjects. Before Cæſar's Expedition, the Britons ſent Ambaſſadors or Deputies to make Propoſitions, and they were very well received. Who ſent theſe Deputies? How were they maintained? or how were Armies aſſembled, and marched from one Place to another, without ſome Fund for their Subſiſtence? We ſee in all theſe Tranſactions, and in many more, the ſtrongeſt Marks of Civility, good Senſe, and Policy; and if, notwithſtanding this, they are ſtiled Barbarians by the Romans, they were no worſe treated than other Nations, and we muſt not conclude from the bare Sound of the Word againſt ſo many clear Facts owned and admitted even by thoſe who uſed it.

[h] In Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall, b. iii. chap. 12. that very learned and induſtrious Gentleman informs us, there were found in the Month of June 1749, in Karnbre hill in that County, ſuch a Quantity of Gold Coins as ſold for Sixteen Pounds, and ſoon after very near the ſame Quantity at no great Diſtance. Theſe taken together could not weigh leſs than Two thirds of a Pound. They were of pure Gold, that is, Gold without Alloy, as all the Britiſh Coins are, the upper Side a little convex, ſome of them worn plain by Uſe, but moſt of them charged with rude ſymbolical Figures, without any Head or Inſcription. Theſe, that worthy Perſon ſeems to have fully proved not to be either Phœnician or Gauliſh Coins, but Britiſh. Of which no one who conſiders them attentively can well doubt, and as he very judiciouſly obſerves, Things thus diſcovered at ſo great a Diſtance of Time, in a Place of which Cæſar could not have the leaſt Knowledge, ought not to be affected by his Aſſertion, that there was not either

As we have now eſtabliſhed by a fair Deduction from Facts, which are of all others the beſt Authorities, that our Britiſh Anceſtors had both a regular Militia, and though we know not how it was raiſed, a competent Revenue, we ſhall next by the ſame Method enquire into their Effects. In the Firſt Place it appears that the Country was populous, for the Firſt Invaſion of the Romans was oppoſed, and we might ſay repelled by the Subjects of the Four Kings of Kent. When Cæſar came the Second Time with a much greater Force, Caſſibelan oppoſed him with an Army ſuperior at leaſt in point of Numbers. This alſo proves that the Country muſt have been well cultivated, ſince People cannot live without Proviſions. We may from theſe Circumſtances conclude, that the Form of Rule was gentle and acceptable to thoſe who lived under it. Indeed the very Exiſtence of ſo many ſeparate States is an Indication of this, for nothing but an Attachment to that Kind of Government could have preſerved it.

This ſtill farther appears from the very Riſe and Iſſue of the Conteſt. Caſſibelan had killed the Father of Mandubratius, compelled him to quit the Iſland, and had reduced his Subjects the Trinobantes under his Dominion. Mandubratius applied to Cæſar in Gaul for Aſſiſtance, and when in the Courſe of the War, Caſſibelan had ſuffered a Defeat, the Trinobantes made a ſeparate Peace, that they might return again into their former State, and when Cæſar made a definitive Treaty with Caſſibelan, he ſtipulated that Mandubratius ſhould govern the Trinobantes in Quiet. Another and a very concluſive Argument ariſes from the Valour of the Britiſh Nation, than which nothing can more clearly diſcover that their Government was juſt and equal, for no Nation harſhly treated or oppreſſed with Taxes, ever exerted a martial or intrepid Spirit. This will appear no Compliment to the Britons, if we conſider the Forces Cæſar had with him, which from Experience he found to be neceſſary, and the Terms upon which, after exerting all his Military Abilities, he found it at length expedient to conclude the War [i].

After

either Gold or Silver in this Iſland. It is alſo to be remarked, that Gold, though in ſmall Quantities, and chiefly in Tin Streams, hath been and ſtill is found in that County. It cannot therefore be thought an improbable Conjecture, that before the Coming of the Romans, the Britons found this valuable Metal in greater Quantities; for there can be little Doubt, that what is now found is waſhed down from the higher Grounds, and they might, it is very likely, be acquainted with theſe Eminences from whence it deſcends. The ſame Principle that induced them thus to bury their Coin, would naturally lead them to conceal the Places from whence they drew their Gold, and in Proceſs of Time, and through frequent Revolutions, all Memory of them might be loſt.

[i] Beſides that ſtrong Liking to their own Manners and Cuſtoms, which we ſee long Habitude create in all Nations, we may eaſily conceive ſome other Motives that might excite in them a ſin-

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After the Return of Cæſar to the Continent, the Civil War following, the Romans thought no more of depriving other Nations of their Liberty, but employed their Swords againſt each other till they had ſubverted their own. This Interval of Quiet, the Inhabitants of Britain ſeem to have improved in the poliſhing their Manners, and extending their Intercourſe with other Nations. Auguſtus ſometimes affected to conſider this Country as dependent on the Empire, and at others treated it with Contempt, as a Place not worth the conquering. Yet to keep up his Claim and to ſwell that Reputation which he held neceſſary to ſupport his Power, he threatened more than once to invade it, but ſuffered himſelf to be appeaſed by the fair Offers made by ſome of the Britiſh Princes who ſent him Preſents, and made ſuch Submiſſions as he thought fit to require. Amongſt theſe Princes was Cunobelinus the Cymbeline of our Britiſh Writers, who held a great Correſpondence with Rome, and is thought to have brought from thence thoſe Artiſts who coined his Money, which, beſides bearing his Head, and being inſcribed with his Name, is in a much neater and more elegant Stile than the Britiſh Coins in preceding Times [k].

cere Affection to this Kind of Government. The great Town (we will not call it the Capital) was in the Center of the Principality, and of courſe their Chief who reſided there was continually in the Sight of his Subjects, muſt have employed his Time in the Functions of his Office, and in taking care of the Safety and Welfare of his People. He had no foreign Wars to exhauſt either their Blood or their Treaſure, ſo that whatever he received from, muſt have returned amongſt them. His Power, his Grandeur, and his Independence they conſidered as reflecting Honour upon them. The Druids held the Scales of Juſtice, acting alſo the Part of Mediators when Miſunderſtandings of any Kind aroſe, ſo that the longer we contemplate and the more we conſider theſe Circumſtances, the leſs we ſhall be ſurpriſed, that theſe Ties and Temperaments held the Prince and his Subjects in ſo ſtrict a Union.

[k] The Coins of Cunobelinus are numerous, but all of different Sorts, many of different Sizes, ſome of Gold, ſome of Silver, and ſome of a mixed Metal. There are ſome of them rude and charged with the Britiſh Symbols on the Reverſe. Others neat with very elegant Figures on the Reverſe. On moſt of thoſe that are figured, and on ſome others we meet with a Word in Roman Characters, which our ableſt Antiquaries have not been able ſatisfactorily to explain. This Word is Taſcio, Taſcia, Taſcie. Some have conjectured that it is the Name of a Place, others that it is the Mint Maſter's Name, many, becauſe it occurs not on all Coins, believe that it implies Tribute, and that our Word Tax comes from it, or that both are derived from the ſame Root. Mr. Camden inſinuates, that the ſeveral Reverſes where this Word appears of a Bull, a Hog, and an Ear of Corn, imply the Impoſt upon great Cattle, upon ſmall Cattle, and upon Grain. This is undoubtedly very ingenious, but at the ſame Time very incertain. Some from the Word made uſe of in Cæſar's Writings, Vectigal, think he did not inſiſt on Tribute, but on theſe Duties on Commodities. Our old Chronicles, particularly thoſe of Sprot and Roſs, affirm on the contrary, that it was a Tribute, and fix it at Three Thouſand Pounds, on what Authority we know not. The Reader, if he would ſee this Subject more cloſely examined, may conſult Mr. Pegge's curious and learned Diſſertation on the Coins of Cunobelin.

In conſequence of this good Correſpondence, the Romans became much better acquainted with this Iſland, and their Subjects carried on a very conſiderable Intercourſe with its Inhabitants, who, though ſtill ſo jealous of their Freedom, as to be exceedingly averſe to Tribute, readily conſented to pay Impoſts or Duties on Exports and Imports. Beſides this they gave Marks of Humanity and Generoſity in relieving the Roman Soldiers ſhipwrecked on their Coaſt, and ſending them back in Safety, which might have merited a better Title than that of Barbarians, with which they were ſtill treated, and however harſh in its Sound, was better than that of Slaves. Tiberius under Colour of adopting the Maxim of Auguſtus, that the Empire ought to be bounded by the Ocean, gave the People of Britain no Diſturbance, who, content with their own Condition, remained quiet in their own Iſland, ſatisfied with thoſe Advantages that aroſe from their Trade. The only juſt Apprehenſions they had during this Period aroſe from bad Citizens of their own. Adminius the Son of Cunobeline, being diſgraced and baniſhed by his Father, fled to the Continent, and excited Caligula to an Invaſion, which however ended in a ridiculous Manner, which might poſſibly render the Britons too ſecure.

This Seaſon of Quiet, between the Second Departure of Julius Cæſar, and the Invaſion by Claudius, which comprehended near a Century, affords a clear and ſatisfactory View of what may be ſtiled the Policy of the ancient Britons, and may ſerve to convince us, that as it continued long, indeed who can ſay how long, to preſerve to the Inhabitants a regular Syſtem of Laws, under which their Lives and Properties were ſecured, and Induſtry cheriſhed, their Happineſs in all Reſpects being equal at leaſt to any of their Neighbours, ſo might it in like Manner have laſted many Ages longer without any other conſiderable Inconvenience than occaſional Diſputes among their Princes, which for their own Sakes were uſually compromiſed by the Druids, if as we before obſerved in its proper Place, the Vicinity of the Romans in Gaul had not afforded thoſe who preferred the Gratification of their own Reſentments and Ambition to the common Safety and Welfare of their Country, an Opportunity of ſubverting its Conſtitution, and ſubjecting its hitherto free Inhabitants to a foreign Yoke.

This perhaps had not been ſo ſoon brought about, if the Romans, who had now free Entrance into Britain, had not diſcovered the improved State of the Iſland, and by viſiting the Courts of their little Princes been ſatisfied that their Subjects were not ſo poor and deſpicable, as Cæſar and thoſe who accompanied him were pleaſed to repreſent them; and this is not founded in Conjecture, but upon the expreſs Teſtimony of the ableſt Writer of Antiquity on this Subject, at leaſt of thoſe whoſe Works

have come down to our Hands [1]. Yet this and the ſubſequent Revolution which followed in conſequence of it, does by no Means diſparage the Nature of the Britiſh Government, which appears to have fully anſwered the Ends of its Intention, and thereby provoked the Avarice and Ambition of a potent Empire, that without receiving any Injury, undertook with Forces incomparably ſuperior to make a Conqueſt of Princes ill ſuited from that Form of Rule, which, however adequate to their own Welfare, did not diſpoſe them to ſuch an Union as might have reſiſted theſe Invaders, notwithſtanding which they loſt not their Liberties without long and violent Struggles, which ſufficiently demonſtrated the interior Strength of their ſmall Sovereignties, as well as the Valour, Conduct, and Magnanimity of ſome of their Princes, who for theſe Virtues are highly celebrated, even by their Enemies.

[1] M. Tullii Epiſt. ad Familiares, lib. vii. ep. 7. ad Atticum lib. iv. ep. 16. Strabo lib. iv. p. 199, 200. Tacit. Vit. Agricolæ, cap. 12. In his Epiſtle to his Friend Trebatius, Cicero intimates that he had learned from his Brother Quintus, who accompanied Cæſar in his Expedition hither, that there was not either Gold or Silver in the Iſland. He ſays the ſame to his Friend Atticus, and that except his Captives, Cæſar had brought no Booty out of Britain. All we learn from this is, that as the Romans were excited to this Invaſion by Avarice, the Britons acted very prudently in keeping Gold and Silver out of their Sight. But after his Departure, when the Romans came to have a friendly Intercourſe with this Country, they were ſoon better informed, ſo that Strabo ſays, there were in Britain not only Corn and Cattle, but Gold, Silver, and Iron. Tacitus, the Author alluded to in the Text, who drew his Knowledge of Britain from his Father-in-law Agricola, tells us plainly what the Effects were of this Information. "Britain," ſays he, "produces Gold, Silver, and other Metals, which render it worth conquering; the Ocean too "produces Pearls, but of a browniſh Caſt and livid." Fert Britannia aurum & argentum & alia Metalla, pretium Victoriæ: Gignit & Oceanus Margarita, ſed ſubfuſca ac liventia.

CHAP. II.

Of the Revenues raiſed by the Romans whilſt they were Maſters of Britain.

THE Scope of this Chapter briefly ſtated. Britain invaded for the Third Time by the Emperor Claudius. He came over in Perſon, and by uſing much Clemency, prevailed upon many of the little Princes to ſubmit. Proofs that at this Period thoſe Princes were not either indigent or inconſiderable. The Country in general ſhewn to be very populous. The Methods which the Romans purſued to ſecure their Conqueſts. The diſtinguiſhed Merit of Julius Agricola in this Reſpect. The Diſpoſition of their Cities and great Towns made with great Skill and Circumſpection. The civil Adminiſtration

tion executed with admirable Regularity. Four and ſometimes Five Impoſitions levied upon Grain. Orchards, Meadows, Commons accurately ſurveyed and ſubjected to an annual Tax. Duties upon the Produce of the Mines. Salt vended ſolely for the Benefit of the Public by Officers appointed for that Purpoſe. Inland Duties ſtrictly levied, and Cuſtoms paid upon all Goods imported and exported. Tributes, their Nature, and how far they were extended. Exciſes of many different Kinds, the entering more minutely into this Subject unneceſſary. The Manner of aſſeſſing and collecting this Revenue explained. Theſe Impoſitions no way prejudicial to the Country or to the People. The great Object of the Roman Policy in all the Provinces was the Improvement of Land and the proper Employment of its Inhabitants. The Number and Splendour of their Cities a ſtriking Proof of this. The farther Illuſtration of this Subject from the repeated Revolts of the Commanders here, and the Conſequences of their Attempts in reſpect to the Empire and to the Province. A ſuccinct Review of the Means by which their Government and even their Taxes rendered their Dominions in Britain rich and flouriſhing.

IN the former Book a very ſuccinct Account has been given of the Roman Conqueſt, and of the principal Tranſactions that happened during the long Space in which they remained poſſeſſed of this Iſland. Some Points were however left untouched, as being thought more proper for this Place, where it is intended to give a conciſe View of the Revenue they raiſed, the Manner in which they raiſed it, and what Effects this had upon the Inhabitants. This great People were equally remarkable for their Policy and their Oeconomy. By the former they ſecured the Countries which by their Valour they obtained, and by the latter they rendered them valuable to the State of Rome. But before we can clearly explain how this was done in Britain, it will be requiſite to ſhew, that they had very ample Materials to work upon, and that when they ſet in earneſt upon the Conqueſt of this Country, it was not, as many have been perſuaded, in a low or mean, but in a thriving and flouriſhing Condition, and ſo well peopled as to afford them from the very Beginning, an inviting Proſpect of rendering it a rich, fruitful, and valuable Acquiſition to the greateſt Empire then in the World.

As the wiſe Auguſtus and the politic Tiberius had their Reaſons for attempting nothing againſt Britain, which probably influenced the Writers in their Times in the Accounts they gave of its Condition; ſo Claudius no doubt had better Motives than the Suggeſtions of Bericus the Britiſh Exile, for departing from their Conduct, and undertaking a Third Invaſion of this Country. But whatever his Motives might be, it is certain that the

Troops in Gaul under the Command of Aulus Plautius, were by no Means pleaſed with the Orders he received to employ them in that Expedition, and it was not without great Reluctance they were brought to embark to proſecute a War, as they termed it, in another World.

The People here were well informed of this, and of certain Accidents that retarded for ſome Time the Proſecution of their Attempt, which rendered the Britons negligent in their Preparations to receive them. Yet when they actually landed, though we hear of no Confederacy to withſtand them, an Army was however formed under Two gallant Princes, Caractacus and Togodumnus, who oppoſed them with great Valour, and not altogether without Succeſs, till the latter of theſe Princes was ſlain, which inſtead of diſcouraging, animated, or rather exaſperated the People ſo much, that Caractacus transferring the War to the Mouth of the Thames, where the Marſhes gave him many Advantages, the Roman General found himſelf ſo much embarraſſed, that according to the Inſtructions he had received, he ſent to Claudius for Aſſiſtance, who came in Perſon with a more conſiderable Force, which turned the Scale in Favour of the Romans. He ſeems however to have owed more to his Clemency than to his Courage, and by the Kindneſs he ſhewed to thoſe who ſubmitted, drew ſeveral of the Britiſh Princes to declare themſelves his Allies, and having done this, he returned and left Plautius to reduce the Country already ſubdued, into the Form of a Province [a].

The War however revived, and Caractacus maintained it with great Spirit and Intrepidity, till being obliged by the ſuperior Power of the Romans to ſeek Refuge in the Court of Queen Cartiſmundua, ſhe baſely delivered him up, and he was afterwards ſent to adorn the Triumph of Claudius at Rome, where in a ſhort Oration that gained him the Applauſe of his Enemies, and will ever do Honour to his Memory, he ſpoke in high Terms of his Power and Riches in his more proſperous State. Cogidunus,

[a] Dio. Hiſt. Rom. lib. lx. Tacit. vit. Agricolæ, cap. 13, 14. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 17. Eutrop. lib vii. cap. 8. P. Oroſii lib. vii. cap. 6. We learn from theſe authentic Writers, not barely all the Circumſtances of the Expedition of Claudius, but alſo the Reception he met with on his Return. He had been, which was very unuſual, often ſaluted Imperator by his victorious Army. He had a moſt ſplendid Triumph, in which his principal Officers had a Share. Triumphal Arches were erected at Rome and at Bologne. He ſtruck a very fine Gold Coin with the Triumphal Arch on the Reverſe. He celebrated magnificent Games and Shews for the Recreation of the People. He received Crowns of Gold from the Provinces to an immenſe Value. He cauſed a naval Crown to be fixed upon his Palace, to ſignify that by entering Britain he was become Lord of the Ocean, and laſtly he not only aſſumed himſelf, but beſtowed alſo upon his Son the Surname of Britannicus. Theſe ſurely are inconteſtible Proofs of what the Romans thought of the Acquiſition of Britain.

another

another Britiſh King, is celebrated for his ſteady Fidelity to the Romans, who in return added to his own ſmall Principality ſeveral others, and he amongſt other Marks of Gratitude decorated his Capital with Temples and other public Buildings. Praſutagus, another Ally of the Romans, was diſtinguiſhed by the Treaſures he amaſſed. London even at this Time was a Place of great Trade, and the Reſort of foreign Merchants thither made it very conſiderable [b]. We ſee therefore, that even in the earlieſt Times, and when the Roman Province was of ſmall Extent, there wanted not Inducements to enlarge and to preſerve it, in order to which the Country being very acceptable to the Soldiers, they had Lands given them and Colonies were ſettled.

But while Suetonius Paulinus was employed, as we have ſhewn in the preceding Book, in an Expedition againſt Mona now Angleſey, the Britons made a general Revolt under Boadicea the Widow of Praſutagus, who had made Nero Coheir with her and his Daughters, which did not preſerve either his Dominions or his Wealth from the Rapacity of theſe Conquerors. This generous Heroine was at firſt very ſucceſsful, deſtroying Verolanium and Camulodunum, the Two principal Cities of the Romans, putting to the Sword Seventy thouſand of them and their Allies. This was ſeverely revenged by Paulinus, who having defeated her in a deciſive Engagement, killed therein Eighty thouſand Britons [c]. Theſe are Facts

[b] Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 37. lib. xiv. cap. 31. 33. et in vita Agricolæ cap. xiv. Whatever Power or Wealth Caractacus poſſeſſed, he muſt have acquired before the Romans came hither in virtue of his Station as a Britiſh Prince. If it be objected that the Oration of this King might be made for him by Tacitus, it muſt at the ſame time be admitted, that the Fact was recent, and that an Hiſtorian of his Credit cannot be ſuppoſed to advance a Falſehood, which muſt have been known to moſt of his Readers. Cogidunus lived to the Time of Tacitus, and what he ſays of him has been confirmed by an Inſcription on a Monument found at Chicheſter in our own Times. Praſutagus was diſtinguiſhed by his Opulence, and the Means he took to preſerve his Riches, which produced the Ruin of his Family, is a Fact not to be queſtioned. The Reputation of London as a maritime City, could not well have been eſtabliſhed in ſo ſhort a Space as from the Time of the Romans entering Britain. Camden, and indeed moſt of our Antiquaries agree that Londinium was framed from a Britiſh Word, which ſignified a Port. In ſucceeding Times the Romans ſtiled it Colonia Auguſta. When they retired out of this Iſland, and the Britons were again in Poſſeſſion of it, they called it by its old Name, which it has born ever ſince. All this is eaſy and natural, and therefore very likely to be the Truth.

[c] Vel. Patercul. Hiſt. Rom. lib. ii. p. 147. Strab. lib. iv. p. 200. Dio. Hiſt. Rom. lib. lxii. Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 33. Sueton. in Nerone, cap. 39. The Firſt of theſe, Paterculus, was a very elegant and a very courtly Writer. To flatter the Memory of Cæſar, he ſays that he twice penetrated Britain. Strabo, in compliance to the Maxim of Auguſtus, tells us that it would have required a Legion and a competent Body of Horſe to have kept Britain in Subjection, and that this would have abſorbed a great Part of the Duties that the Inhabitants voluntarily paid. But is this Fact true? Cæſar brought over Five Legions in his Second Expedition, and did not ſubdue it. Caligula brought a great Army to the Sea-ſide only to look

Facts well atteſted, and from theſe we may with Certainty collect, that the Romans having once more reduced Things into Order, might entertain well-grounded Hopes of bringing this fair and well-peopled Country under their Dominion; which, though not without much Trouble and many hard fought Battles, they at length in a great Meaſure accompliſhed.

It was an eſtabliſhed Maxim of the Roman Policy, that the Introduction of their Laws, their Magiſtrates, and their Manners, was the moſt effectual Means of ſecuring the Obedience of their new Subjects. This it was they meant, by reducing the conquered Country into a Province, a Thing no Way difficult to their Generals, who were perfectly acquainted with the Steps neceſſary to be taken for that Purpoſe, and had beſides uſually about them, Men of Gravity, and Experience in the Laws, from whom they might derive Aſſiſtance. It is true, that in thoſe Times, and indeed in all Times, ſome Men were apt to abuſe their Power, and to give a Looſe to their Paſſions, which naturally gave a Diſtaſte to thoſe Regulations, however expedient, which they endeavoured to enforce. But beſides this, there was ſuch an Oppoſition from the rough and martial Inclinations of the Britons, to the ſettled and ſevere Diſcipline of the Romans, that it is no Wonder the Multitude complied with Regret and Reluctance. Yet many there were, who either from a milder Turn of Mind, or making a Virtue of Neceſſity, cheerfully ſubmitted to the Rules preſcribed; for otherwiſe it is impoſſible to account for ſo great a Number of Inhabitants in the Roman Cities, which when deſtroyed had not ſubſiſted for above a Dozen Years [d].

Some

at the Iſland, and poſſibly if he had attempted to have embarked them, they would not have followed him. Aulus Plautius found the Legions in Gaul very unwilling to accompany him. He, though an excellent Commander, found it requiſite to ſend for Claudius, who brought with him freſh Forces and Elephants. The Romans had always Three, ſometimes Four Legions or more in Britain. The former was, if we may uſe the Expreſſion, their Peace Eſtabliſhment, and Boadicea fully proved, that it was not more than ſufficient. Dio Caſſius makes the Number of the Romans and their Allies ſlain to be Eighty Thouſand. Tacitus, from the Information of Agricola, and he could not have better, ſays they were Seventy Thouſand. The far greateſt Part of theſe were certainly Britons, for the Roman Inhabitants of the Colony, who retired into the Temple of Claudius, and defended themſelves for Two Days, could not be any Thing near ſo many. Yet this Deſtruction happened after many Years War, and notwithſtanding this and the Slaughter of Boadicea's Army, the Romans met with freſh Reſiſtance. We muſt therefore either admit theſe Facts, which certainly prove that Britain was then thoroughly peopled, or we muſt give up all the Roman Hiſtorians together, ſince Suetonius and others, though they do not enter into Particulars, yet confeſs it was one of the greateſt Diſgraces that the Roman Arms ever ſuffered.

[d] It is certain that this great People conceived ſo highly of their own Syſtem of Policy, that they looked on all who lived otherwiſe than they did, as Barbarians. It was therefore in their Judgment, an Act of the greateſt Humanity, to communicate their Cuſtoms and Mode of Living

Some of the Roman Governors, by whatever Title diſtinguiſhed, were Men of great Military Talents, and others better ſuited to the Conduct of Civil Affairs. Julius Agricola joined both theſe Qualities, and was not only a great Captain, but a conſummate Stateſman alſo. [c] He came hither when Things were in great Confuſion. He left them in the greateſt Order. He vanquiſhed the braveſt of the Britons in the Field, and he ſubdued the Minds of thoſe who had perhaps unwillingly ſubmitted to the Roman Government. He extended that farther than any of his Predeceſſors or any of his Succeſſors, and at the ſame Time planned and in a great Meaſure executed that permanent Eſtabliſhment that gave them a quiet Poſſeſſion of this Country. He choſe the Stations for his Troops with the greateſt Prudence, connected theſe Stations by military Roads, ſecured the Frontiers by well fortified Lines, and diſtributed his Forces in ſuch a Manner as to bridle thoſe already ſubdued, and to ſecure them from the Incurſions of thoſe Nations who were ſtill in Arms to preſerve their Freedom. His comprehenſive Genius dictated to him this, as the ſureſt Mode not only of preſerving but of improving and effectually eſtabliſhing the Roman Power, by bringing the Natives not ſimply to ſuffer, but to be pleaſed with the Condition in which he had placed them, and in this he ſucceeded ſo well that all Thoughts of revolting were ſuppreſſed, and the Inclinations of the People wholly turned to the Cultivation of the Country, and the quiet Enjoyment of what that and their other Habits of Induſtry produced [e].

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to the People they ſubdued; and as they reſided amongſt them, or as One of their Writers ſays, where the Romans conquer they inhabit, they took every Method to bring them to what they ſtiled Civility, and even to copy them in Luxury; though, as Tacitus juſtly obſerves, this was real Servitude. But he ſaid this, rather as a Politician than as a Roman, and deviated therein from the Practice and Principles of his Father-in-law, who adopted theſe Notions in their utmoſt Extent, and thought this his Duty at leaſt in the Office that he filled. He well knew that the Submiſſion extorted by Force was at once both partial and precarious, whereas the Conjunction of Manners eſtabliſhed a perfect and permanent Obedience. In carrying this Scheme of Subjection into Execution, as no Nation ever proceeded with more Ability or Addreſs than the Romans, ſo none ever ſucceeded better.

[c] We have in the former Book ſpoke highly of Julius Agricola, but it was neceſſary to ſay ſomething more of him here, in order to ſhew that he was the great Author of the regular planting of Britain by the Romans. His Stations were ſo well choſen, and his Forts erected with ſuch Judgment, that none of them were ever taken by Force, Famine, or Surprize. In his Seven Campaigns he acted always on the Offenſive, ſecured in the Winter what he had gained in the Summer, and when by harraſſing the little Principalities of the Britons till they were tired of the Miſeries of War, he readily received their Submiſſions, and conſtantly protected them. He moderated their Tributes, relieved them from Hardſhips, converſed with them familiarly, aſſiſted them in their Buildings, and encouraged them in their Applications to Learning, and thus brought them to reliſh Civility, Induſtry, and a quiet Life. We have indeed all theſe Circumſtances from Tacitus, who may be ſtiled the Latin Hiſtorian of Britain, but we have no Reaſon to queſtion his Memoirs, from his Relation to that great Man. The Facts ſpeak for themſelves, and the noble Camp at Ardoch in Strathern in the North of Scotland, with the Roman Antiquities

In Conſequence of theſe Diſpoſitions, which were not peculiar to this, but were invariably practiſed in every Country they conquered, there were in the Roman Province, and when theſe were multiplied in every Province, one or more great Cities, many of an inferior Size, ſome ſtill leſs conſiderable, and Numbers which at leaſt in their Beginnings were yet ſmaller than the former. The Situation of every One of theſe was well and wiſely choſen in reſpect to the Soil and Climate; uſually on a riſing Ground, on the Bank of ſome River, or at leaſt in the Vicinity of a running Stream, with every other Conveniency that could be contrived, and either ſecure from its own Strength, or covered by ſome or other of their Fortreſſes, and of courſe lying upon ſome of their Military Ways, that the Acceſs thereto might be eaſy, and that the Inhabitants might enjoy a free Communication with their Neighbours. Theſe Circumſtances are not only ſupported by the beſt Authorities, but in a Multitude of Particulars evident to us at this Day, from the numerous Cities and Towns flouriſhing from the Enjoyment of moſt of theſe Benefits, originally owing to their Choice, and it is by theſe Rules that our Antiquaries are guided in their Inquiries after thoſe that are either loſt or not certainly known [f].

As theſe Cities differed in Magnitude, ſo they differed likewiſe in Dignity, and in the Privileges which they enjoyed. The moſt conſiderable were not only governed by the Roman Laws, as indeed moſt of the others were, but had their reſpective Magiſtrates after the Roman Model, Tri-

tiquities that have been found in its Neighbourhood, and even beyond it, are ſo many inconteſtible Evidences of what he hath aſſerted; let us alſo add, that even in the remoteſt Parts of the Iſland the People appear to have been very numerous.

[f] It is evident from the Hiſtories, Antiquities, and Laws of this potent People, that every Thing reſpecting their public Affairs was regulated by wiſe and well conſidered Rules, and that in a perfect Acquaintance with theſe conſiſted the Knowledge requiſite to form Men for public Employments. We diſcern from hence, that in all their Undertakings the moſt prudent Plans were laid down, ſo that as little as poſſible was left to Chance. We need not wonder therefore that Cities and Towns, built in Places ſo ſkilfully choſen, ſhould even from ſmall Beginnings continue to flouriſh and increaſe, or that when overthrown and buried in Rubbiſh by ſuperior Force, the very Ruins of them ſhould invite their Succeſſors in Power to rebuilding on the ſame Spots. The ſame Accuracy and Circumſpection was uſed in their Military Encampments, as appears from Vegetius, and in diſpoſing the Lands given to their Soldiers in their Colonies, and in the nice ſetting out of their Boundaries, as we learn from Siculus Flaccus, Julius Frontinus, Hyginus, and other Writers on theſe Subjects. In reference to the Commerce carried on here, we are to conſider, that except the Corn Trade, the Practice of it was looked upon as ignoble at Rome, and therefore rich Men lent their Money in the Provinces at very high Intereſt, as Seneca did in Britain, to the Amount, as Camden computes, of Three hundred thouſand Pounds; and Dio reports that his ſudden calling in of his Money was One Cauſe of the general Revolt under Boadicea. Yet this proved no Bar to the ſame Practice in ſucceeding Times. From theſe Circumſtances the judicious Reader will be led to form in his own Mind a juſt Notion of the State of the Roman Provinces in Britain, and the Credibility of all that is advanced in the Text.

rather

bunals of Juſtice, and other Marks of Diſtinction. Theſe, though grievous in the Sight of the Britons while they retained any Notions of their former Freedom, yet as theſe wore out, when the Druids were expelled or rather extirpated, and when Agricola had reconciled them to the Manners, inſpired them with the Sentiments, and accuſtomed them to the Exerciſes and Studies of his Countrymen, they became very acceptable, and excited a Spirit of Emulation, which quickly diſcovered itſelf in ſumptuous Buildings, and more eſpecially in public Edifices dedicated either to Religious or Civil Purpoſes g. The raiſing and maintaining theſe, the Support of the great Officers ſent from Rome, the Salaries and Emoluments appropriated to their own Magiſtrates, and a Multitude of other Demands for the public Service, created a conſtant, and in Proportion to their Improvements, an increaſing Expence, which of courſe was raiſed upon the People. In few Words, they had by degrees a regular Civil, Military, and Naval Eſtabliſhment, for the defraying of which they had ſettled and ſufficient Funds; for in this, as we before obſerved, the Roman Oeconomy was very exact, and as theſe Things took Place in conſequence of their Policy, ſo the Charge of ſuſtaining them was not left (at leaſt not legally) to the Will or Caprice of their Governors, but was provided for in the ſame Method, and under the like Regulations, with thoſe eſtabliſhed in their other Provinces.

AGRICULTURE was always the Firſt Object the Romans had in View. In order to promote this they diſtributed Lands, as we have already obſerved, to the Soldiers, reſerving a certain Rent upon them, for the Uſe of the Public, and in like Manner they aſſigned to ſuch as were diſpoſed to enter upon them, Lands that had never been cultivated, at an eaſy Price. On the Produce of both theſe they levied an annual Tax, or rather ſeveral Taxes. In the Firſt Place they took the Tythe of the Corn in Kind. Next ſuch a farther Quantity as was held neceſſary for the public Service at a low ſtated Price. If this was not found ſufficient, a farther Supply was exacted, but was paid for at a higher

g The Diſtinction of Cities was a great Mark of the Roman Policy, of which we have room to ſay but little here. Some were Municipia, or free Cities, the Inhabitants of which, with great Privileges were allowed to live under their own Laws, and of theſe we know only of Two in Britain, Verulam near St. Albans and York. The next were Colonies, compoſed originally, at leaſt in a great Degree, of Roman Soldiers who had ſerved their accuſtomed Time in the Army, and were rewarded with Lands in the Neighbourhood. Inferior to theſe were ſuch as enjoyed the Jus Latium. Others again are ſtiled by Richard of Cirenceſter, Stipendiary. Theſe had all of them Two Magiſtrates of their own reſembling Conſuls, Senators, who could not enjoy that Rank without having a certain Revenue in Land. They had likewiſe Cenſors, Edils, Quæſtors, Prieſts, Augurs, &c. In a Word they bore in Proportion to their Size, a Reſemblance to Rome, and the Inhabitants in general not only lived after the Roman Manner, but ſpoke the Latin Language. We are told that there were about Thirty Colonies in Spain, and there were about a Third Part as many here. But beſides theſe there were the Confederate Cities, that is, the Nations who ſubmitted to the Romans upon certain Terms, and were therefore permitted to live according to their own Cuſtoms, paying annual Tribute, and furniſhing their Contingent of Troops.

Price. At this alſo was furniſhed a Fourth Quantity for the Supply of the Chief Magiſtrate's Family, and ſometimes a Fifth was inſiſted upon as a Mark of Reſpect in the Nature of a free Gift. Theſe Impoſitions did not fall ſimply upon Wheat; but upon all other Grain, and even upon Pulſe. The Motives to theſe Levies were the Supply of the Soldiers, who had each a certain Quantity of Flour allowed him by the Month; for the Supply of their Magazines in their fortified Places, where they had uſually a Year's Proviſions; and as we have often mentioned in other Places, vaſt Quantities were exported for the Service of their Troops in Germany and Gaul [h].

But though the largeſt Revenue aroſe from Arable, yet other Lands did not eſcape but were likewiſe taxed, in Proportion to the Profits accruing from them. Thus Orchards paid a double Tythe, becauſe the Produce of them was without Labour. There was an Impoſition likewiſe upon Meadows, when they were private Property. An exact Regiſter was kept of all Kind of Cattle that fed on the public Domain, and the certain Rate paid for every Beaſt in Proportion to its Value, which muſt have ariſen to a very conſiderable Sum in a Country where the People were naturally inclined to grazing. In all Probability however the Weight of theſe Taxes might gradually diſpoſe the People, where they found it practicable, to turn their Lands from Paſture to Tillage, which was much encouraged by the Government, as they were in no Danger of wanting Cattle from the Confederates, who ſtill lived according to their ancient Cuſtoms, and bred them in the marſhy and mountainous Parts in Abundance [i].

[h] The Firſt of theſe Levies was called Frumentum Decumanum, Tythe Corn; which was the abſolute Property of the State. The Second Frumentum emptum, Corn bought; but paid for at a low Price. The Third, Frumentum Imperatum, Corn upon Command, that is, by Order of the Senate, for which there was uſually given a Third more than for the bought Corn. The Fourth Frumentum æſtimatum, the Corn eſtimated for the Prætor's Houſhold, which was at the ſame Price with the Frumentum Imperatum. The laſt Frumentum Honorarium, which Cicero ſays, though it bore this fair Title, and was ſuppoſed to be a Mark of Reſpect, was in reality extorted by ſelfiſh and avaricious Magiſtrates, who upon Detection were puniſhed. We have before, p. 62, of this Volume, ſhewn of what Conſequence the Fertility of Britain was to the Northern Provinces of the Empire, and from unqueſtionable Authority proved, that Eight hundred Veſſels built on purpoſe, of a large Size, were laden at once from hence with Corn, which on a moderate Computation muſt have amounted to between Two and Three hundred Thouſand Quarters.

[i] In order to the regular Collection of this Tax, a Regiſter was neceſſary, in which the Name of the Farmer was ſet down, and the Number of Beaſts which he kept. This Regiſter was called Scriptura, whence the Name of the Tax. In this Regiſter the Size and Situation of the Field was likewiſe deſcribed, which was from thence ſtiled Scripturarius Ager, and the Comptroller General of this Tax had the Title of Magiſter Scripturæ. Theſe Circumſtances are mentioned to give the Reader an Idea of the methodical Accuracy of the Romans in Things of this Nature, which will fully ſupport what we have ſaid in the Text, of the Correctneſs of their Oeconomy.

It was not from the Surface only, but even from the Boſom of the Earth, that the Romans extracted a Revenue. Britain had been always famous for Tin, and continued ſo under their Dominion, as a Proof of which ſome of the Emperors that ſet up here, coined Money or Medals of this Metal. They extracted alſo great Quantities both of Lead and Iron, and of the latter eſpecially raiſed many Manufactures. From all theſe Mines a Revenue accrued to the State which in other Countries was a Tenth, and very probably it was the ſame here. It is certain that the Romans knew there was both Gold and Silver in Britain, but it is not certain that they drew any Advantage from them. In their other Provinces Gold Mines were only wrought for the Profit of the Emperor, which might be a good Reaſon for the Britons concealing them here, that is, the Rivulets in which the Particles of Gold were found, and the Mountains from which they deſcended [k].

The vending of Salt belonged excluſively to the Public, whether made in the Province or brought hither from abroad. This muſt have produced a vaſt Income from the general Conſumption of a Commodity ſo neceſſary to Mankind. Yet it hath been ſuggeſted, that this did not originally ariſe from a Deſire of burdening, but rather of eaſing the People, becauſe thoſe who dealt in it raiſed it to an extravagant Price, to prevent which the Sale of it was confined to Perſons intruſted by the Magiſtrates, by which Means this Neceſſary of Life was through the whole Empire ſupplied in Abundance, and at a reaſonable Price [l].

Besides all theſe, they levied inland Duties and Cuſtoms upon all Goods. The former were paid at the Entrance into Cities and Towns; the latter before Goods were either ſhipped or landed, which were viewed by the Revenue Officers, and paid according to their Value, ſometimes

[k] We have in the former Part of this Work ſaid ſo much of the Metals in this Country, that there is no need of dwelling on the Subject here. The Emperor Claudius ſtruck a Colony Medal of Camuludonum in Tin. There is likewiſe another of the ſame Metal of Carauſius in the Cabinet of Dr. Sharpe, Archdeacon of Northumberland. The Mines of Carthagena in Spain produced to the Romans to the Value of Eight hundred Pounds per Diem, and they wrought a Gold Mine in Dalmatia which brought in more than twice that Sum. We may therefore ſafely conclude, that if they had wrought any ſuch, we ſhould have heard of them in Britain.

[l] As in regard to Taxes as well as every Thing elſe, this great people were regular and ſyſtematic, we may be ſure that this Tax on Salt extended to their Provinces here. It was a very ancient Tax, originally impoſed by Ancus Martius one of their Kings, but aboliſhed with Monarchy. It was revived again for the Reaſon mentioned in the Text, as Livy tells us. An additional Impoſt being laid by M. Livius, he obtained from thence the Surname of Salinator. There were not only Salt-works wrought for the Benefit of the Public, but others likewiſe that were private Property, the Produce of which however they ſold to the State. It is impoſſible to ſay what this Tax produced, but however moderate it might be, it muſt have amounted to an immenſe Sum, if there were, as hath been aſſerted, Seventy-five Millions of People in the Roman Empire. As Male Criminals were condemned to work in the Mines, ſo Women for certain Offences were doomed to the Salinæ or Salt-works.

and in ſome Places at a higher, in others at a lower Rate; what this was in Britain cannot with any Certainty be determined, but according to the beſt Lights that we have, it might be ſometimes at Five per Cent, and at others about Half as much. Whatever it was, it amounted to a very large Sum, and was always conſidered as a principal Branch of the eſtabliſhed Revenue [m].

THERE were beſides theſe capital and conſtant Impoſts, others which were perſonal, and which were peculiarly diſtinguiſhed by the Title of Tribute. The Firſt of theſe was a Capitation or Poll Tax, as to the Nature of which nothing can poſitively be affirmed, except that it was levied in Britain, as was alſo another ſtill harſher upon Burials. Theſe ſeem to have been incertain in their Nature, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, according to the Exigencies of the State. But it ſhould ſeem that the Tribute or Poll Tax was conſtantly levied on thoſe, who ſubmitted to the Roman Power, and poſſibly not on thoſe who were ſtiled Allies or Confederates [n]. The Working on the public Roads was another Kind of perſonal Service, for which, however, ſuch as were employed therein, received competent Wages or at leaſt Subſiſtence. It hath been already obſerved, that the Confederates furniſhed their Contingent of Troops, both of Horſe and Foot, but more eſpecially the former, who were placed on the

[m] The inland Duty upon Goods, which the Romans ſtiled Vectigal in porta, was levied upon whatever paſſed either by Land or Water, and was collected upon Rivers, Bridges, and at the Gates of Towns. The Duty upon Importation and Exportation was called Vectigal Peregrinum. We learn from a Paſſage in Cicero, that in the Port of Syracuſe it was Five per Cent. in his Time. But from the very Nature of Things, it muſt have altered, as it was an excellent Engine in the Hands of Government for the proper Regulation of Commerce, in which Light it appears to have been very well underſtood, for Pliny mentions that the Indian Trade carried on by the Port of Alexandria, drained Rome of between Four and Five hundred thouſand Pounds a Year; and we alſo know, that the Cuſtoms of Alexandria roſe higher than any other Port in the Empire. As we had many Ports in Britain, ſome of them very conſiderable and much frequented, it cannot be doubted that in quiet Times the Cuſtoms muſt have riſen, as well as inland Duties, to very large Sums, though the Rates might be very moderate, ſince it could not eſcape ſo wiſe a People, that the lower the Duty the higher the Revenue.

[n] Dion. Hiſt. Rom. lib. lxii. It is from the Speech of Boadicea recorded by Dio, that we learn both theſe Taxes were exacted here under the Emperor Nero. If the Reader diſcovers any Incertainty or Ambiguity in the Text, he muſt aſcribe it to our Want of Authorities, which puts it out of our Power to be clearer or more explicit. We know that thoſe who ſubmitted to the Romans, were in general taxed by them, ſo that immenſe Sums in ready Money were annually ſent from the Provinces; but we are far from knowing exactly, how all this Money was raiſed. Veſpaſian impoſed a Poll Tax upon the Jews. In Gaul this Tax was ſwelled to ſuch an enormous Degree, that when Julian commanded there, he reduced it to leſs than One-third Part. It is generally ſaid that Tributum implies an Impoſition upon Perſons, Vectigal, upon Goods; but perhaps this is not always to be relied on. When Auguſtus made a Diviſion between the Provinces left to the People, and thoſe that appertained to the Emperor, he directed, that the Money raiſed in the former ſhould be called Tributa, in the latter Stipendia.

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Wings of the Army, and ſeem to have been commanded by Roman Officers [o].

In the Times of the Republic, all Taxes were impoſed by the Senate with great Deliberation, and uniformly levied. But in the Time of the Emperors, they were ſettled ſimply by their Edicts, according to their Will, and ſometimes, though rarely, ſuppreſſed when they grew intolerable. Theſe were moſtly a Kind of Exciſes, ſuch as the Duty on the Sale of Slaves, upon Goods ſold by Auction, upon the Admiſſion of Artificers or Mechanics to what might be called their Freedom. For in theſe Times they had Colleges, as they called them, of Carpenters, Joiners, Smiths, Armourers, Maſons, &c. in the Nature of our Corporations [p]. There was likewiſe a Duty upon Smoke, which was a Kind of Hearth or Chimney Tax, and ſeveral others. Amongſt theſe there was One upon Horſe's Dung, and Veſpaſian's famous Tax upon Urine; which Exciſes muſt altogether have produced a great Deal of Money, though we have not the ſmalleſt Materials to warrant any Computation [q].

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[o] The Confederates were ſometimes more in Number than the Legions, and it was this made the Precautions mentioned in the Text ſo neceſſary. By dividing them, and placing them on the Flanks, their Force was leſſened, and by their being commanded by Roman Officers ſtiled Prefects, it was made ſtill more difficult for them to revolt. Beſides the Horſe fought immediately under the Eye of the Commander in Chief. In the laſt Battle fought by Agricola againſt Galgacus, this Prince in his Harangue obſerves, that the Roman Colonies were compoſed only of weak, old, and worn out Soldiers, that the confederate Cities were many of them diſcontented, and that thoſe in that Army could not fight with a good Will againſt their Countrymen, ſo that if once beaten in the Field, the Romans would immediately find themſelves oppreſſed by Enemies on every Side.

[p] It might be eaſily apprehended at firſt Sight, that being expoſed to ſuch a Variety of Impoſitions, and theſe reaching to all Ranks and Degrees of People, the Burden of the Roman Government muſt have been great, as indeed it was, but not oppreſſive. For the Multiplicity of Taxes was in a great Meaſure balanced by the Multiplicity of public Expences in the erecting ſumptuous Edifices for public Purpoſes, building Fortreſſes, laying out extenſive and expenſive Roads, exhibiting Shews and Spectacles for the Amuſement of the People, all iſſuing out of the Treaſury; beſides the Support of the Civil, Military, and Naval Eſtabliſhments, the Subſiſtance of the Confederate Troops whenever they were employed, the Conſtruction and Repair of Ships, and a Variety of other contingent Articles, which gradually diffuſed a very great Part of the Money among the People from whom it had been collected. Add to this the Profits ariſing from foreign Commerce, which being maintained by the native Commodities and Manufactures of this Country, brought in continual Supplies of Wealth, without which it would have been impoſſible to have ſupplied the Sums annually tranſmitted to Rome, on private as well as the public Account.

[q] Eutrop. lib. vi. cap. 14. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. p. 144. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. xi. It would certainly be more ſatisfactory if we could afford the Reader ſo much as a probable Account of the Revenue raiſed by the Romans in Britain. Some Gueſs might be formed if we knew certainly what Income they received from Gaul. Eutropius indeed ſets it down expreſsly, that Cæſar drew from thence by way of Tribute, upwards of Three hundred and Twenty thouſand Pounds annually. The very learned Lipſius thinks there is an Error in the Figures, and that he levied

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It would not be difficult to add a great Deal more on ſo extenſive a Subject as this, by pointing out eſpecially the ſeveral Alterations made by Conſtantine and his Succeſſors in the Adminiſtration of Government, through the whole Extent of the Empire, and conſequently in the Britannic Provinces. But beſides our having already ſpoken on this Head in the former Book, very little could be advanced in Reference to Taxes, and their Produce, but from Conjecture; which, however it might ſerve to amuſe, could contribute ſcarce at all, to what alone is had in view here, the Information of the Reader. We will therefore inſtead of launching into a Field of Speculation, proceed to a Point of much more Conſequence, and endeavour as ſuccinctly as poſſible to ſhew how a Revenue, in Appearance ſo very complicated, could nevertheleſs be very accurately aſſeſſed, regularly collected, and in general properly applied, ſo as to anſwer all thoſe Ends for which it was raiſed, and thereby juſtify the Excellence of that œconomic Plan, for which in all Ages the Romans have been ſo much commended[r].

We have already obſerved, that in the free Cities and Colonies there was an exact Repreſentation in reſpect to the Magiſtrates, of the Capital of the Empire, Rome. Theſe Magiſtrates were not honorary, or ſimply graced with the ſame Titles, but within their ſmall Diſtricts were effectively what they were ſtiled. The Cenſors at Rome let once in Five Years the public Revenues to farm, and they were enabled to form a true Judgment of the Value of theſe Farms, from the Reports made to them

Ten Times that Sum, or upwards of Three Millions. Velleius Paterculus ſpeaking of Auguſtus ſays, that he rendered Egypt tributary to the Empire, and that the Revenue was nearly equal to what his Father extracted from Gaul, which may be thought to countenance the Opinion of Lipſius. But ſtill there is nothing certain. We muſt not conclude from hence that the Romans were not very exact in this Matter. On the contrary, Auguſtus left behind him, as Tacitus inform us, an exact Detail of the Forces and Revenue of the whole Empire, and upon this Plan perhaps other Emperors proceeded. Appian, who flouriſhed under the Emperor Adrian, undertook to give a like Account, which would have fully anſwered our Purpoſe. But unfortunately neither of theſe are now extant.

[r] The Particulars mentioned in the Text have been collected from the beſt Authorities, to have ſpecified theſe exactly would have taken up a great Deal of Room, which we have not to ſpare. Cicero in his Orations affords great Light with reſpect to theſe Matters in the Time of the Republic. They are afterwards to be picked up out of the Roman Hiſtorians, and ſuch Greek Writers as have alſo treated that Subject. Theſe have been drawn together in different Collections of Roman Antiquities. But if the Reader is deſirous of entering more minutely into any of the Points mentioned, he may very eaſily gratify his Curioſity by conſulting the learned Dictionary of Samuel Pitiſcus, who with equal Labour and Accuracy hath collected all the ſcattered Materials, ranged them under their proper Heads, and adjuſted the Whole in alphabetical Order. Our Point, as we ſaid at the Beginning of this Chapter, was to give the Reader a competent Idea of the Roman Revenues in Britain, and the Intention of this Note is to point out to him the Means of obtaining more particular Information if he deſires it.

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by the Cenſors in the Provinces, who took each in his own Diſtrict, a moſt accurate and diſtinct Account of every Perſon reſiding therein, and of his Condition and Circumſtances. They ſet down his Name and Age, if ſingle or married, his Children, the Lands he poſſeſſed, their annual Produce in Corn, Fruit, or Hay, the Number of Cattle he kept on the Domain of the Republic, or on his own Lands. They regiſtered in like Manner the Quantity and the current Price of the ſeveral Kinds of Merchandize tranſported from One Province to another, and the Duties they paid; the Amount of the Impoſt upon Salt, and the Produce of the Mines. In conſequence of their Reports the Cenſors were enabled to fix the Value of the Farms, and thoſe who took them ſent a Number of Officers to receive and collect theſe Revenues. The Provincial Cenſors, like thoſe in the Capital, were choſen by the People, who of courſe took all the Care they could, to elect Men of the ſtricteſt Integrity and Honour, as their own Eaſe and Happineſs depended ſo much on their making a right Choice. The Officers of the Revenue were under the Controul of the Tribunals, and in the laſt Reſort of the Prætor, who determined whether their Claims were well founded, or the Coloniſts injured by too high a Charge. In like Manner the Queſtors received the public Money, and accounted for it; the Edils had the Care of public Buildings of every ſort, ſaw that they were kept in good Order and perfect Repair, and the ſame Aſſiduity was ſhewn by other Officers in their reſpective Stations. This Order of Things, though eſtabliſhed at firſt with Difficulty, grew in a courſe of Years ſo habitual, that all Things were conducted with equal Regularity and Facility.

We muſt not however conclude from hence, that theſe wiſe Regulations were at all Times punctually obſerved, ſo that what we have been ſaying, is to be reſtrained to thoſe Periods in which they were ſo, and in which they failed not to have their Effects. But as Laws are framed by Men guided by the Dictates of Reaſon, and acting from Principles of public Spirit; ſo the Execution of them muſt have ſometimes fallen into the Hands of ſuch, as acted under the Impulſe of their Paſſions, or from Motives of Self-intereſt; when the true Tendency of theſe Laws were of courſe interrupted. This happened in the Provinces, even in the Times of the Commonwealth, for which the Offenders were frequently puniſhed. But Britain did not become a Province till after the Roman Liberty was ſubverted; and we know that under the Emperors theſe Evils were very early felt here. In ſucceeding Times Abuſes of Power were not uncommon, or the Conſequences of them Diſcontent and popular Commotions, unknown. On the contrary, it hath been ſhewn in the preceding Book, that to compoſe theſe Diſorders, as well as to repreſs the Incurſions of the

the unconquered Natives, ſeveral Emperors, which is a full Proof of the Importance of Britain, came over in Perſon, and valued themſelves highly on their Exploits here. But all this did not hinder, at leaſt, for a very long Space, the Progreſs of Improvements, or prevent the Country from wearing a very flouriſhing Appearance, notwithſtanding the Number and Weight of the Taxes, and which was ſtill a greater Miſchief, the Application of a conſiderable Part of them to Purpoſes that had no Relation to Britain.

It is of great Importance to make it clear to the intelligent Reader, that while under their Dominion Britain was in a thriving Condition, becauſe this will ſhew the Connection between the Increaſe of public Revenue, and the general Welfare of the People upon whom it was raiſed. We have already maintained that the raiſing Corn in Britain was practiſed before the Coming of the Romans. Cæſar owns this, for he found it ſtanding at his Arrival. Yet there is no Doubt that the Romans inſtructed their Subjects more perfectly in the Art of Tillage, introduced a Variety of Grains and Pulſe, and being themſelves as good Huſbandmen as any in the World, extended the Practice wherever they ſettled, and this moſt effectually by fixing the great Fund of their Taxes on the Produce of the Earth. Their Policy in reference to this extended to Meadows, Orchards, Gardens, all of which they meliorated in many Reſpects, and at the ſame Time and with the ſame Views improved Paſturage, and taught the Method of Breeding a large Size of Cattle for the Plough, and of feeding Sheep for their Fleeces, as well as for their Fleſh. They no Doubt taught likewiſe better Methods of making Cloth, though both the Gauls and the Britons had a coarſe Kind before they came amongſt them. In like Manner they gave them better Notions of the complicated Arts of raiſing, preparing, and manufacturing Hemp and Flax. Architecture alſo, and all the Branches of Ingenuity ſubſervient thereto, they likewiſe communicated, and no Doubt found the People very apt Scholars, as the Conſtruction of their War Chariots is an inconteſtable Proof of their Genius in this Reſpect, and the Building ſo great a City as Camulodunum in a few Years, a Fact that fully ſupports what hath been advanced. In a Courſe of Years they raiſed Numbers of Mechanics of every Kind, and the Conveniencies of Life thus provided for, they likewiſe improved their Taſte in the finer Arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Muſic.

A WELL cultivated Country is a ſufficient Proof of its being well inhabited; but ſomething more perhaps may be thought neceſſary, to ſhew that theſe People were in eaſy and even in affluent Circumſtances. This may be effectually done by conſidering the great Number and apparent Splendor

their Cities. In theſe, eſpecially ſuch as were free Roman Colonies, or Capitals of Provinces, there were all the Marks of Grandeur, that every where diſtinguiſhed the Roman Genius. They had for Example ſpacious Amphitheatres for the Exhibition of public Games and Shows, Things neceſſary to captivate the Minds, and conciliate the Affections of the common People. Magnificent Baſilics or Halls of Juſtice, which ſerved likewiſe for the public Meetings of Strangers, and had Shops on both Sides like our Exchanges. Stately Baths, Temples, Porticos, Places for public Exerciſe, and whatever elſe could contribute to decorate theſe Reſidences of the Roman Officers. Leſſer Towns were neat and well built, and all their numerous Forts ſtrongly fortified, and their Walls compoſed of the beſt and moſt laſting Materials, more eſpecially thoſe upon the Coaſt which were meant to cover and protect their maritime Places. For the Truth of this the Things themſelves give Evidence to this Day, as well as of the Taſte and Elegance and immenſe Expence of their ſplendid Villa's from the Ruins that yet remain, and from the authentic Accounts that we have, of what excited the Admiration and Aſtoniſhment of former Times, ſo that on this Head our Proofs are moſt concluſive [s].

[s] The eaſieſt Method of gaining a clear and competent Notion of the Size and Splendour of the Roman Cities in Britain, is to conſider carefully the Accounts we have of thoſe that are now in Ruins. Of theſe we ſhall mention Three, referring the Reader to thoſe Paſſages in ancient and modern Authors, where he may ſatisfy himſelf as to their original State. The Firſt of theſe ſhall be Verolanium or Verulam, out of which roſe firſt the Abby, and then the Town of St. Albans in Hertfordſhire. Mat. Paris Vit. S. Albani Abbat. p. 40, 41. Lelandi Commentarii in Cygneam Cantionem, p. 95. Lambard's Dictionary, p. 4. Spenſer's Ruins of Time. Camdeni Britanniæ, p. 292, 293. Engliſh Tranſlation, p. 351—355. Stukeley's Itinerary, p. 110. and in Plate 95 the Reader may ſee that the Situation both of the old City, which Boadicea deſtroyed, and the new One which the Saxons overthrew, are ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed. The Second is Silcheſter, which is as much as to ſay the great City, in Hampſhire on the Borders of Berkſhire, in reſpect to the Roman Name of which Authors are not agreed, but Camden's Opinion that it was Vindonum ſeems the moſt probable. It is now arable Land, though there was a ſmall Village and Pariſh Church in it in the Time of Queen Elizabeth. There is an Amphitheatre near it. Lelandi Commentarii in Cygneam Cantionem, p. 47. Itinerary, vol. vi. fol. 56. Lambard's Dictionary, p. 320. Camdeni Britanniæ, p. 195. E. T. p. 147. Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 39. Stukeley's Itinerary, p. 169, 170. Pl. 61. The Third is Rhutupium, Rutupium or Rhitupis Portus, now Richborough, of which having ſaid ſo much in the former Volume, only the Writers who have preſerved Accounts of it ſhall be mentioned here, and theſe are Lelandi, Geneth. Ead. Principis, p. 39. Itinerary, vol. vii. fol. 138. Lambard's Dictionary, p. 287. Harriſon's Deſcription of Britain, Book i chap. viii. fol. 12. Camdeni Britanniæ, p. 240. E. T. 243—245. Somner's Roman Forts and Ports in Kent, p. 4. 17. 89. Battely Antiquitates Rutupinæ. Lewis's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Tenet. Stukeley's Itinerary, p. 117. 119. From theſe it will be apparent that what has been ſaid in reſpect to their Choice of Situations is exactly true. In regard to the Strength of their Buildings neither the Teeth of Time or the Violence of Men have in the Courſe of ſo many Ages been able utterly to efface them, and in reſpect to their Riches and elegant Decorations, notwithſtanding the Plunder of ſo long a Period, they are not yet abſolutely exhauſted.

ANOTHER and no leſs cogent Argument, if it was neceſſary, might be drawn from the vigorous Efforts made by ſeveral Commanders in Britain to raiſe themſelves to the Imperial Dignity. Clodius Albinus was very near effecting this againſt Severus, and in his Defeat there periſhed the Flower of the Britiſh Youth. Carauſius ſeized and kept Britain with the Title of Emperor for ſeveral Years, performing great Things both by Land and Sea, and doubtful it is how much longer he might have kept it if he had not been murdered by Allectus, who for a ſhort Time wore the ſame Title. Conſtantine was ſaluted Emperor here, and manifeſted through his whole Reign a great Kindneſs for this Country. Laſtly, Maximus aſſuming the Purple carried over a great Army from hence, and after murdering the Emperor Gratian, penetrated into Italy, where he periſhed. All theſe were ſupported in their Deſigns by the Fleets, the Forces, and the Treaſures of Britain, which fully demonſtrate the Wealth and Strength of this Country under the Dominion of the Romans. It may be theſe frequent Revolts might induce the Emperors to adopt for their own Security the Maxim of withdrawing ſuch Troops as were formed in the Provinces, that they might be in leſs Danger from the Officers who commanded here. Whether this was the Caſe or not, certain it is, that however the great Captains before-mentioned might raiſe and extend the Fame, they exceedingly enervated the natural Strength of Britain, and thereby contributed to leave her in that weak and helpleſs State, in which ſhe appeared when deſerted by the Roman Legions.

AFTER having thus inconteſtably eſtabliſhed the Fact, that in the Time of Peace, and of well ſettled Government, the People in the Roman Provinces here lived much at their Eaſe, and enjoyed all the Bleſſings of Life in great Abundance. I ſay, having eſtabliſhed this, let us have leave to enquire a little into the Cauſes, which are in truth the proper Buſineſs of this Chapter. In the Firſt Place, the fortified Line which made their Northern Frontier, ſecured the Country behind it from the Incurſions of the uncivilized Natives, and the interior Parts were likewiſe covered by Forteſſes, and when Occaſion required by Winter Camps, which were very ſtrong and ſo well choſen, that they were commonly ſucceeded by Villages when deſerted. The Communication throughout all the Provinces was effectually provided for by their excellent Roads, and in ſome Places where it was more commodious by Canals. This exceedingly facilitated the Conveyance of Proviſions and all other Neceſſaries, for which there was a conſtant and a regular Demand; which uniform Correſpondence was of the higheſt Utility to the Inhabitants, as it enabled them to carry their Commodities where-ever there was a Market. The Plan of Government alſo, being every where the ſame, kept all Ranks and Degrees of

People in due Subordination. At the ſame Time this ſeldom gave Occaſion to Oppreſſion, as it was a conſtant Maxim of theirs, to encourage by every Method the Exertion of Talents of every Kind for the common Benefit of Society. As their domeſtic Trade was perfectly well protected, ſo the like Care was taken, as we have already hinted, of their foreign Commerce, which was as extenſive as the Bounds of the Empire; and to all this we may add, that their very Taxes, Impoſitions, and Duties of every Kind contributed not a little to the public Welfare, by diſcouraging Idleneſs, exciting Induſtry, and promoting an active, regular, and continual Circulation.

CHAP. III.

Of the Revenues of the Saxon Monarchs.

THE Saxons, in Proportion as they founded and ſecured their Principalities, applied themſelves aſſiduouſly to the Improvement of the Countries they poſſeſſed. By their ſteady and general Application to Huſbandry they very ſoon procured Plenty, and in conſequence of that rendered their ſeveral Kingdoms populous. They were at the ſame Time far from being negligent as to maritime Affairs, which at firſt aroſe from Neceſſity, and became afterwards very convenient. Their political Conſtitution was formed upon their old Cuſtoms applied to the Change in their Situation, which created an uniform Syſtem of fundamental Laws in each State. This Eſtabliſhment formed from the very Beginning for the common Benefit, ſuch Ties upon Individuals as proved in effect a public Revenue. The Proviſion made for their Chief Magiſtrate or King conſiſted firſt in Lands allotted to him as his Demeſnes. The Fines for great, and the Mulcts for leſſer Offences, compoſed another Branch of the regal Revenue. The Tolls, Duties, and other Impoſitions on the inland Trade of Boroughs, and the Rents of Houſes in them built upon the Royal Demeſne, became a Third Branch. The laſt conſiſted in the Cuſtoms or Duties levied on the Exportation of native Commodities, and on the Importation of foreign Goods into their reſpective Kingdoms. Theſe Revenues, as their Hiſtory ſhew, were fully anſwerable to the Occaſions of their Monarchs. They without any extraordinary Aids or Aſſiſtance lived with Dignity and Splendour, beloved by their Subjects, and revered by their Neighbours. The Mode of Perception rendered their Revenues a Means of improving the Country. At the ſame Time that they contributed to the Eaſe, Emolument, and Welfare of the People.

AT the First Entrance of the Saxons and their Confederates into this Island, and after their turning their Swords upon those, who are said to have invited them hither, there followed, as we have elsewhere shewn, a dismal Scene of Desolation and Destruction. But when these Nations had established themselves by Force, they began, as it was natural, to think of preserving and improving their Possessions. Their First Principalities being small, their Rulers or Kings were able to visit and to superintend the different Parts of their Dominions, which they settled and governed according to the Customs of their Ancestors, with such small Alterations as became requisite from the Change in their Condition, as they were now no longer under the Necessity of quitting their Abodes as they had formerly done, which Alteration in Circumstances introduced Notions of Property, and with them a Necessity of dividing and assigning separate Portions of the Country, that it might be the more speedily cultivated, for their Subsistence. In this the Prince did not act according to his own Will, but by the Advice of his principal Commanders, who, as they had been the Companions of his Victories, were Sharers likewise in his Conquests, and Partakers in the Labours requisite to their Security and Improvement [a].

IN order to this, after the Division and Subdivision of the Country they possessed, amongst the several greater and lesser Leaders and their Dependants, they took the best Measures in their Power to cultivate the Lands, and to raise from their Produce the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, in which from the Nature of their free Government, which afforded every Encouragement to Industry, they became quickly very successful, and in Proportion as their Abilities and Numbers increased, began to repair many of those Cities and Towns, which in the Heat of their War against the Britons they had overthrown, being invited thereto by the Convenience of their Situations, and the Plenty of Materials they afforded. In the Con-

[a] The First Leader of the Saxons, Hengist, after various Struggles erected the Kingdom of Kent. He appears to have been a Person as much distinguished by his political as by his military Talents. He contented himself with that small but fertile Territory, fixing the East Saxons on one Side, and the South Saxons on the other, by which it was effectually covered. His Successors adopted his Maxims. His Son Esk, Oisc, or Osca, who hath been stiled the Saxon Numa, settled a regular Plan of Government, so much to the Satisfaction of his Subjects, that they stiled themselves Eskins. His Son and his Grandson pursued his Measures, so that for the Space of near a Century they lived in profound Peace, and so effectually settled and improved their Country, that Ethelbert the Fifth in Succession from Hengist, who proved a more active and ambitious Prince, stretched his Dominions, or at least his Influence, as far as the Humber. It was from hence, that Kent, as it was the first was also the most flourishing of all the Saxon Kingdoms, and the Inhabitants, from a Sense of their own Felicity, the most strongly attached to their own Customs.

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ſtruction of theſe, and of ſuch Fortreſſes as were requiſite to ſecure them, in the Building of Bridges, and other neceſſary Means of Communication, the Direction of the King, aſſiſted by his Council, was punctually obeyed; for as theſe Directions were dictated by Prudence and Experience; and were viſibly intended for the common Good, they were willingly ſubmitted to by the People, who felt the Advantages that flowed from them, and thus theſe Kingdoms gradually increaſed, and as the principal Object in Time of Peace was Cultivation, the Country grew populous of courſe, and as from their Plan of Policy, Power and Rank attended Property, a Spirit of Emulation every where produced Plenty, ſo long as there was no Interruption of Peace [b].

These People before their Entrance into Britain were famous for their Exploits at Sea, and were eſteemed the hardieſt and the moſt enterprizing Seamen in thoſe Days. The Recruits that from time to time they received, and which enabled them to keep, and to extend their Poſſeſſions here, came to them likewiſe by Sea. When more thoroughly ſettled, they kept up a conſtant Correſpondence with their Neighbours; and all this induced them to be very attentive to the Ports in their little States, which they fortified early, and built Towns in their Neighbourhood. They received foreign Merchants with great Kindneſs, allowed them to trade freely, and when any Veſſels were wrecked upon their Coaſts, behaved with Juſtice and Humanity to ſuch as eſcaped. Theſe were among the Cuſtoms they had learned from their Anceſtors, and which had the Force of Laws in the Countries with which they had an Intercourſe. A Spirit of Commerce prevailed amongſt them from the very Beginning, and of courſe enlarged in Proportion with their other Improvements, ſo that Trade was ever eſteemed amongſt them as a very honourable Occupation; and though their Veſſels were not very large or ſtrong, yet they were very numerous,

[b] It hath been proved, that Gavelkind ſignifies properly Land yielding Rent, or in other Words a Country thoroughly improved. In order to this, almoſt every Rank of People had ſome Kind or other of Property, which encouraged their Induſtry, and was the Cauſe of that general Cultivation before-mentioned. Many Portions of Land were let out by great Proprietors on a reſerved Rent, and this was ſtiled Gaffoland. Theſe again had their Undertenants, as well as the great Proprietors, who had ſmall Pieces of Land in Conſideration of the Services they performed, ſuch as reaping their Landlord's Corn, mowing his Graſs, carrying his Grain to Market, which had all their proper Names, Work-land, Cot-land, Aver-land, Drof-land, Swilling-land, the Explanation of theſe and many more may be found in the very learned and induſtrious Mr. Somner's Treatiſe of Gavelkind, p. 115. This may ſerve to convince the Reader of the Truth of what is ſaid in the Text, and to ſhew him that what hath been advanced in the former Book and elſewhere, in reſpect to the Application of the Saxons to Huſbandry is perfectly well-founded. It may not be amiſs to add, that though the Cuſtom of Gavelkind is now chiefly to be found in Kent, yet in the Time of the Saxons it prevailed generally through the whole Kingdom.

and

and ſerved to find Employment for a great Body of Seamen, as is evident from the Fleets that they occaſionally fitted out [c].

The People who ſettled here after their driving out the Britons, though of different Nations, had the ſame Language, and in general the ſame Cuſtoms, of which they were very tenacious, and of courſe theſe had all the Force and Efficacy of Laws. But though in general they were the ſame in reſpect to their Nature, yet they might and did vary in particular Circumſtances, and theſe Variations ſubſiſted even after the ſeveral Principalities were united into One Kingdom. In each of theſe there can be no Doubt that the Prince had a competent Revenue for the Support of his Dignity, and this in virtue of their ancient Cuſtoms ariſing from the Reaſon of the Thing, for with regard to written Laws they had none for a Century and a Half after their coming hither, and even theſe enact nothing upon that Head, becauſe, as we ſhall ſee, it was unneceſſary. In reference to this as well as other Things, the ſame Rule it is likely prevailed in every One of their States, which made no Alteration requiſite upon their Coalition, of which we do not perceive any Traces. All that hath been ſaid regards the pure Saxon Conſtitution while that remained unaltered, and the People unmixed with Danes and other foreign Nations; for in conſequence of this many Alterations were made, and many Innovations took Place, for want of attending to which many Things have been repreſented as ſuch, which in reality, though they happened in the Time of the Saxons, were by no Means Part of the Saxon Conſtitution. For this appears to have been very ſimple in itſelf, very regular in its Forms, and very uniform in its Ope-

[c] It is generally agreed, that the peculiar Privileges granted to the Cinque Ports are to be referred to the Times of the Saxons, and were probably a political Inſtitution of the Kings of Kent, and it is alſo generally allowed, that Earl Godwin exerciſed the Office of Warden in the Time of Edward the Confeſſor. Ethelbert, who is mentioned in a former Note, married a French Princeſs, which ſhews that there was a friendly Correſpondence between the Two Kingdoms. In Proceſs of Time we find that a Door was opened to the Acquiſition of Honour, by Trade as well as by the Improvement of Land. A Merchant who had Thrice croſſed the Sea in a Veſſel of his own, and had acquired a competent Property, became thereby worthy the Rank of a Thane. The Voyages of Saxon Princes on the Score of Devotion muſt have opened their Minds, and made them acquainted with foreign Countries. The Expedition by the Command of Alfred, for the Diſcovery of the North Weſt Paſſage, more than once mentioned already, is an inconteſtable Evidence that in thoſe Times they were by no means ignorant of maritime Affairs, and this being ſo, we can no way ſo probably account for that Knowledge as from their Correſpondence in the Way of Trade with foreign Countries, and eſpecially with the Northern Parts of Europe. The hiſtorical Accounts we have of their Affairs are ſo few, ſo ſhort, and from thence in many Places ſo obſcure, that very little can be known on theſe Subjects but by Way of Deduction.

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rations ſo long as it continued to ſubſiſt upon the Baſis of its original Principles [d].

The Firſt of theſe was, that to whatever regarded the common Safety or Welfare of all, every Man was bound to contribute in his Perſon or in his Property. In caſe of a War, every Freeman was conſidered as a Soldier, and the neceſſary Levies were made by the Direction of the King, aſſiſted by his Council or Senators, who were preſumed to be the fitteſt, and were therefore conſidered as the legal Judges of the Manner in which the Force of the Nation was to be exerted. In reference to Fortreſſes that were to be conſtructed for the public Security, and in every Thing of the like Nature the People were obliged to bear the Expence, not in an arbitrary Manner, or at the mere Will and Pleaſure of the King, but according to a certain Rule, that is, in Proportion to their reſpective Shares of Property, which being founded in natural Equity, and their Poſſeſſions being known with great Certainty, met with a ready and general Submiſſion. Theſe Regulations might very properly be ſaid to conſtitute a public Revenue, as they were raiſed only for public Purpoſes in ſuch Seaſons only, as they were apparently requiſite, and in ſuch a Manner as could never tend to Oppreſſion. It was in conſequence of this, that in ſucceeding Times, when Alfred framed what hath been juſtly ſtiled his Conſtitution, he regarded theſe fundamental Laws as the Groundwork of his Syſtem, and only modified them in ſuch a Manner as to render them more eaſy and more effectual, in which having the Concurrence of the Legiſlature as it then ſtood, and the general Approbation of all his Subjects for his Wiſdom and public Spirit, he met with no Oppoſition. He ſeems indeed in this Reſpect to have done no more than his Firſt Predeceſſors in their Eſtabliſhment of the original Saxon Principalities, to each of which there is no Doubt that

[d] In the former Book the Authorities are given which ſupport the Facts that are delivered here, and therefore it is unneceſſary to repeat them. The very Nature of the Subject renders it impoſſible to be circumſtantial, but this by no Means deſtroys or even weakens the Certainty of what is advanced in the Text. The Heptarchy is univerſally allowed, and there ſeems to be as little Diſpute in regard to the Similarity of theſe States, ſo long as they remained free and independent. This muſt have ariſen either from copying the original Eſtabliſhment of Hengiſt, who, Nennius ſays, Hiſt. Brit. cap. xxxvi. was a learned, ſubtle, and crafty Man, or which is much more probable, that theſe Governments were framed according to their ancient Cuſtoms, and therefore we have ſo ſtated it in the Text. Theſe Cuſtoms were indeed the Dictates of common Senſe applied to the Situation of their Affairs. Their Firſt Object was the driving out the Britons, and in proſecuting this they acted with Violence and Fury; but when they had once gained Poſſeſſion, and conſidered the Country as their own, they altered their Conduct, and took the moſt natural Method for preſerving what they had acquired, by diſtributing the Lands amongſt their Chiefs, as theſe again divided them amongſt their Dependants, and as their Strength increaſed by an Acceſſion of Recruits from Abroad, they extended their Conqueſts, and divided them in the like Manner.

they

they gave the Form of Rule, which they in Conjunction with their Council eſteemed fitteſt for the Situation of their reſpective Countries, and the State of their Inhabitants e.

The proper Revenue of the Saxon Kings aroſe in the Firſt Place from Lands aſſigned them, or otherwiſe acquired in different Parts of their Dominions, which they let out to farm, and had their Servants upon them in the ſame Manner with other Proprietors. This was very convenient or rather requiſite, as for the Sake of inſpecting public Affairs, holding Courts of Juſtice, and other Purpoſes, they travelled through different Parts of their Territories, and took up their Reſidence either in Towns or in the Houſes belonging to their Royal Demeſnes, which, as ſome old Writers inform us, were commonly ſuch as had been the Villas of Roman Governors, very probably on account of their well choſen Situations. Theſe Poſſeſſions were partly of a private Nature, ſuch as came to theſe Princes by Deſcent, or were acquired by Purchaſe, which they might beſtow by Gift, diſpoſe of them by Will, or alienate in any other Manner they thought proper. Others again were conſidered as Crown Lands, which the King could not part with, or beſtow even upon the Church, to which moſt of theſe Monarchs were very liberal, without the Conſent of their Nobility. In Proportion as their Dominions were extended, theſe Crown Lands became very conſiderable, and afforded the Monarch who poſſeſſed them no contemptible Income. They had alſo an Opportunity of gratifying their younger Children and other Relations, ſuch of their Nobility as married their Daughters, and others who ſtood high in their Favour, with theſe Manſions and the Lands belonging to them, which by this Means

e Theſe general and indiſputed Obligations of every Landholder, are what we find generally comprized under the Term of Trinoda Neceſſitas of the Saxons. Theſe were defending by the Sword what had been gained by the Sword, contributing to Fortreſſes, and to the Conſtruction of Bridges, which were not looked upon in the Light of Services, but as Things neceſſarily connected with landed Property. This Notion ſtrongly confirms what has been advanced in the Text, and in the former Note, as not being founded in any Law, but exiſting as a univerſal Cuſtom through all their little States, and therefore conſtantly reſpected as a fundamental Principle of Government. The Rule in this and in all other Caſes that reſpected the Public, was the Proportion of every Man's Property. This was meaſured by Hide Lands. The Quantity of Land which compoſed this was incertain; that is to ſay, in ſome Places it was more, in others leſs; but the Idea it conveyed was very clear, it was ſuch a Quantity of arable Land as would ſerve to maintain a Family, with a competent Proportion of Meadow and Paſture for the Support of the Beaſts requiſite to till it. In ſucceeding Times every Five Hide Lands were bound to furniſh a Man for the public Service, and this is ſaid to have conſtituted a ſtanding Army, or rather a ſtanding Militia, of near Fifty thouſand Men. The directing the Manner in which theſe were to be employed, made Part of Alfred's Conſtitutions, and poſſibly beſide theſe the King and his principal Officers might have ſmall Troops of Soldiers either in conſtant Pay, or bound to this Service by Lands beſtowed on them with this Condition.

were always kept in good Order, and in conſequence of this, however rich the Prince might be, it was without any Detriment to or laying any Burden upon the Subject [f].

The Temper of the Saxons was fierce, and their Manners rough at their coming here, whence Quarrels were very frequent, and ſometimes attended with Bloodſhed, which though they held worthy of Puniſhment, yet it was not by Death or Impriſonment, but by a Fine proportioned to the Rank of the Perſon ſlain. Leſſer Offences were in the ſame Manner puniſhed by Mulcts, and no corporal Puniſhment (for a long Time) inflicted on any but Slaves. The Cuſtoms they brought with them, were conſequently eſtabliſhed in their ſeveral Principalities, and though they might be afterwards regulated by, were certainly more ancient than any of their written Laws. Of theſe Fines a large Share was appropriated to the King's Uſe, and though this Proportion might, as indeed it did, differ in different Principalities, and this Difference continued to ſubſiſt when they were united under One Monarch, the Part appropriated, whatever it was, remained the ſame. Theſe Fines for greater and Mulcts for ſmaller Offences were paid in Money, and conſequently this is to be regarded as another, and very conſiderable Branch of the Revenue of theſe Saxon Kings. True it is, that this Income was incertain in reſpect to its Produce, but then it was equally certain and general in its Nature, and ſo reaſonable, and of ſuch apparent Utility, that it was adopted in ſucceeding Times upon the original Principle, that thoſe who violated the King's Laws made for the Benefit of his Subjects, ſhould pay a Compenſation to the King, in Proportion to the Nature of the Offence [g].

At

[f] As to the Demeſne Lands of the Saxon Kings, their Royal Manors and Houſes upon them, we have the cleareſt and moſt authentic Evidence from a Variety of Laws relating to them, and the Privileges annexed to them. Beſides theſe, all the Royal Charters for granting theſe Lands to Churches and Monaſteries, with the Conſent of the Nobles, are ſo many additional Proofs. Beſides theſe we have a Variety of Teſtaments, particularly that of Alfred the Great, printed at the End of Aſſer's Life of that Prince, in which he recites alſo his Father's Laſt Will, and his particular Title to thoſe Lands which he aſſigns to his Children and Relations. We are alſo told that he made a general Deſcription of the Country, or a Kind of Survey, in which the Royal Demeſnes and all the other landed Property in the Kingdom was ſet forth; and this is ſuppoſed to have been the Model of the Conqueror's Doomſday Book, which likewiſe affords ſufficient Teſtimony as to the Truth of what is laid down in the Text, and though very probably the Crown Lands might be much diminiſhed by the Revolutions that had happened in the State, yet it appears from thence, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, that Edward the Confeſſor was poſſeſſed of a large landed Property.

[g] All Ranks of Men amongſt the Saxons had a certain Rate or Sum ſet upon their Heads, which were to be paid in the Manner their Laws directed in caſe they were killed. This Fine was termed Wergild, that is, Man's Price; the King's Head was eſtimated at Twenty thouſand Thrimſa's, as to the Value of which there hath been many Diſputes, but the judicious Doctor Clarke ſeems to have made it clear that the Thrimſa was Three Pence. The Archbiſhop, the

At the Firſt Erection of the Saxon States, their Monarchs found it requiſite to appoint certain Places, where People might live together in Safety, and carry on their Dealings with each other with Facility and Freedom. Theſe were called Burghs, that Word in its primitive Signification implying a Place of Strength. Theſe were all mediately or immediately of Royal Creation; for though many of them belonged to Prelates, Monaſteries, or to Lay Lords, yet even thoſe were erected by Licence from the Crown. For the Eaſe and Commodity of the Inhabitants open Markets were fixed in them, with certain Privileges, and in conſequence of this Tolls were received and Duties impoſed upon the Goods carried thither for Sale, which Impoſitions were collected by a Bailiff, and in Proceſs of Time, for the Conveniency both of the Crown and of the People, the Produce of them was let to the Burgeſſes themſelves, at a ſtated annual Rent, which was ſtiled a Fee-farm, and this being paid, the Tolls and Duties were collected for the Benefit of the Inhabitants. Beſides their Fee-farm, or the Tolls and Duties, if they were not ſo let, ſuch of the Burgeſſes as lived in Houſes built upon the King's Demeſne, paid him Rent, as others did to their reſpective Lords; and from theſe Two Branches there aroſe a Third Kind of Revenue to the Crown, more certain but perhaps not more conſiderable than the former. We might ſpeak more fully, and enter more at large into theſe Points, if we were poſſeſſed of better Authorities. The beſt and ſureſt Guide we have, is the Book of Doomſday, but this Record being ſettled ſome Years after the Conqueſt, and reciting only the State of Things in the Time of Edward the Confeſſor, when great Alterations had been made, and many foreign Cuſtoms adopted, we cannot with any Certainty collect from thence what the State of theſe Places were in earlier Times, or when the Saxon Government was in the moſt flouriſhing Condition [h].

It

Prince, the Thane, and ſo down to the loweſt Freeman, had his Value. But this was not all, every Limb was alſo valued, and every Kind of Wound or Injury. Theſe were puniſhed by Mulcts, called in Saxon Wites. In ſome Caſes the Wergild was divided: The King had the Firſt Part, which was called Frith-bote, which was for the Breach of his Peace, and for the Loſs of his Subject. The Lord of the Perſon ſlain, if he had One, had another Part, which was ſtiled Man-bote, for the Loſs of his Man. The Third Part belonged to the Relations, and was called Cengild, that is, Kindred's Money. By this Price of their Heads, the Ranks of Men were diſtinguiſhed into Twelfhind, Sixhind, and Twyhind. The laſt was an ordinary Perſon whoſe Head was eſtimated at Two hundred Shillings, the Second at Six hundred, and the Firſt at Twelve hundred Shillings. What very plainly proves, that this was an original or fundamental Law which the Saxons brought with them, is its prevailing among other Northern Nations, for the Danes had it likewiſe, though their Wergild ſeems to have been One Fifth leſs than that of the Saxons. King Alfred raiſed the Price of an ordinary Man's Head from Thirty to Two hundred Shillings.

[h] It is hoped, that the Account given in the Text will give the Reader a competent Notion of Saxon Burghs, which was their general Name for Towns of what Size ſoever. They were

It hath been elſewhere very fully ſhewn, that from the Firſt Settlement of the Saxon Kingdoms, their Subjects held a Correſpondence with thoſe of Foreign States for their mutual Conveniency. Indeed if we had no Authorities it would be impoſſible to conceive Things otherwiſe, or to apprehend that an Iſland abounding with fine Ports inhabited by a Nation accuſtomed to the Sea, and gradually poſſeſſing all the natural Commodities of this Country, ſhould not avail themſelves of foreign Trade. It is no Objection to this, that in the Saxon Laws Artificers and Tradeſmen are ſtiled Merchants. They made indeed no nice Diſtinctions in thoſe Days, yet we find even in theſe Laws Mention of Traders who croſſed the Seas in their own Veſſels, and thoſe Veſſels freighted on their own Account. The Truth certainly is, that Commerce there was in all maritime Parts of the Kingdom, but it fluctuated like other Things, ſometimes flouriſhed, and ſometimes decayed, according to the State the Nation was in. But in every Condition of Trade, the Kings levied Cuſtoms on Goods imported and exported, and the Perſon who collected theſe was ſtiled a Port-reeve, though very poſſibly he might alſo collect the Tolls, Inland Duties, and Rents in the ſame Place. Of all this we have as much Certainty as the Nature of the Thing requires, and therefore this is allowed to have been another Branch of the Saxon Revenue [i].

These

appropriated for the Habitation of ſuch as got their Living by buying and ſelling, and the Burgeſſes or thoſe who dwelt in them were Mechanics, Tradeſmen, and Merchants. They had Privileges ſuitable to their Mode of Life, elected Magiſtrates, and tranſacted other Buſineſs in their General Meeting, which was ſtiled a Burgmote. Theſe Privileges, and their having regular Markets and Fairs, diſtinguiſhed them from Villages, which were ſolely inhabited by Perſons employed in Huſbandry. The latter were more numerous, the former of greater Conſequence. In Time of War however they were expoſed to all its Inconveniencies, were frequently plundered, and ſometimes deſtroyed, more eſpecially by the Danes. It is from thence, as we have hinted in the Text, that there is no ſpeaking with Certainty or Preciſion of their Size or Number of Inhabitants, as the Reader may be convinced, by conſulting what is ſaid of Stamford, Camdeni Britannia, p. 401. All that we ſhall add farther upon this Subject is, that moſt of the local Cuſtoms, many of which are very ſingular, are derived from theſe Times, and in ſeveral Places have been continued in Practice, though the Reaſons of their Inſtitution are no longer known. If the Reader is deſirous of entering farther into this Matter, he may conſult the Conſuetudines et Jura Anglo Saxonica ex Libro cenſuali, dicto Doomeſday; which is printed at the End of the Firſt Volume of Dean Gale's Collection of ancient Hiſtorians.

[i] The Attention ſhewn to Trade and Commerce did not conſiſt ſolely in the providing proper Places for the Reſidence and Accommodation of ſuch as were concerned therein, but appeared likewiſe in the Diverſity of Weights for different Kinds of Goods, and for the Diſpoſal of them in Wholeſale and Retail. The Variations in the Saxon Money which hath given ſo much Trouble and Perplexity to our Antiquaries, aroſe from the ſame Cauſe. It is evident that before the Time of Alfred, the Saxons employed their Veſſels chiefly, if not wholly in Trade, and as we have ſhewn in the former Book, this obliged him to conſtruct Ships of greater Capacity and Strength for guarding the Coaſts. The great Fleets, which, if any Credit be due to all our Hiſtories, were employed by Edgar, required many thouſand Sailors, and theſe could not have been found if there had not been an extenſive Commerce, in conſequence of the Care taken, of which, ac-

These are all the Branches of the Saxon Revenue, that with any Certainty are known, and we may have leave to ſay, ſhew the Excellency of that Conſtitution, which was alike applicable to the Support of the regal Dignity when confined to the little Sovereignty of Kent, and when extended to all England. From the Nature of their Government, theſe Princes, though they had a Place of peculiar Reſidence, were obliged nevertheleſs from a Variety of Cauſes to viſit different Parts of their Dominions, which by the Diſtribution of their Demeſnes, they were enabled to do without any Inconvenience to themſelves or Burden upon their Subjects. Theſe alſo afforded them, as we have before remarked, competent Proviſions for their younger Children, and put it alſo in their Power to reward their faithful Servants. We find them likewiſe in a Capacity to erect and endow Monaſteries, and to make other conſiderable Donations to the Church, in which they had the Concurrence of the Nobility, who were certainly the proper Judges of their Prudence in ſuch Alienations, and would very probably have prevented them if they had appeared incompatible with the public Good, which is the more likely, as they actually interpoſed when it was done without their Conſent, treating ſuch an Alienation as illegal and invalid [k].

In other Reſpects it is very apparent, that they were in a Condition to ſupport their Dignity, to build Palaces, to live according to the Mode of thoſe Times in Eaſe and Affluence; to ſend Alms and to make Journies to Rome at no ſmall Expence; to keep up a Correſpondence with foreign Courts, and to make Intermarriages with Princeſſes of the moſt reſpectable Houſes in Europe. The Adverſity and Proſperity of Alfred was in

cording to the original Principles of the Saxon Conſtitution, the King levied Cuſtoms and Duties, and upon this Ground ſtands the Opinion of our ableſt Judges, that they were due to the Crown by Common Law. Dyer's Reports, 43. 165. Davis's Reports, 8.

[k] There are many Circumſtances that would render this Subject clearer and more ſatisfactory, if they could be aſcertained. For Inſtance, if we knew what the Royal Demeſnes were, in any One of the Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, which we do not. Conjectures are no Evidence, yet we may be permitted to hint, that the Saxons affected a certain Proportion in their Eſtabliſhments of every Kind. The Head or Life of a Freeman had its Value aſſigned, that of the Thane was Six Times as much; and the King's Life was valued at Six Times that of the Thane. We know that Five Hides of Land was thought a competent Eſtate for a Man of that Dignity; but, though we may ſuppoſe ſome Proportion obſerved, we cannot conclude from thence, what in the original ſetting out of theſe Principalities might be aſſigned to the King. The Hide was an incertain Quantity of Land, ſuppoſed to be ſufficient for the Maintenance of a Family, that is, of a conſiderable Landholder, who, as we have ſeen in a former Note, parcelled it out on various Conditions to his Tenants, all of whom drew their own and their Family's Maintenance out of it. As to the King's Royal Demeſnes being conſidered as the Patrimony of the Crown, and not alienable at the mere Will of the Prince, we have an Inſtance in King Baldred, who gave the Manor of Maling in Suſſex to a Monaſtery in Canterbury without the Conſent of his Nobles, which was declared void, and granted again by King Egbert with their Conſent. Concil. Britan. 340.

common

common with that of his Subjects. When they were reduced to Indigence ſo was he, and when by his Conduct and Courage, and their Aſſiſtance, the public Affairs were retrieved, he of courſe recovered his former State and Revenue. The One was the natural Conſequence of the other, and both were effected by the natural inherent Force of the Saxon Form of Rule. The Grandeur and Magnificence of Edgar's Court was the apparent Effect of the flouriſhing State of his Dominions, and of the general Tranquility and Opulence of his Subjects. It was not till the unfortunate Reign of Ethelred that we hear of any extraordinary Aid or Impoſition, and this when done was done by the Conſent of the States. In the ſucceeding Diſtractions the Saxon Conſtitution was very much weakened, and in many Inſtances altered, as we have already ſhewn. But even in the Reign of Edward the Confeſſor, the Revenue ſeems to have been very ſufficient for his Support, and upon his Demiſe Harold made very great Efforts without any other Aſſiſtance, than he derived from what yet remained of the Saxon Conſtitution [1].

This Revenue was not only at all Times adequate to the Purpoſes for which it was given, without being oppreſſive on the Community, but which was its greateſt Excellence, turned very much to their Advantage. The ſettled Principle of drawing the neceſſary Supports of the State from Land made a general Improvement of it requiſite, into whatever Hands it fell, for which the Saxon Oeconomy was admirably calculated; and the Poſſeſſions of the Crown and of the Church, being as well or better cultivated than the Reſt, what they held could be no Loſs to the Nation. In the next Place, the Appropriation of Fines and Mulcts rendered it the Intereſt of the King and his Officers to be very attentive in the Execution of Juſtice, as the Proviſion made by Appeals from inferior Courts was very wiſely calculated to prevent Abuſes. The erecting of Burghs was beneficial to the King and to the Lords of the Soil, and at the ſame Time of great Utility to the Bulk of the People, who reſorted to the Markets and Fairs in them for the Diſpoſal of their Commodities and the Pur-

[1] We may form ſome Judgment of the conſtitutional Power of the Saxon Princes, before the Junction of their Kingdoms, from the famous Ditch called by the Britons Klawdh Offa, which that Monarch drew for the Security of his own Dominions, and which was a moſt ſtupendous Work, no leſs than Ninety Miles in Extent. Charlemagne correſponded with that Prince, and Egbert, who united all the Saxon Kingdoms, was bred up in his Court. The Journies made by our Monarchs to Rome were not ſolely on account of Religion, for that City was in thoſe Days the School of Learning and of Arts; and Alfred in Commemoration of his Retreat, in the Iſland of Æthelingey, built there, as William of Malmeſbury tells us, de Geſtis Pontif. p. 255. a Monaſtery, which from his Deſcription ſeems to have been conſtructed after the Model of the Pantheon. In ſucceeding Times, ſeveral beautiful and coſtly Structures were erected, particularly the Abbey at Weſtminſter, to which Edward the Confeſſor devoted the Tenth Part of his Revenues.

chaſe of Neceſſaries. The King likewiſe found his Account in cheriſhing Commerce, not only from the Duties he received, but for the public Service in raiſing of Seamen; and in all Probability ſome of theſe Monarchs having it more in their Power than their Subjects, might become Traders themſelves, and thereby increaſe their Income [m].

Upon the Whole it muſt be evident to every candid and conſiderate Reader, that from the whole Frame of the Saxon Government, the Intereſts of the King and Kingdom were thoroughly and inſeparably united. The whole Current of their Hiſtory, as ſufficiently appears from the Sketch given of it in the former Book, and which was there given for that Purpoſe, very clearly proves this to be a Fact, and not a Conjecture. If to this we add, that theſe Saxon Monarchs, at leaſt ſo far as credible Hiſtory reaches, were not much diſpoſed to foreign Wars or foreign Conqueſts, that is, without the Bounds of this Iſland, we may from thence diſcern the Credibility of themſelves and their Subjects becoming rich, at leaſt for thoſe Times, ſince by far the greateſt Part of what their Commerce brought in muſt have remained in their Hands, and though it is agreed that all Ranks of People lived (at leaſt in Times of public Quiet) in great Plenty, yet this was from their own Produce, and being the Reſult of their Induſtry could never impoveriſh them [n].

CHAP.

[m] It appears that the Number of Villages in England at the Time of the Conqueſt was nearly equal to that of the ſtanding Militia, ſo that to raiſe an Army of Fifty thouſand Men, there was only One taken out of each, which fully proves the Populouſneſs of the Country, and of courſe that it was thoroughly cultivated. It hath been already remarked, that the State of this Kingdom was declining before the Survey called Doomeſday was taken, and yet many Proofs might be produced from thence to ſhew the Utility of the Burghs, in all Reſpects ſufficient to ſupport what is ſaid of them in the Text. As to our Princes carrying on ſome Degree of foreign Commerce, the Hiſtory of Alfred ſeems to be concluſive; for he, as we have frequently had occaſion to mention, employed Ships for Diſcovery in the North Seas; ſent Alms to the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in the Eaſt, and received Preſents from thence, which are clear and uncontroverted Proofs of what is the uſual Effect of Trade, an extenſive Correſpondence, and the great Reſort of Foreigners to the Court of Edgar, may well be conſidered in the ſame Light. Lord Bacon indeed tells King James, that his Kingdom was much better ſuited thereto than either Portugal or Tuſcany, if his Predeceſſors had not deſpiſed it as beneath them, in which he forgets Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh, who enriched themſelves and their Subjects by this Practice. Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 255.

[n] As the fundamental Laws of the Saxons were in Uſe from the Inſtitution of their reſpective States, ſo they laſted as long as their Dominion. For we find by the Record of Doomeſday, that Edward the Confeſſor was poſſeſſed of One thouſand four hundred and Twenty-two Manors in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. What his Intereſt was in the Boroughs we find therein likewiſe expreſſed. In the Days of Alfred, as himſelf and his Hiſtorian tell us, this Realm was plundered of every Thing valuable by the Danes, ſo that both the Monarch and his Subjects were reduced to the moſt abject State of Poverty that can be conceived. Yet in the Compaſs of a few Reigns, the Country and the People were ſo recovered as to be able to pay the ſame barbarous Invaders, within leſs than Thirty Years, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, Tributes to the Amount of

Two

Two hundred thouſand Pounds of their Money, which I freely acknowledge I know not how to value in ours, though much better Judges than I have computed it at ſeveral Millions. If this is not as ſtrong and as convincing a Proof as could be wiſhed in reſpect to the Truth of what is advanced in the Text, it will be very hard to find one; for if we conſider it maturely, we muſt ſee that nothing but the Balance of a very lucrative foreign Trade, could have repaired in ſo ſhort a Space, a Country ſo totally exhauſted. It may however add ſome Weight to what hath been ſaid, if we farther obſerve that a Norman Monk affirms, that the Revenue of William the Conqueror amounted to upwards of One thouſand Pounds per Diem, or about four hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum, making upwards of a Million in our Coin, and if all the Circumſtances be taken in that make a Difference in the Value of Money in thoſe Days and in ours, it will amount to a very great Deal more. Ælfredi Regis Prefatio ad Paſtorale Sancti Gregorii. Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 15, 27. 31. Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 11. Chron. Saxon. p. 126—151. Oder. Vital. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 523.

CHAP. IV.

The public Revenue from the Coming in of the Normans to the Reſtoration.

THE Methods employed in raiſing the Revenue under the Normans, very complex. The landed Eſtate of the Crown compoſed of Demeſnes and Eſcheats. The Iſſues and Profits from the Counties farmed by the Sheriffs. Fines, Amerciaments, Licences, &c. formed another Branch of the Income. Caſualties of various Kinds brought in alſo conſiderable Sums. Danegelt, Aids, Scutages, &c. were Taxes of a more general Nature. Cuſtoms and other Impoſitions rigorouſly exacted. The Monies on various Pretences levied upon the Jews, brought into the Exchequer, which bore their Name. The Operations of theſe Taxes on the Circumſtances of the People conſidered. Many Accidents concurred with theſe in producing ſiniſter Effects. The Weight of theſe Grievances at length produced Magna Charta. The Clergy tax themſelves ſeparately in Convocation. Parliamentary Taxes differently modelled. The Riſe and Nature of Tonnage and Poundage. The Frequency of foreign Wars the great Source of national Calamities. This Evil received a Check from Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh, which gave a new Face to Affairs. The old Syſtem being revived produced the former Effects. The State of Things during the Reign of Edward the Sixth. Condition of the Revenue in the Time of Queen Mary. The Wiſdom of Elizabeth's Adminiſtration in a Variety of Inſtances explained. The judicious Meaſures taken to promote Induſtry and to extend Commerce. The perfect Reſtitution of the Coin to that State in which it has ever ſince remained. The Revenue as it ſtood in the Time of King James. The Methods employed for raiſing Supplies by Charles the Firſt. The Manner in which

which the Parliament levied Money during the Civil War. An Account of Cromwell's Revenue before and after his assuming the Title of Protector. The Conclusion, with Remarks.

AS the Mode of providing for the public Service, and defraying the Expences necessary for the Support of Government, was, as we have already seen, very simple and regular so long as the Saxon Constitution remained in full Vigour, the Change made by the Norman Conquest was in nothing more conspicuous than in this, which was equally complicated and oppressive. To enter fully and minutely into this Matter would require a Volume, and at the same Time would be unnecessary, as it hath already exercised the Pens of very able Writers, who have very fully shewn the Truth of what hath been asserted, though they have not treated it in its utmost Extent. What is proposed in this Chapter, is to point out a few of the many Instances in which the Manner of levying Money upon the Subject affected the Cultivation of Lands, the Industry of the People, their Commerce, and in a Word Property in general. In this we may be the more concise, as having been obliged to touch many of these Points already, more especially in the former Book, as the History of our Norman Kings is continually perplexed with Disputes about the Claims of Prerogative to raise Money at Pleasure, and the Endeavours used to reduce these Claims within proper Bounds [a].

IN order to form some Notion of the Revenue of our Norman Kings, we must take Notice in the First-Place of their Crown Lands, into the Possession of which the Conqueror entered as Successor to Edward the Confessor. These, or at least a very great Part of these he retained in his own Hands, letting out most of them to Farm, for the Supply of his Household, and for other Purposes, converting others into Forests, to gratify his Passion for hunting, and transmitting both to his Posterity, who employed them in the same Manner [b]. Besides these ROYAL DEMESNES, himself and

[a] Dr. Brady in his History, and in his Treatise of Boroughs; Mr. Madox, in his History of the Exchequer; and Mr. Stevens, in his Account of Taxes, have ranged the several Materials they met with in our Records, in our ancient Historians, and in the Works of our old Lawyers, in such Order as the Nature of the Pieces they published required. To these, and to the ancient Dialogue on the Exchequer we refer, as in these all that we have Occasion to mention is to be found. What is principally intended here, is to afford the Reader such a View of the Norman Policy in this Respect as may enable him to compare its Effects with the Methods of raising a Revenue in preceding and succeeding Times, and from thence form a true Estimate of the Operations of this System of Government on the Country and its Inhabitants, which is the only proper Test of the Merits or Demerits of any Constitution.

[b] The Royal Demesnes, as we observed in the Text, were those which had belonged to the Saxon Monarchs, and consisted of Cities, Burghs, and Farms. But upon this Change they were

and his Succeſſors held many other Lands by Forfeitures, Extinction of Heirs, and various other Circumſtances under the general Title of Escheats; and theſe, when in the Crown, were as much the Property of the King, and the Profits ariſing from them as duely brought into the Exchequer as thoſe that aroſe from the former. Theſe Monarchs therefore had not only as large, but a much larger Land Revenue than the Saxon Kings, to which we may add, their having a greater Plentitude of Poſſeſſion, ſince they were, or at leaſt acted as if they were at full Liberty to alienate them at Pleaſure. A Prerogative conſidered at firſt as highly advantageous to their more potent Subjects; but which in Proceſs of Time, and when the Conſtitution came to be better regulated, was found very inconvenient and prejudicial to the People [c].

The Conqueror indeed made a very free Uſe of this extenſive Power, and diſtributed the far greateſt Part of the Lands of England to thoſe by whoſe Aſſiſtance he had acquired them. But this Liberality, as it proceeded from political Motives, and ſecured to him a ſtanding Force without Expence for the Preſervation and Protection of what he and they had acquired; yet it was not ſo abſolute a Gift, as to be held ſimply by that Condition, but was likewiſe ſubject to ſeveral others, which were readily ſubmitted to, not only for

were put under new Regulations. The Cities and Burghs paid their Rents, and had ſome Privileges and Exemptions, and in particular they were not liable to the Danegelt; but on the other Hand they were talliated as the King's Occaſions required, at ſuch Times and in ſuch Proportions as he and his Council thought fit, and the Sums aſſeſſed upon them were ſometimes levied upon the Community, ſometimes by a Poll Tax, and ſometimes by compounding both Methods. As to thoſe who cultivated the King's Lands, they were ſo hardly treated that they deſerted them, for being Freemen they were unwilling to become Villains; at length however they returned, and ſubmitted to take them again on the Tenure of privileged Villenage, by which they preſerved the Freedom of their Perſons, and their Services, though reputed baſe, were however certain. Hence, though theſe Lands have been long ſince alienated from the Crown, this Tenure ſtill remains, and thoſe who hold by it are ſtiled cuſtomary Tenants, that is, not holding at the Will of the Lord, but by the Cuſtom of the Manor. Dial. de Scaccario, lib. i. cap. 7. Bract. lib. i. cap. 11. Blackſtone's Commentaries, book ii. chap. vi. ſect. 4. It is eaſy to conceive how much theſe arbitrary Taxes, incertain in Point of Time as well as Proportion, and oppreſſively levied, muſt have diſtreſſed Trade and diſturbed Huſbandry.

[c] Eſcheats, coming by ſo many different Ways into the Hands of the Crown, afforded a very large Revenue, more eſpecially as the feudal Syſtem admitted many Forfeitures, of which the Crown took advantage, and if upon Petition the Lands were reſtored, a conſiderable Fine was exacted. When Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, or Abbies of Royal Foundation became vacant, our Norman Kings ſeized the Lands belonging to them, and not only enjoyed the Profits, but treated them as if they had been their own Demeſnes, till the Succeſſor was reſtored by the King's Writ to his Temporalities. The Lands of Engliſhmen who adhered to Harold, or who afterwards attempted to ſhake off the Norman Yoke, were conſidered as Eſcheats, and under this Colour were granted to the Norman Chiefs, who divided them again amongſt their Followers according to that Syſtem, which was natural to them, though new to the Engliſh. In ſucceeding Times it was ſaid, that though the Crown might grant Eſcheats, yet the Demeſnes could not be alienated; but theſe by Degrees were ſo confounded as not to be eaſily diſtinguiſhed.

the Sake of acquiring ſuch ample Poſſeſſions, but becauſe Lands had been generally held under the like Tenures in Normandy; and ſome of theſe Conditions introduced by the Daniſh Monarchs, were not totally unknown in England before the Conqueſt [d]. The Crown alſo let out to Farm the Profits ariſing out of Counties and Boroughs, for which the Sheriff, now become a miniſterial Officer, accounted regularly to the Exchequer, a Court, which, as ſome of our ableſt Antiquaries aſſert, was alſo derived from the ſame Country, though others think that the Norman Exchequer rather was regulated according to that of England; which Sentiments, though they ſeem ſo repugnant, may poſſibly be reconciled, by allowing the Court to have come from thence, and the ſubſequent Regulations made here adopted there. However this be, the Exchequer ſeems clearly to have been coeval with the Conqueſt, and the Firſt Officers therein, ſuch of the Norman Nobility as were capable of thoſe Employments, from whence the Judges to this Day retain the Title of Barons. The Juriſdiction of this Court was at firſt very extenſive and embraced almoſt all Kinds of Cauſes, though in Proceſs of Time, and in conſequence of other Judicatures being erected, it became merely a Court of Revenue [e].

ANOTHER

[d] As to the Earls, Barons, and great Men who held of the King in Capite, the Number of them as collected from Doomſday was about Seven hundred. Their Dependents held of them Knights Fees, both by the ſame Military Tenure of ſerving the King in the Field, the only One in thoſe Days reputed free and noble, as if this Appearance in the Field, when ſummoned, had been their ſole Service. This however was not the Caſe, for on certain Occaſions they furniſhed AIDS, of which hereafter. If at the Tenant's Deceaſe his Heir was of full Age, he paid what was called a RELIEF, which was at firſt arbitrary, at length fixed to a Hundred Shillings for a Knight's Fee. Beſides this he paid, if he held immediately from the King, PRIMER SEISEN, which was One Year's Value of the Land he immediately inherited, and Half a Year of Land expectant; and this he did before he could ſue out his Livery, by which he came into Poſſeſſion. But if the Heir was under Age he became a Ward to the King, or to his Lord till he was of the Age of Twenty one, during which Space his Guardian had the Profits of his Lands, and thoſe of a Female to Fourteen. The Guardian was beſides entitled to the Value of his Marriage, that is, he might propoſe it, and if refuſed, the Value was to be aſcertained by a Jury; and if the Heir married without Conſent, the Guardian had Double the Value of the Marriage. When of full Age the Heir ſued out his Livery, for which he paid Half a Year's Rent, but no Relief. If he held a Kight's Fee he received that Honour, or paid a Fine if he declined it. If the Tenant found himſelf obliged to part with any of his Lands, this could not be done without Licence from the Lord, who for that exacted a Fine. Laſtly, the Fee was ſubject to Eſcheat on the Extinction of the direct Heirs from the Firſt Poſſeſſor, and to Forfeiture in caſe of Treaſon, Felony, &c. Such was the Nature of this free Tenure, and ſuch the Methods taken to extract a Revenue from it.

[e] The Rents, Iſſues, and Profits of the Counties were farmed by the Sheriff, who accounted for their Produce to the Barons of the Exchequer in Michaelmas and Eaſter Terms. His Power was very great, and he executed all Writs directed to him from the King. In the Time of William Rufus, who kept Biſhopricks long vacant, and took the Profits of them as if they had been his own Demeſnes, he levied large Sums by Way of Reliefs on ſeveral Perſons by his Writ, and in caſe of Refuſal or Non-Payment directed their Lands and Effects to be ſeized. Hemingii Chart.

Another Branch was that of Proffers, Fines, Amerciaments, &c. theſe and a Multitude of other Impoſitions, the Names and the Nature of which can only be known from the old Records, were levied upon the Subject by the regal Authority, and for the King's immediate Profit, which ſhew that there was ſcarce any Tranſaction of a public or even of a private Concern, in which the Crown did not take Occaſion to interfere, and this always for its Emolument. Men in thoſe Days paid not only for their Offences, but for Favours, for obtaining Juſtice, for the accelerating of it, or if that ſuited them better, for delaying it, for the Crown's Interpoſition in certain Caſes, or for preventing ſuch Interpoſition; ſometimes People were allowed to bid againſt each other; Inſtances of all which ſtill remain upon the Rolls, though without Doubt many more have periſhed. It is on the Whole very apparent, that though the Particulars of which this Branch of the Royal Income was compoſed, were frequently inconſiderable, yet Numbers of them occurring continually, muſt have ſwelled it to a very large Amount, and when attentively conſidered, affords us a very ſtrange Idea of the Times, as well in reſpect to the Crown as in regard to the Subject[f].

As this of which we have been ſpeaking was, though incertain, yet a permanent Income, ſo there was another Branch, and that too not inconſiderable, which was caſual, and like the former, comprehended under a Variety of Heads, ſuch as Treaſure-trove, Waifs, Wrecks, Forfeitures of Felons, Fugitives, Outlaws, Uſurers, and other Delinquents, with ſeveral more of a ſimilar Kind, which gave Occaſion to many ſevere Proceedings, and to no ſmall Oppreſſion[g]. For as the Power of the Crown was not to be

Chart. Wigorn. p. 79. It is eaſy to apprehend that in ſuch a State of Things, and when every Kind of Poſſeſſion was ſo inſecure, there could be no great Attention paid to Cultivation beyond what immediate Neceſſity required. It is true that in Proceſs of Time ſome of theſe Inconveniencies were removed, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, but this ſerves only to prove, that from the Light of Experience it was gradually diſcerned that this Syſtem, as originally framed, was found to be intolerable.

[f] Beſides thoſe mentioned in the Text there was an ample Revenue raiſed out of the Defaults, Treſpaſſes, and Pourpreſtures of the Foreſts, excluſive of the harſh and cruel Puniſhments inflicted upon Offenders. In the Hiſtory of the Exchequer, there are Four Chapters ſpent in the Enumeration of the ſeveral Kinds of Fines and Amerciaments, and numerous Inſtances given under every Head, ſome ſo ſingular, ſo ſmall, and of ſuch a Nature, as nothing but the Authorities there produced could induce us to believe. They reached not only to Individuals, but to Corporations, and the little Guilds or Fraternities of Tradeſmen in Corporations, which muſt have created infinite Trouble and Perplexity. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that with regard to legal Proceedings, a Remedy was promiſed in the Great Charter, wherein the King engages not to deny, ſell, or delay Juſtice, which did indeed moderate in ſucceeding Times, but did not entirely eradicate this Evil.

[g] The Reader who wiſhes to be more clearly informed in reſpect to theſe Particulars may be gratified by conſulting Mr. Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 234. The Inſtances he will

be directly reſiſted, and all Applications for Mercy or Mitigation, however well founded, only involved the unhappy in a long Train, perhaps of fruitleſs Expence, it as frequently ſerved to enhance as to alleviate the Misfortune. Beſides, this Variety of Claims afforded an Opportunity to the inferior Officers of the Crown to diſturb and haraſs the Subject on Pretences that in thoſe Days were ſeldom wanting, to ſuch as were diſpoſed to gratify either their Avarice or their Reſentment at the Expence of their Neighbours.

As theſe ſeveral Branches reached gradually to a Number of Individuals, by which large and continual Supplies were brought into the Royal Coffers, ſo there were likewiſe Means of levying ſtill larger Impoſitions, as ſpreading wider in their Influence, and which were practiſed only on extraordinary Occaſions, and ſuch as were ſuggeſted to be of public or national Concern. Theſe were ſtiled Danegelt, Aids [h], Scutage, Tailliage, Gifts. Of theſe Danegelt ſeems to have been the moſt general, being in effect what is now called a Land Tax through the whole Kingdom, certain in its Extent, though not in the Rate, which varied according to the Cauſe for which it was levied, or rather according to the Will of the Prince. It had been remitted, as hath been mentioned in the former Book, by Edward the Confeſſor, but was revived by the Conqueror, and frequently, if not conſtantly levied by the firſt Three Norman Kings, and then, at leaſt, under that Name, which was exceedingly odious, diſcontinued. The Reſt were not ſo univerſal, but they fell notwithſtanding

will meet with, plainly evince the Profligacy of thoſe Times, the Poverty of the People, the Avidity and Meanneſs of heaping Diſtreſs upon Diſtreſs, which alſo evidently ſhews that the Crown itſelf was neceſſitous and needy.

[h] Aids were originally voluntary Aſſiſtances which the Tenants gave to their Lord on preſſing Occaſions, but in Proceſs of Time came to be exacted as of Right. They were Three. Firſt, to make the Lord's eldeſt Son a Knight, which was done with much Solemnity, and at a great Expence. Secondly, to marry his eldeſt Daughter; and Thirdly, to ranſom his Perſon if taken in War. The King had theſe Aids from his Tenants, and inferior Lords from their Vaſſals, from which none were exempted, ſince even Abbies paid them to the Deſcendants of their Founders. They were all founded on One general Principle, that the Lord being a Military Man concerned not himſelf in pecuniary Affairs, and was therefore to be helped out of his Neceſſities by thoſe who held under him. On this Principle inferior Lords demanded Aids to pay their Reliefs to the Crown, and ſometimes to pay their Debts. But this was not the only or the greateſt Grievance. There was no fixed Rule or Rate by which they were to be regulated. King John's Magna Charta reſtrained them to the Three ancient Aids; but this was omitted in the Charter of Henry the Third, and the old Evils revived till they were again removed by Edward the Firſt. By the Firſt Statute of Weſtminſter the Aid of a Knight's Fee was fixed at Twenty Shillings, and the like Sum on Twenty Pounds a Year held by Socage. This however was underſtood to relate only to inferior Lords, which however was remedied by a Statute of the Twenty-fifth of Edward the Third. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that we find this Term frequently, though improperly applied to other Taxes.

very

very heavy on thoſe who paid them, and were highly detrimental, as may be eaſily conceived, to Induſtry in general, and to the Cultivation of Land in particular; for in thoſe Days the drawing Money out of the Pockets of the Subject for the Purpoſes, whatever they were, of the Crown was alone attended to, and the Intereſts of the People, or the Conſequences ſuch Taxes might produce, were never, or at leaſt ſeldom conſidered [i].

Customs upon Merchandize were likewiſe levied, and levied according to the Temper of thoſe Times with much Incertainty, and under a Diverſity of Denominations, which could not fail to render Commerce languid and precarious. To this ſeveral other Circumſtances concurred, ſuch as the Confuſion attending ſo ſudden and ſo total a Revolution. The Wars in which our firſt Norman Princes were continually involved with their Neighbours, the Diſtreſs and Deſolation of this Country, which of courſe diminiſhed its Produce, the Variety of Duties exacted from foreign Merchants, the Severity of the Penalties impoſed, and many others [k]. It was natural from ſuch Diſcouragements that Trade ſhould decline, and it actually did ſo, the very Means employed for raiſing a Revenue from it, defeating the End propoſed. In Proceſs of Time however this Evil cured itſelf, at leaſt in a Degree, for when from the State Land was in, grazing came to be conſidered as the general Improvement, our Monarchs found

[i] It is generally ſaid that Scutage, which was a Sum more or leſs levied on every Knight's Fee, in Place of perſonal Service, was firſt introduced in the Reign of Henry the Second. But it was probably more ancient, though from that Time it came more generally into Uſe. By this Acceptance of a pecuniary Compenſation for perſonal Service, it hath been juſtly obſerved by a very learned Writer, that all the real Utility of the feodal Syſtem was really taken away, and nothing but the Burdens that attended it left behind. As the King had Scutage from his Tenants, ſo they again demanded it of theirs. As this was occaſionally levied, and the Rate incertain, it became very oppreſſive, and therefore in King John's Magna Charta it was provided, that it ſhould not be taken but by the Conſent of the Legiſlature. It was in effect a Land Tax, though not completely ſo, for it did not reach Lands held in Socage. In Proceſs of Time this, like the Word Aid, came to be improperly uſed, and at length both were laid aſide to make Way for new Terms of more general and extenſive Import, which became abſolutely neceſſary for the Support of Armies beyond the Seas, for which the old Syſtem of Knight's Service was found very inadequate.

[k] All that can be known concerning the Duties raiſed in the Reigns of the Six firſt Monarchs of the Norman Line, muſt be collected from Records, of which there are not now many extant, however there are enough to ſhew, that there was a great Diverſity in them, and that they were levied with great Strictneſs. Priſage of Wines ſeems to have been One of the oldeſt. Beſides there were Diſmes and Quinziems on different Sorts of Merchandize, on the Imports and Exports. As to the former we find Mention made of Woad, Silks, and other Things, andas to the latter Wool, Leather, Tin, Honey, Salmon, &c. There were Duties alſo paid Coaſtwiſe, and for the Paſſage of Goods on navigable Rivers. It may well be ſuppoſed, that theſe Impoſitions were more moderate in ſome Reigns than in others, which had of Courſe an Effect upon Trade. See Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer, cap. xviii. p. 525.

themſelves conſtrained to be more attentive as well as more favourable to Commerce, that by the Exportation of the great Staple Wool, they might repair in ſome Meaſure the Treaſures that their Predeceſſors had ſo imprudently waſted [l].

There is one Article more of Revenue that deſerves to be mentioned, and this is what aroſe from the Jews. They belonged in a peculiar Manner to the King, living here ſolely by his Permiſſion, and entirely ſubject to his Will, ſo that he diſpoſed of them, their Wives, their Children, and their Subſtance at his Pleaſure. They were ſettled in great Numbers in many of the moſt conſiderable Towns in the Kingdom where they dealt in Merchandize, lending Money on Mortgages, Pawns, and other Securities, by which not a few became for thoſe Days very rich. At ſome Periods and under ſome Monarchs, they ſeem to have been highly favoured, being allowed a Chief Prieſt and a Kind of Rulers among themſelves, which did not however exempt them in the leaſt from the abſolute Power of the Crown, or the univerſal Hatred of the People, who ſuffered deeply by their Extortions. Theſe unhappy Men were frequently puniſhed for Frauds and Offences, ſometimes with and ſometimes without Reaſon, and at all Times taxed and pillaged without Mercy, and without Pity. In a Word, they lived in a ſlaviſh and miſerable Dependance, being the mere Inſtruments of mercileſs Princes, who ſometimes ſtripped Individuals, and at others ſqueezed the whole Community, a ſeparate Court being erected for the Receipt of theſe Exactions called the Exchequer of the Jews. At laſt, as hath been mentioned in a former Book, the whole Race to gratify popular Reſentment were exiled and plundered, with which the Nation was ſo well pleaſed as to grant a conſiderable Subſidy to the Crown [m].

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[l] In the former Note we have obſerved that there was probably a Degree of Moderation exerciſed by our ableſt Princes, ſuch as Henry the Firſt and Henry the Second, in whoſe Time from the Extent of his foreign Dominions, Commerce muſt have increaſed, and that this is not mere Conjecture, appears from the Laws of Oleron, made by his Son Richard. It is generally agreed that legal or Parliamentary Duties commenced in the Reign of Edward the Firſt, who was a wiſe Prince and inclined to fortify his own Authority by Parliamentary Conceſſions. The Peruſal of the Charta Mercatoria publiſhed by Prynne ſets this Matter in a clear and full Light.

[m] In the Firſt Law we have that mentions theſe People it is laid down, that Judæi, *& omnia ſua regis ſunt :* The Jews and all that they have belong to the King. They were however permitted not only to acquire Eſtates in Money, but alſo in Land. On the Deceaſe of a Jew, a Sum was paid to the King by way of Relief. If his Children were under Age they were the King's Wards. Judges were aſſigned to hear Cauſes between them and Chriſtians; and if tried for any Crime, One Half of the Jury were to be Jews. They were however under ſome ſevere Reſtrictions, being obliged to wear a Mark of Diſtinction upon their Cloaths, no Chriſtian could ſleep in their Houſes,

The public Revenue muſt always ariſe from the Syſtem of public Policy, and therefore both in its Nature and in the Mode of levying, become, as we have frequently obſerved, a very material, and if the Expreſſion may be allowed, a very characteriſtic Mark of that Policy from which it ariſes, and upon which the Stability of Government, and of courſe the Safety and Happineſs of the Subject, muſt depend. The Norman Syſtem was evidently calculated to ſupport, at the Expence of the Multitude, the Grandeur of a few, who were to defend the vaſt Property thus given them by the Sword, and thence the Military was the only honourable Tenure, and thoſe who cultivated the Lands theſe Nobles poſſeſſed were reduced to the meaneſt and moſt ſervile Condition [n]. The Clergy, to whom the Conqueror was ſo much obliged, retained their ample Poſſeſſions; but theſe were no longer exempt from public Burdens, and conſequently thoſe who lived under them were but Villains like the Reſt. We need not wonder, that in this State of Things all Kind of Huſbandry declined, and Famines frequently enſued. The Cities and Towns were haraſſed by the Crown, and

Houſes, they could not live in any City but by the King's Licence, and ſome Cities purchaſed a Privilege from the King that no Jews ſhould live amongſt them. Many Individuals became exceedingly rich, as appears by the Sums taken from them. In the Reign of Henry the Third, Loricia, the Widow of David the Jew, fined to the King Five thouſand Marks to have the Chattels of her deceaſed Huſband. The ſame King took from the Community of the Jews a Tailliage of Sixty thouſand Marks. They remained here between Two and Three hundred Years, for which Mr. Madox aſſigns this Reaſon, "They fleeced the People, and the King fleeced "them." It is indeed clear that they were introduced and tolerated purely for the Sake of the Revenue raiſed from them. Statutum de Judaiſmo 4. E. 1. Coke, Second Inſtitute, p. 506. Third Inſtitute, chap. 70. Selden's Works, vol. vi. col. 1459. Hiſtory of the Exchequer, chap. 7. p. 150.

[n] Theſe Points have been conſidered at large in the former Book, and are only mentioned here to ſhew in what Manner they were connected with the Revenue. It hath been very juſtly obſerved in reſpect to this Syſtem, that the whole Kingdom was in effect One great Barony, and that every Barony was a Sort of Diminutive Kingdom. The ſame Spirit of Rule pervaded the Whole. The King filled his Coffers by Reliefs, the Profits ariſing from Wards, the Sale of Marriages, &c. at all Times, and on extraordinary Occaſions by Aids and Tailliages. The Barons and Lords of Manors did the like in regard to their Tenants. As for the Body of the People they worked not for themſelves, but for their Lords, depending ſolely upon their Will, and paſſing upon any Change of Property with the Land they tilled. The Conſequences attending ſuch a State of Things are very obvious. The great Men, when not engaged in foreign, or which was too often the Caſe, in civil Wars and Quarrels with their Neighbours, employed their Time in Juſts and Tournaments, in hunting in their ſpacious Parks, or in building ſtrong and ſtately Caſtles, looking upon all other Cares as abſolutely beneath them. Theſe were to the full as much above the Reach of the meaner People who had no adequate Intereſt to prompt them, enjoying only a ſmall, and that too a precarious Benefit, from what they earned. So that though there was much Labour there was but little Induſtry, and that little only amongſt Manufacturers, and in Cities and great Towns, defended by Royal Charters and Incorporations, which from thence appear to have been of great Uſe in thoſe Times.

their reſpective Lords, by which they gradually decayed, and War affording a better Subſiſtence than Work, the Number of Artificers and Mechanics diminiſhed. The Loſs of People and Diſcouragement of Induſtry neceſſarily affected Navigation and Commerce, which ſuffered likewiſe by the Frauds and Exactions of the Jews, and was no-ways relieved by their Puniſhments and Confiſcations, which ſerved only to carry the Produce of their Extortions into the Coffers of the Crown, and left the Evil unremedied*. To our Hiſtories we may appeal for the Truth of theſe Aſſertions.

THERE wanted not many other Cauſes to heighten theſe Diſaſters. The Norman Kings had a violent Paſſion for Hunting, which induced them to convert vaſt Tracts of Country, in former Times well inhabited and cultivated, into Deſarts. Their Example ſpread this Humour of depopulating amongſt their Nobility, and became a new and dreadful Source of Oppreſſion on the Subject. Civil Wars on account of diſputed Titles to the Succeſſion, and thoſe againſt the Scots, laid many Parts of the Kingdom waſte, and rendered the Northern Counties almoſt a Wilderneſs. But what contributed moſt to exhauſt the Blood and Treaſure of the Nation were foreign Wars and foreign Dominions, which were ſo many continual Drains upon the People, whatever Events attended ſuch Diſputes. If we loſt, it produced new Levies of Men and freſh Taxes for the Support of Armies in other Countries. If we gained, it only added to the national Expence of preſerving theſe Conqueſts. Such were the bitter Fruits of a Military Government, the martial Genius of our Princes, and the political Deluſion of the Times, in which the Subſtance of the State was ſacrificed to Shadows, and the Splendour of unavailing Victories ſo dazzled the Eyes

* The general Welfare could not be interrupted without its being felt by Men in every Degree. The Barons were the firſt who complained and reſiſted becauſe they had more Power. In Proceſs of Time, both the Crown and the Barons diſcovered the Neceſſity of relaxing in favour of their Tenants and the middle Sort of People, but this was done ſlowly, and only in particular Caſes where the Evils were glaring and intolerable. The Reigns of Henry the Second and Richard the Firſt gave an Inſight into the many Advantages that might be derived from an inſular Situation in reſpect to Commerce and naval Power. The continual Troubles of the long Reign of Henry the Third, though they might interrupt, did not extinguiſh theſe Ideas. On the contrary, the Barons for the Sake of their Support courted and careſſed the Cities and Boroughs. Edward the Firſt was a Prince of great Parts and Penetration, he ſaw and felt the Benefits that aroſe from Cuſtoms, and perceiving the Miſchiefs done by the exorbitant Uſury of the Jews, he reſtrained that by a Law in the Fourth Year of his Reign, puniſhed them afterwards ſeverely for debaſing the Coin, and at length finding his Revenue from them decreaſe, and the Odium againſt them ſtill ſtronger, he at length baniſhed them all at once, and ſeized their Effects in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign.

of our Rulers, that they neither diſcerned the Miſeries of the People, or formed any Plans for the common Good P.

But if the True Cauſes of theſe Miſchiefs were not clearly diſcerned, their Effects however were ſeverely felt, and gave Birth to very loud Complaints. Theſe produced Charters of Liberties from our Kings, ſometimes flowing from themſelves, to quiet the Minds and conciliate the Affections of their Barons, and while theſe were tolerably obſerved Things went on in the old Channel, and the Body of the People who had none to repreſent their Grievances, ſuffered in Silence. But when Monarchs ventured to violate their Engagements, and to tranſgreſs thoſe Bounds which they had preſcribed to themſelves, the Barons, though they acted little better towards their Tenants, were notwithſtanding able to aſſemble a Force ſufficient to compel their Princes to grant new and more explicit Declarations of the Subjects Rights, and to ſubmit to their being held to a due and conſtant Performance of them. In this Manner was that Inſtrument obtained, deſervedly, as well as emphatically, ſtiled the Great Charter, the Baſis of our civil Liberties, by opening a Way to the Removal of thoſe Fetters which the Conqueror had forged and his Succeſſors had rivetted upon all Ranks of their Subjects. Yet the perfecting this Scheme was a Work that required both Time and Labour, and the Ability of another Sort of Artificers than thoſe who took it firſt in Hand. A Variety of Incidents contributed to the Progreſs of the Deſign, after the Foundation was once laid; the Circumſtances, Temper, Intereſts of all Degrees of People changing, gave an Opportunity to our Engliſh Juſtinian Edward the Firſt to new model the Laws and the Conſtitution, by giving a more regular Form and a more ſolid Conſiſtency to Parliament, which in a long Courſe of Years, by ſometimes adding, ſometimes demoliſhing, and frequently altering, at length, as we have in another Place

P In the former Book there are Proofs ſufficient of theſe Particulars, and the candid Reader, by comparing the State of Things in this Country in theſe Times, and in thoſe of the Saxons, will be convinced of the Truth of all we have advanced. The turning ſo great a Part of the Kingdom into Foreſts is a ſtriking Inſtance of the Neglect of Cultivation. The Condition of the Northern Counties was ſuch, as exempted them from being taken into the Conqueror's Survey. Foreign Dominions belonged to the King, not to the Kingdom; and whatever Profits aroſe from them went into the royal Coffers, whereas the Charge of the Wars which they occaſioned fell upon the People here. Their Numbers were diminiſhed in foreign Service, and the vaſt Sums levied to tranſport and to maintain them never returned. Paſturage took Place of Agriculture, in conſequence of the Decay of Inhabitants, and the Products of this Improvement, Wool, Woolfells, and Leather were the ſtaple Commodities exported to employ the Induſtry of our Neighbours, and to repair in ſome Degree the Want of it amongſt ourſelves, which it might have done more amply, if a large Proportion even of this had not been converted into a Revenue.

obſerved, conſtructed a fair and beautiful Edifice, out of the Materials of the old Gothic Pile [q].

The principal political Points agitated in theſe unſettled Times, and the Conſequences reſulting from them to this Country and Nation, have been briefly but truly repreſented in the former Book, and from thence it ſufficiently appears, that the Revenue was a Subject of very great Perplexity. For, though in appearance, the Crown had renounced its Claim to the Power of levying Money but by Conſent of Parliament, yet even there, the Power of giving was not well ſettled, and as for the Clergy, they as a ſeparate Body granted their Supplies in Convocation [r].

At certain Junctures the Parliament followed the old feudal Method of Taxing, ſometimes they combined it with ſome other Mode, and at length finding it inconvenient and ineffectual had Recourſe to Subſidies of ſeveral Kinds. Theſe they at laſt reduced to a Tax on Lands, and an Impoſition on perſonal Property, which were the uſual Grants when the Neceſſities of the Crown required them. However on ſome extraordinary Occaſions they tried other Means, ſuch as raiſing a certain Sum on every Pariſh throughout the Kingdom, or a general Poll Tax. But theſe

[q] The Firſt Struggles with the Crown, as we have more than once obſerved, aroſe from the Nobles, at a Time when they were almoſt in full Poſſeſſion of all the landed Property. In Proceſs of Time, and by a Variety of concurring Circumſtances, the Crown and the Great Lords, from a Principle of Intereſt, abated of their Rigour in reſpect to Tenures. This being viſibly attended with good Effects diſpoſed the Nation willingly to receive thoſe ſalutary Alterations that Edward the Firſt thought fit to make, and as theſe were the Fruits of great Penetration, ſo were they conducted with conſummate Prudence. He reduced the Laws into Order, deviſed proper Methods of Proceeding, took care that theſe ſhould be carried into Execution, and Juſtice ſo impartially adminiſtered, as to excite Induſtry by ſecuring Property, and to encourage the Commerce of his People by a Diſtinction of the Duties impoſed upon them and upon Strangers. As theſe Changes were wrought by the Authority of Parliament, it raiſed a great Degree of Reverence for and Confidence in the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature. At the ſame Time theſe Changes, and the happy Conſequences following from them, clearly ſhew the Defectiveneſs of that Syſtem introduced by our firſt Norman Monarchs, on whatever Pretences they might be founded.

[r] The Clergy, as appears plainly by our Records, were not ſo eaſy under the Norman as they had been under the Saxon Government, the Prelates and Abbots who were ſummoned to the King's great Council in Right of their Baronies, were obliged to furniſh Aids for the Number of Knight's Fees they held, and were in other Reſpects ſubject to the Power of the Crown. But their being allowed to form a ſeparate Body gave them an Opportunity, which the Crown readily embraced, of granting Money in Convocation. Sometimes this was done by One Province only, generally ſpeaking by both. Their uſual Grant was a Tenth, which Lord Coke ſays amounted to about Twenty thouſand Pounds. But however this Grant in Convocation was confirmed by Parliament, and this Mode of Taxing continued ſo low as the Fifteenth of Charles the Second, ſince which Time the Clergy have been admitted to vote as Freeholders, and in conſequence of this are now like other Subjects liable to the Land Tax in whatever Proportion that is granted by Parliament.

were not at all reliſhed by the People, who diſliked ſuch Novelties as much as they did Taxes. The Land Revenue of the Crown was frequently increaſed by parliamentary Attainders, and when diminiſhed by imprudent Grants, reſtored again at leaſt in ſome Meaſure by Acts of Reſumption [s].

For the Support of the Sea Service (ever regarded as a Point of national Importance) they granted Tonnage and Poundage, at firſt occaſionally and in different Proportions, then for a Term of Years, and at length to ſome Kings for Life. They regulated alſo the Cuſtoms, appointed ſtaple Ports, and ſometimes took the Keeping of the Seas and the Protection of the Coaſts upon themſelves. All this however neceſſary, chiefly from the Manner of employing it, bore hard on the landed and trading Intereſt, and would have been inſupportable if our Kings had not conſented from time to time to ſuch good Laws as by the Sagacity of Parliament were deviſed for the Eaſe and Emolument of the Subject, and this chiefly by aboliſhing thoſe Hardſhips, that at and after the Conqueſt had been introduced [t].

[s] The Reader may find in the Seventeenth Chapter of the Hiſtory of the Exchequer, and in Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, Inſtances of the various Methods taken by the Legiſlature to grant Aſſiſtance to the Crown, from which it will ſufficiently appear that this, as we have ſaid in the Text, was often a Matter of great Perplexity. At length, about the Reign of Richard the Second, the Mode of giving by Subſidies and Fifteenths was adopted, and continued, though not invariably, long after. The Subſidy was not a direct Impoſition on Land, but Commiſſioners were appointed to make Examination by Oath, and to tax Perſons in every County according to their reputed Worth at the Rate of Four Shillings in the Pound for Land, and Two Shillings and Six Pence perſonal Eſtate. A Subſidy, Lord Coke informs us, amounted to about Seventy thouſand Pounds. The Fifteenth was invariable, being levied according to an ancient Eſtimate, ſo that when granted by Parliament, the Sum that every Place was to pay was certain, and amounted in the Whole to about Twenty-nine thouſand Pounds or thereabouts. Attainders and Reſumptions, however beneficial or neceſſary to the Crown, or whatever temporary Relief to the People, made ſuch frequent Alterations in the State of landed Property, and brought along with them ſuch other Inconveniencies, as were very highly detrimental to the Subject.

[t] The Origin of Tonnage and Poundage ſeems to have been this. About the Twenty-firſt of Edward the Third, Complaint was made, that Merchants were robbed and murdered on the Seas. The King thereupon, with the Conſent of the Peers, levied a Duty of Two Shillings on every Tun of Wine, and Sixpence in the Pound on all Goods imported; which was treated as illegal by the Commons. About Twenty-five Years after the King, when the Knights of Shires were returned home, obtained a like Grant from the Citizens and Burgeſſes, and the Year after it was regularly granted in Parliament. Theſe Duties were diminiſhed ſometimes, and ſometimes increaſed, at length they ſeem to have been fixed at Three Shillings Tonnage, and One Shilling Poundage. In old Times theſe were diſtinguiſhed from Cuſtoms which were conſidered as Duties on Staple Commodities, though they have been long ſince blended together. The fixing of Staple Towns had its Advantages and Diſadvantages, and even the great Staple at Calais, which rendered the Loſs of that Place ſo much regretted, cramped our Navigation. By ſucceſſive Acts of the Legiſlature, the Liberty and Property of the Subjects of all Ranks being better ſecured, promoted domeſtic Induſtry, and thereby the Welfare and Happineſs of the People.

Our long and repeated Wars with France gave an Opportunity to ſome of our able and victorious Monarchs to reſume in a great Degree the Prerogative of raiſing Money, or what was equivalent to Money, taking Commodities, Proviſions, Ships, for their Service, under the ſpecious Pretext that they were requiſite to accompliſh Ends that had been approved in Parliament. When the Nobility, Clergy, and Commons remonſtrated, they gave fair Words, and when Parliament interpoſed, yielded very prudently to their Authority. Weak and ill-adviſed Princes, miſled by theſe pernicious Precedents, excited civil Wars to their own Deſtruction. The Nation however ſuffered alike by both, through a Diminution of Inhabitants, the Spoil of the Country, the Decay of Huſbandry, and in conſequence of general Licentiouſneſs, univerſal Poverty. But though the Cauſes of theſe Evils were too obvious to be concealed, yet from a ſtrange Fatality they continued through ſeveral Reigns, and which is ſtill more extraordinary, were often countenanced, or at leaſt ſupported by the Legiſlature [u]. At length, from an Attention perhaps as much to his own Situation and Safety, as to the national Good, Edward the Fourth gave a Check to this Spirit of making foreign Conqueſts, turning his Views to domeſtic Improvements. In this Plan he was followed by Henry the Seventh, and though both of theſe Princes were ſufficiently diſpoſed to extend their Prerogatives, and to divert large Sums into their own Coffers, yet being wiſe enough to diſcern, that this could never be done from an indigent People, they promoted the public Welfare as the ſureſt, and indeed as the only Means of promoting their own [w]. What effects this Change

[u] It muſt at firſt Sight ſeem very ſurpriſing, that Meaſures ſo repugnant to Reaſon, and the ill Conſequences of which had been ſo often manifeſted from Experience, ſhould yet be ſo obſtinately purſued. A little Attention to the State Things were then in, will however explain this. Foreign Wars were often ſuggeſted by, and generally concurred in by the Favourites and Council of our Kings, from private and partial Views. The Nobility had a natural Intereſt in ſuch Expeditions. War was their Trade, they grew rich and great by it, obtaining lucrative Governments Abroad, drawing large Ranſoms from their Priſoners, and ſpending theſe in erecting Caſtles and Palaces at Home. Their Retainers roſe likewiſe by theſe Means, which was the plain and almoſt the only Path whereby Men of Courage and Parts could elevate themſelves from a private to a public Station. Add to all this, that amongſt other Ranks of People there were Numbers alſo who found their Account in it; ſo that upon the Whole, as the moſt powerful and the moſt active Spirits were impelled by Inclination and Intereſt, there is the leſs Room to wonder, that little Regard was had to the milder Diſpoſitions of ſuch, as either from Choice or Situation were employed in Huſbandry, or in Manufactures, though theſe raiſed the Supplies and bore the Burdens of theſe expenſive Wars, without receiving any Benefit from them whatever.

[w] In the former Book we have ſufficiently expatiated on the Policy of Edward the Fourth, and explained the Motives of his Conduct. By Reſumptions and Forfeitures he recovered a great Land Revenue to the Crown. He made himſelf well acquainted with Trade, encouraged it, together with Manufactures and Induſtry of every Kind. He was the Firſt who turned a foreign War to the Emolument of his People, and added an annual Tribute from France to his Revenue.

He

Change of Conduct had, and that too in a very ſhort Space, hath been already very fully ſhewn, and this from the unanſwerable Evidence of Facts.

BUT if any Shadow of Doubt could have remained, it muſt be removed by even a tranſient View of what happened under his Son and Succeſſor Henry VIII. a Prince of a martial and magnanimous Spirit. He revived the old Syſtem, and placed his Glory in being ſometimes the Terror, ſometimes the Umpire of contending Princes on the Continent. Grand Confederacies, continual Negotiations, expenſive Embarkations, Expeditions, Battles, Sieges, and all the Diverſities that diſtinguiſh an active and buſy Reign appeared in his, which rendered him often dreadful to his Foes, and almoſt always a Dupe to his Allies. Succeſsful he was againſt the French and againſt the Scots, but theſe Trophies of his Glory coſt his Subjects dear. That immenſe Maſs of Money which his Father left, was quickly diſſipated, and after this he made continual Demands upon his People, moſt of which were anſwered through the Complacency or Timidity of his Parliaments. Yet not truſting ſolely to this, he had frequent Recourſe to his Prerogative, not only reviving Methods condemned in former Reigns by the Legiſlature, but venturing on new Modes of Exaction, ſuch as muſt have been injurious to every Species of Induſtry, by rendering all Property precarious[x]. It muſt be acknowledged, that conſidered

He engaged himſelf in Commerce, and left behind him a conſiderable Treaſure, whatever became of it. Henry the Seventh availed himſelf of all theſe Reſources, and deviſed beſides ſeveral Others. Moſt if not all his Statutes, as a learned Lawyer has obſerved, had either a direct or a remote Relation to his Exchequer. He took Advantage of the feudal Tenures, and by falſe Verdicts procured by his Inſtruments Empſon and Dudley, who were afterwards attainted for theſe Practices, exacted large Sums from his Subjects. By theſe and the *Sale* of Offices he brought into his Coffers annually about One hundred and Twenty thouſand Pounds. By Licences to export and import contraband Commodities, by granting Monopolies and other ſuch Methods, as well as by carrying on in his own Ships a great foreign Trade, he amaſſed that amazing Sum which he left behind him.

[x] It has been ſuggeſted by ſome of our Hiſtorians, that at the Beginning of his Reign, and ſo long as his Father's Money laſted, which was about Three Years, he was tender in reſpect to the Purſes of his People. The Fact however was otherwiſe, for his Firſt Parliament granted him Two Tenths and Two Fifteenths. When in Want of Money for his foreign Expeditions he iſſued Commiſſions for levying Loans after the Rate of Two Shillings in the Pound, but finding ſome Difficulty in raiſing them, he had Recourſe again to Parliament. When Sir Thomas More was Speaker, Four Shillings in the Pound were demanded, which it ſeems to be agreed on all Hands would have raiſed about Eight hundred thouſand Pounds. This met with great Reſiſtance, and when a Subſidy, to which a Poll Tax was annexed, was at length granted, to be paid in Four Years, the King cauſed it to be levied in One. The Mode of raiſing Money by Loan was again attempted, but the Succeſs being doubtful, it was diſowned by the King, and the Blame thrown upon his Miniſter the Cardinal. What had been raiſed by the former Loan upon Privy Seals or Letters Miſſive, acknowledging the King's Obligation to repay it, was afterwards

ſidered in another Point of View, many Things were done by him in his Parliaments, which were very advantageous. Such as freeing us from papal Tyranny, opening a Way to Reformation, enacting many Statutes for the Amendment of the Law, in Points reſpecting Property; encouraging the Woollen Manufacture, giving a Beginning to the Royal Navy, and fortifying his Coaſts againſt Invaſions. The good Effects of theſe were chiefly felt in ſucceeding Times. But after all the Fame of his Victories, the Splendour of his Triumphs, and the matchleſs Magnificence of his Interviews with foreign Princes, it is certain that he left to his Son a Minor, an exhauſted Treaſury, a debaſed Coin, and a debilitated Kingdom.

It is not at all ſtrange, that being left in ſuch Circumſtances, the Reign of Edward the Sixth ſhould be ſuch as it really was, exceedingly embarraſſed. The War with Scotland brought that Part of the Iſland to the Brink of Ruin, without doing any Good to this, or effecting the End for which it was begun. The State of foreign Affairs was through the whole very perplexed. The Crown was oppreſſed with a heavy Debt (for thoſe Times) at Home and Abroad. Factions in the Court created a continual Fluctuation in Meaſures, and the Grievances ariſing from thence excited ſeveral popular Inſurrections, attended with much Bloodſhed. Parliaments relieved the King's Neceſſities, made repeated Grants, and endeavoured to vary them in Hopes of eaſing the People; but were obliged, from the Difficulties they found in levying them, to return to the ancient Modes again. The greateſt Miſchief of all, and which was in Truth the latent Cauſe of moſt of the Reſt, was the miſerable State of the Coin. Yet in this Reign and in the

wards diſcharged, that is, releaſed by Parliament on a Suggeſtion, that the King borrowed and expended it for the public Service. He had likewiſe large Supplies from the Clergy, particularly in the Twenty-ſecond Year of his Reign, when, as Sir Robert Cotton ſays, they granted him a Moiety of their Lands and Goods to be paid in Five Years, which Moiety, according to his Computation, amounted to Four hundred Seventy-five thouſand Pounds. The Monaſteries and other religious Foundations ſuppreſſed by Parliament, and given to this Monarch, according to the Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who ſeems to have taken great Pains in his Enquiries, yielded an annual Revenue of One hundred Sixty-one thouſand Pounds. Mr. Ephraim Udall, who was alſo very diligent in his Reſearches on this Subject, tells us (Hiſtorical Account of Taxes, p. 191.) that the Lands belonging to the Abbey of Tewkeſbury in Glouceſterſhire, which at the Suppreſſion were eſtimated at Sixteen hundred Pounds, were in his Time let for one hundred thouſand; and if this Computation be any Thing near the Truth, the Value of all the Abbey Lands muſt have been about One Million per Annum above One hundred Years ago. To this may be added the Saving to the Nation thoſe immenſe Sums, which under a Variety of Pretences were annually ſent from hence to Rome. Theſe Particulars are mentioned, not ſimply to explain and ſupport what is ſaid in the Text, but alſo to afford the intelligent Reader an Opportunity of collecting from them the Circumſtances of the Nation and the Clergy in theſe Times.

Midſt

Midſt of theſe Perplexities, a ſtrong Spirit of Commerce continued to appear, and as we have elſewhere ſhewn, produced many good Effects, and in the laſt Year of the King's Life there was an Amendment of the Coin; ſo ſudden however in its Operation, as muſt have been attended with very conſiderable Inconveniencies [y].

The ſhort and unhappy Reign of Mary was diſturbed with civil and religious Commotions, and when theſe were a little appeaſed, new Diſcontents aroſe from a foreign Marriage, and in conſequence of that a foreign War, which brought on the Loſs of Calais, then regarded as an irreparable Misfortune. She obtained, notwithſtanding theſe untoward Circumſtances, conſiderable Supplies from Parliament, which proving inadequate to her Expences, ſhe had Recourſe to Loans and other Methods of raiſing Money, not very conſiſtent with her natural Regard to Juſtice. But Manufactures, particularly that of Cloth, were attended to and encouraged, foreign Commerce was likewiſe protected and extended, and a new Trade opened to Ruſſia. The beſt Thing however done in her Time was the regulating the Silver Coinage, and putting it on the moſt proper Standard, in which ſhe was certainly well adviſed [z].

The

[y] The profuſe Grants of Abbey Lands to the Nobility and Gentry in this, as well as in the former Reign, may very well be ſuppoſed to have operated upon the Temper of Parliaments. They had alſo another Operation, which exceedingly diſturbed the public Peace. Thoſe to whom they were given being deſirous to make the greateſt and ſpeedieſt Profit from them, demoliſhed Farms, and turned them by making Incloſures into Paſturage, which depriving Multitudes of their Living, excited the Inſurrections that we have mentioned above, and brought on ſuch a Scarcity of Corn, and all Kinds of Proviſions, as could not be remedied by Proclamations for fixing their Prices and preventing Exportation; which Expedients being at length found ineffectual, were recalled. As to the Coin, Henry the Eighth, at his Death, left the Pound reduced to leſs than One Half; that is to ſay, Twenty Shillings of his Money was worth but Nine Shillings and Four Pence of ours, and the Proportion of Gold to Silver was as Five to One. His Son in the laſt Year of his Reign reduced the Pound to leſs than a Fourth, Twenty Shillings being worth no more than Four Shillings and Eight Pence of ours, and brought down the Proportion of Gold to Silver as Two to One. It is evident that this muſt have occaſioned the Hoarding of old Money or exporting it, and the raiſing all Kinds of Neceſſaries to exorbitant Prices, that is in Appearance. At the Cloſe of his Reign, the Pound was raiſed to the Value of One Pound and Seven Pence of our Money, and the Proportion of Gold to Silver became as Eleven to One. See Folkes's Tables of Engliſh Gold and Silver Coins, p. 29—45.

[z] In the laſt Parliament of King Edward they granted him Two Tenths, Two Fifteenths, and a Subſidy towards the Payment of his Debts. Mary by Letters Patents releaſed the Subſidy, which ſhe declared by Proclamation, and ſome Doubts yet remaining, diſcharged her Subjects by Act of Parliament, promiſing at the ſame Time to pay her Brother's Debts at Home and Abroad. Yet to ſupport the French War ſhe borrowed, as is ſaid, on Privy Seals, more certainly from the City of London, Twenty thouſand Pounds at Twelve per Cent. for which ſhe mortgaged Crown Lands. Stowe's Chronicle, p. 632. The vigorous Support given to King Philip gained him the Victory of St. Quintin; but occaſioned ſuch Negligence in regard to Calais, that

The Wiſdom of Queen Elizabeth's Government hath been always and very juſtly celebrated, ſince the Affairs of the Nation were never in a more diſtracted State than at her Acceſſion. The Minds of Men exceedingly agitated at Home by religious Diſſenſions, an unfiniſhed War Abroad, few or no Allies, an heavy Debt ſubſiſting from the Time of her Father, the Crown Revenue impaired, and an exhauſted Treaſury. When theſe Difficulties were in a great Meaſure got over, by the Moderation and Dexterity of her Management, new and not leſs formidable Miſchiefs aroſe. Diſcontents of ſeveral Kinds, and from various Cauſes, riſing ſometimes into Rebellions, Diſputes with Scotland, a long and dangerous War with Spain, repeated and perilous Inſurrections in Ireland, ſecret Conſpiracies, and almoſt perpetual Factions in her Council. All theſe were combated and gradually ſubdued by the Prudence of her Miniſters, which was in nothing more conſpicuous than in the Management of her Finances. She called few Parliaments in her long Reign, and yet managed theſe in ſuch a Manner as to obtain from them, in Compariſon of former Times, very conſiderable Supplies, the Subſidies both of the Clergy and Laity being to be levied in a Courſe of Years, which rendered them more uſeful to her and lighter to the People. She ſhewed great Addreſs in declining extraordinary Aids, when offered with a View of altering her Meaſures. Aſked them at all Times with great Tenderneſs, received them with much Thankfulneſs, and employed them with great Frugality; ſupplying their Deficiencies on critical Occaſions, by exciting the public Spirit of her Nobility, accepting the voluntary Aſſiſtance of her Subjects, and having frequent Recourſe to Loans, which were punctually paid [a].

Many

that without much Difficulty it was taken by the Duke of Guiſe. The commercial Spirit introduced in the Reign of Henry the Seventh exerted itſelf ſo ſtrongly that our Exports of Woollen Manufactures, diminiſhed the ſending abroad the raw Commodity, to almoſt nothing. The Merchants of London, Briſtol, and Hull were indefatigable in opening new Channels of Trade, and the Charter to the Ruſſia Company granted in this Reign is a Proof of the Attention of the Queen's Miniſters in this Reſpect. The Coinage of Mary is commended, becauſe it rendered the Pound in Tale, aliquot Parts of the Pound Weight. At the Time of the Conqueſt, the Two Pounds were the ſame, by the Queen's Coinage, though a little leſs Fine than that of her Brother's laſt Year; Four Ounces of Silver were divided into Twenty Shillings, and ſo it continued till towards the End of her Siſter's Reign. The Proportion between Gold and Silver was not altered.

[a] The great, and indeed the ſole Object of this able Princeſs through her whole Reign, was the Security of her own Perſon and Government, and her Wiſdom conſiſted in perceiving that this muſt ariſe from the Proſperity of her Subjects. The Difficulties ſhe had to encounter immediately after her Acceſſion, taught her Vigilance, Circumſpection, and Parſimony, and theſe ſtrengthened into Habits. She kept One of her Parliaments near Eleven Years, by a Multitude of Prorogations, by which ſhe had them always ready, if Neceſſity required, and yet demanded their Aſſiſtance as ſeldom as ſhe could. Her Crown Revenue was under Two hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum. Yet before ſhe entered into the War with Spain, ſhe had, as Sir Robert

MANY good Laws were made for encouraging, promoting, and ſupporting the Credit of our Manufactures. A judicious Lenity, but no Partiality was ſhewn to foreign Merchants ſettled here. The diſtreſſed Proteſtants from France, Flanders, and indeed from all Countries were kindly received, and ſettled in different Places to the great Benefit of the Nation. Improvements and Inventions of every Kind not only met with a favourable Reception, but were forwarded and protected by her Miniſters. She was like her Anceſtor Edward the Fourth, exceedingly gracious to Merchants, eminent Citizens, and Perſons of diſtinguiſhed Abilities in uſeful Profeſſions. In her Time the Turky, Eaſt India, and African Branches of Commerce were opened. Expeditions to, and Diſcoveries in America, countenanced and ſupported. By theſe Methods Trade was exceedingly increaſed, and with it the public Wealth [b].

THE Firmneſs and Uniformity of her Conduct, viſibly directed to public Good, qualified the Uſes of her Prerogative, of which ſhe was as jealous as her Predeceſſors. She completed the Reſtoration of the Coin, which had been begun by her Brother and Siſter, by the total Extinction of baſe Money. She rather choſe to diminiſh the Crown Revenue for the Support of public Meaſures than preſs too hard upon her Subjects, and with the Aſſiſtance of Parliament, would have revived and encouraged Agriculture,

Cotton aſſures us, Seven hundred Thouſand Pounds in her Treaſury. In the Courſe of upwards of Thirty Years ſhe had from the Commons Twenty Subſidies, and Thirty-eight Fifteenths, and Eighteen Subſidies from the Clergy, which did not amount to Three Millions in the Whole, and yet out of this ſhe lent Eight hundred Thouſand Pounds to the poor States of Holland, and upwards of Half that Sum to the French King Henry the Fourth, by which ſhe kept War for the moſt Part at a Diſtance, and acquired a high Reputation with all the European Powers.

[b] The Commerce of England had been growing for near a Century, and though it had received various Checks from the ill-judged Policy of ſeveral of our Princes, it quickly recovered from them, and exerted itſelf with freſh Vigour. But in this Reign, meeting with all poſſible Encouragement, it roſe to a prodigious Height, as Camden informs us from a very exact Enquiry, Annal. Eliz. p. 108. The Queen was alſo very attentive to her Navy, made ſeveral Laws for promoting and encouraging Navigation, treated Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, and other Seamen with much Kindneſs and Reſpect. She was remarkably frugal in every Thing but her Apparel, and though ſhe laid out nothing in Buildings, was pleaſed to ſee the Marks of her Subject's Riches, in ſumptuous Edifices public and private, viſiting ſuch as were wealthy, as well to do them Honour, as to ſave Expence. The Cuſtoms ſhe raiſed from Fourteen thouſand Pounds, at which they were farmed by Sir Thomas Smith, to Forty-two thouſand, and obliged him to pay a large Sum for having them at that Price, and afterwards raiſed them to Fifty thouſand, as Camden tells us, p. 615, and this in Oppoſition to the Sentiments of her principal Miniſters. She had Credit enough with the City of London to procure the Bonds of the Corporation as a joint Security for the Money ſhe borrowed Abroad, and theſe Bonds diſcharged and cancelled ſhe delivered up, which enabled her for the future to borrow at Home.

if that had been practicable while the old Tenures remained. On the Whole ſhe left the Nation much better ſettled, richer and more proſperous in every Reſpect than it had been before her Time [c].

James the Firſt, though he ſucceeded without Oppoſition, and ſeemed to be received with general Satisfaction, found himſelf very ſoon embarraſſed in Point of Revenue, and theſe Difficulties grew upon him through his whole Reign. The late Queen left a conſiderable Debt, and had beſides diſpoſed of a very large Proportion of the Crown Lands. It is true his Firſt Parliaments were liberal, but it is as true that the King became profuſe, and afterwards upon ſo bad Terms with the Houſe of Commons, that though he opened his Neceſſities to them, he received no adequate Relief. This reduced him to have Recourſe to Monopolies and Projects, which at his Entrance on Government he had ſuppreſſed. He likewiſe attempted Benevolencies and Loans, but with little Succeſs, and being at laſt driven into War, propoſed that the Supplies given for his Support ſhould be appropriated, and the Application of them put out of his Power. But though the Crown was diſtreſſed, the Nation was very proſperous. He made very early a good Treaty with France, and a very advantageous Peace with Spain. In conſequence of theſe Trade flouriſhed, and though, from Merchants miſtaking their Intereſt, Navigation was for ſome time checked, yet it quickly revived and extended itſelf in a high Degree; the Navy alſo was augmented. Virginia, New England, and Barbadoes were ſettled, Diſcoveries were encouraged. The Nation became more and

[c] There was nothing on which the Queen valued herſelf more than on the utter Deſtruction of this Monſter, as ſhe ſtiled baſe Money. Her Predeceſſors had coined ſome good, and reduced by Proclamation the debaſed Money to the ſame Value. But Elizabeth called this in, and without any Charge to the Subject recoined all to the Amount in the Courſe of her Reign to Five Millions and a Half, beſides the Portcullis Pieces which were ſtruck for the Uſe of the Eaſt India Company. As long as Cecil lived ſhe reſiſted all the Overtures frequently made her to relieve her Neceſſities, which were ſometimes very great, by again tampering with the Coin. Towards the Cloſe of her Reign however ſhe made a ſmall Alteration, but without Injury to the Standard, by coining Sixty-two Shillings inſtead of Sixty out of the Pound of Silver. The Acts for promoting Tillage proved in a great Meaſure ineffectual. We may eaſily gueſs at the Condition of the Tenants from the Account given us by her Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Smith, of that of their Landlords. "He who had a Father, who kept a good Houſe, and had "all Things in order to maintain it, ſhall come to his own, after he is out of Wardſhip, "Woods decayed, Houſes fallen down, Stock waſted, and Lands utterly worn, and plowed to "the barren, and to make Amends ſhall pay yet One Year's Relief, and ſue ouſter le maine, "beſide other Charges, ſo that not of many Years, and peradventure never, he ſhall be able "to recover, and come to the Eſtate where his Father left it." Commonwealth of England, B. iii. chap. v. and the curious Reader will find the whole Chapter very well worth his Peruſal.

more

more populous; but notwithſtanding this Tillage remained in a low Condition [d].

CHARLES came to the Crown in a State more embarraſſed than that of his Father. Great Part of the Crown Lands were ſold, much of the remaining Revenue anticipated, a heavy Debt at Home and Abroad, and a War entered into by the Advice of Parliament, from whom for that Reaſon the King had great Hopes. They gave him ſome Supplies, and brought in a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage for only One Year, which for that Reaſon was rejected by the Lords. The King met the ſame Parliament at Oxford, but differing with and diſſolving them endeavoured to carry on the War as well as he could. In order to this he continued to exact the Cuſtoms as if they had been a Revenue inherent to the Crown, had Recourſe to Loans, Privy Seals, and other Methods of the ſame Kind, which prejudiced him in the Minds of his People, and theſe Diſcontents were heightened by an unſucceſsful Expedition againſt Cadiz. To theſe Misfortunes were added a Breach with France, precipitate in its Commencement, and unfortunate in its Progreſs. Another Parliament, though inclined to grant Supplies, totally diſapproved the Meaſures taken to raiſe Money without their Aſſiſtance, and the rigorous Steps by which theſe Meaſures were enforced. This produced the PETITION of RIGHT, by which theſe Evils were prevented for the future. The King aſſented to it

[d] As the Queen left a Debt, ſo ſhe left alſo a Part of the laſt Supply that had been given her unlevied. The King had a great Family, and the Rate of Living was very high. The Whole of his Income never reached Five hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum, of which the Crown Lands made leſs than a Fifth, and the Profits ariſing from the Tenures about Two Fifths. In the Courſe of his Reign he ſold Crown Lands to the Value of near Eight hundred thouſand Pounds, and by the Help of this, parting with the Cautionary Towns in Holland, the Debt received from France, Benevolences, and other Means, raiſed about Two Millions. The Supplies granted him by Parliament (the laſt excepted, which he did not receive) amounted to Six hundred and Thirty thouſand Pounds. The Cuſtoms at the Beginning of his Reign were about One hundred and Twenty-ſeven thouſand Pounds. He raiſed them afterwards to One hundred and Sixty thouſand, and towards the Cloſe of his Reign higher. The Coinage in his Reign did not amount to quite Five Millions and a Half, Part of which was from Silver ſmelted out of Lead in Wales. He made ſome Alterations in the Value of Gold Coin, in conſequence of a like Alteration in other Parts of Europe. The Miſtake of the Merchants with reſpect to Navigation aroſe in the Queen's Time, and continued through a Part of his, and conſiſted in their making Uſe of large foreign Ships for the Sake of ſaving Freight, of which the Seamen heavily complained. But when it was perceived that Foreigners made an Advantage of this, and found Means to import Goods hither for their own Profit, the Merchants took the Alarm, and the King by Proclamation forbidding all Commerce but on Engliſh Bottoms, many and large Ships were quickly built in ſeveral of our Ports. The Hardſhips ariſing from Tenures being complained of in Parliament, the King readily agreed to give up that Part of his Revenue for an Equivalent, and the Bargain was at laſt made for Two hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum, but never carried into Execution.

with Reluctance, and finding the Parliament determined to truſt him with Tonnage and Poundage only for a very ſhort Time, diſſolved them. He then made Peace with Spain and France, which was highly beneficial to the Nation, by reſtoring a lucrative and extenſive Commerce. The King continued many Years to govern without Parliaments, ſupplying his Wants by the Strength of Prerogative, and in order to ſupport the Sovereignty of the Sea, levied Ship Money, which, though it enabled him to carry his Points Abroad, and to deſtroy the Sallee Rovers, who had diſturbed and diſtreſſed our Trade, yet it excited ſuch Diſcontents as threw all into Confuſion at Home. A War with the Scots, and other Misfortunes brought him to call a new Parliament, which he precipitately diſſolved, and not long after called another, in which, though he conſented to aboliſh the Star Chamber, and High Commiſſion Courts, and made great Conceſſions, yet his Diſputes with them terminated in a Civil War; in conſequence of which the Monies raiſed for the public Service were both levied and applied by the Authority of that Parliament [e].

As the Cauſe of the Parliament was conſidered by thoſe who adhered to them as the Cauſe of Liberty and of the People, they were in a Condition by

[e] At the Time of his Acceſſion the Debts of his Father were computed at Seven hundred thouſand Pounds, and he was beſides himſelf indebted in Thirty thouſand. The Parliament gave him about a Tenth Part of the Sum that he declared to be requiſite for his immediate Service. This obliged him to borrow from the City on the Crown Lands a large Sum at Eight per Cent. He pawned his Jewels in Holland for Three hundred Thouſand Pounds, and by other Methods of the like Kind ran himſelf deeper in Debt. When diſappointed the Second Time by Parliament, he had not only recourſe to many irregular Methods of procuring Money, but committed likewiſe ſuch as refuſed to lend, and by this Means heightened extremely the Diſcontents of thoſe who were moſt able to embarraſs his Affairs. By his Aſſent to the Petition of Right, he put an End to theſe Practices, and declared them illegal; however being again diſappointed, he had recourſe to other Prerogative Meaſures of Supply, ſuch as erecting new Corporations, Charters, Compoſitions with Recuſants, confirming defective Titles to Crown Lands, Fines for Knighthood, and the like. As to Ship-money, which produced Two hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum for Four Years, it was ſtrictly applied to the Purpoſe for which it was raiſed, powerful Fleets were ſent out, the Coaſt ſcoured from Pirates, the Dutch obliged to pay Thirty thouſand Pounds for Licence to Fiſh, the Navy Board regularly eſtabliſhed, new Ships built, particularly the Sovereign, of upwards of Ninety Guns and Seventeen hundred Tons. Commerce flouriſhed wonderfully; the Eaſt India, African, and Turky Trades were improved and extended. The Plantations began to thrive exceedingly. Ireland was reduced into Order, and yielded a conſiderable Revenue, as a Proof of this the Cuſtoms roſe, and the Coinage at the Tower amounted to upwards of Twelve Millions. This large Sum was excluſive of what was coined by the King at his ſeveral Mints of Aberiſtwith, York, Shrewſbury, Oxford, Exeter, and other Places out of his own Plate, that of the Univerſities, the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, who adhered to him, and which we have reaſon to judge muſt have been very conſiderable both in Gold and Silver, from what yet remains in the Cabinets of the Curious; and though ſome of the Pieces are but of coarſe Workmanſhip, yet others are very fair and neat, and all of them of due Fineneſs and Weight; which by adding to the Circulation muſt have been of great Utility to the Nation even in theſe diſmal Times. This ſhews that what Clarendon, Ruſhworth, and Coke affirm, that the Nation at the breaking out of the Civil War was in a moſt proſperous Condition, is a certain Truth.

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their own Authority to raiſe competent Supplies, which from their perfect Knowledge of the real Situation and Riches of the Nation they were enabled to do by a Variety of Means, and by ſpreading their Impoſitions wide, rendered them lighter to Individuals, though they were very heavy in their Amount, and being again gradually diſperſed for the Maintenance of their Forces, and the Support of their Government, this Circulation rendered their Continuance practicable, till their Power was fixed beyond the Poſſibility of Reſiſtance. The Reduction of Scotland and of Ireland was attended with great Expence, but both being accompliſhed, extended, and augmented their Authority. The Senſe they had of their own Strength, and the Appearance of a general Submiſſion encouraged them after the Death of the King to undertake a War againſt the Dutch in Support of the Sovereignty of the Sea, by which they in a great Meaſure ruined the naval Power of their Rival [f].

At length being diſpoſſeſſed of the Government by their own Army, their General Cromwell found it very difficult to raiſe Money without the Aſſiſtance of Parliament, and ſtill more difficult to obtain it from thoſe Aſſemblies which he called by that Name. He was obliged therefore to raiſe Supplies as well as he could; and it hath been thought highly probable that he broke with Spain that he might repleniſh his empty Treaſury by foreign Spoils, in which he was not altogether unſucceſsful; though even with this Help he died in Debt, and left his Son ſo embarraſſed, that he was not long able to maintain his Seat. The Remains of the Long Parliament then reſumed Power, and levied the Sums requiſite for their Support in their accuſtomed Manner, till the City of London refuſed to pay

[f] Hiſtory of Independency. Account of Taxes, p. 295. Selden's Works, vol. iii. p. 2070. Before the Civil War actually broke out the Parliament gave Six Subſidies and a Poll Tax, which they computed made together Six hundred thouſand Pounds, for Payment of Debts, and ſettling with the Scots. After the Civil War began they raiſed weekly and monthly Aſſeſſments, introduced Exciſes, took Tonnage and Poundage, impoſed new Duties, called in Silver Plate, for the Value of which they allowed Eight per Cent. borrowed occaſionally immenſe Sums from the City of London, the Merchant Adventurers, and other public Companies. When their Power was eſtabliſhed they found new Reſources in Sequeſtrations, Compoſitions, Sale of Crown and Church Lands, &c. When Cromwell was declared General, an Aſſeſſment of One hundred and Twenty thouſand Pounds a Month was raiſed for the Army and Navy. Mr. Walker in his Preface to the Book firſt cited, after enumerating the Methods taken by them aſſerts, that what they raiſed in Six Years, amounted to Forty Millions. Other Computations may be found in Stevens's Account of Taxes. The Dutch War was entered into upon Motives that had induced the King to levy Ship-money, that is, for maintaining the Sovereignty of the Sea, the Right of the Flag, and the Fiſhery. The Parliament might have ſecured all theſe by a Peace and the Satisfaction due to the Nation for the Injuries in the Eaſt Indies. But they inſiſted on a Coalition of the Two Republics. The War was detrimental to Commerce, left the Army idle, and the large Rewards given by the Parliament to their own Members, raiſed that Spirit of Diſcontent, which in the Midſt of their ſeeming Plenitude of Power enabled their own General to turn them out.

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any Taxes till a free Parliament was called, and General Monk being drawn to concur with them, put an End to theſe Confuſions, by the Method which the City had propoſed; and which produced the Reſtoration [8].

Thus the Reader hath ſeen by as ſuccinct a Deduction as it was in my Power to make, the Connection between the public Revenue and the Condition of this Country through a long Series of Ages. The ſmall Britiſh Principalities, as they had a regular Conſtitution, had alſo undoubtedly Revenues ſuited to their Occaſions and Extent. The Romans while they held it, ſhewed in every Reſpect of what this Iſland was capable, and from their great Improvements of all Kinds, raiſed an immenſe public Revenue. The Saxons proceeding on a different Plan, reſtrained their Views to the ſame Bounds within which Nature had confined their Dominions. By this Policy they rendered the Country populous and well cultivated, the Inhabitants according to their ſeveral Ranks in eaſy Circumſtances, and the Crown Revenue ample. The Danes deſtroyed the Kingdom, and deranged the Saxon Syſtem ſo much, that it was unable to bear up againſt a new Invader. The Normans not only introduced a ſtrange and ſevere Form of Rule, by which they changed the Manners, and in ſome Degree the Language of the People, but alſo from their

8 The Firſt Parliament called by Cromwell was compoſed of Members appointed by him, who finding themſelves able to do nothing reſigned the Power again into his Hands. After this he made Peace with the Dutch upon Terms much better in Appearance than they were in Reality, in which it is thought he found his Intereſt. When he had taken the Title of Protector, he called a Second Parliament, with whom he parted in Diſguſt. His Third Parliament ſettled a Revenue upon him, but it was inadequate to the Expences of his Government. He by his own and his Council's Authority reſtored the Exchequer, took Tonnage and Poundage, Exciſe, Monthly Aſſeſſments, and the caſual Revenue, all which did not ſuffice. In an Account ſtated April 7th 1659 by Richard's Parliament, the whole national Charge amounted to Two millions Two hundred and One thouſand Five hundred and Forty Pounds, which exceeded the Revenue by Three hundred Thirty-two thouſand Eight hundred and Twenty-three Pounds, and the public Debt was reported to be Two millions Four hundred Seventy-four thouſand Two hundred and Ninety Pounds. Theſe reſpective Sums regard the whole Three Kingdoms. It was not ſimply the Degrading of Richard after forcing him to diſſolve his Parliament, recalling the old Parliament, turning them out again, that revolted the Minds of the Nation, but many other Circumſtances concurred, ſuch as the declining of Trade, from the Captures in the Dutch, the Seizure of the Merchants Effects on the breaking out of the Spaniſh War, and the violent Proceedings of the Sectaries, who equally oppreſſed the Church and the Preſbyterians, and thereby excited a Deſire of recurring to the old Conſtitution. Before the King's Death the Money coined by the Parliament at the Tower bore his Stamp, thence forward the Arms of the Commonwealth was uſed even during the Time of Cromwell, and afterwards; but the Whole did not amount to Half a Million. Some very fine Pieces were ſtruck by him both in Gold and Silver, but it is doubted whether they were ever current. The Spirit of Huſbandry and Cultivation which revived in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, continued from that Time, but through the public Confuſions and the Inclemency of the Seaſons Corn bore a very high Price during this Period.

Connections with the Continent, fell into Meaſures repugnant to the Intereſts of England. Their foreign Wars impoveriſhed, their Civil Diſſenſions deſolated, and the continual Repetitions of both depopulated the Country to ſuch a Degree, that at the Cloſe of the Reign of Henry the Sixth both the Crown and Nation were equally diſtreſſed. But by the Intervention of new Counſels, the relinquiſhing foreign Quarrels, an Attention to domeſtic Concerns, excited a Spirit of Induſtry and Commerce, that in ſpite of ſome temporary Interruptions, opened the Eyes of both the Prince and People to their true Intereſts, which ever were and will be the ſame. The Conſequence of this was a gradual Increaſe, and a due Diſtribution of Property, and in Virtue of that the Demolition of the ſtill remaining Checks on rational Freedom; how effectually this operated in the Cloſe of this Period, may appear from hence, that the Parliament raiſed more Money on that Part of the Kingdom under their Dominion in One Year than there was Specie in the whole Nation a Century before. This amazing Alteration aroſe from our poſſeſſing in effect the whole Trade of Europe for about Fifteen Years. A very ſenſible Difference was ſoon after felt from our imprudent Conjunction with France againſt Spain, which greatly altered the political and commercial Balance which had been ſo long in our Favour.

CHAP. V.

Of the public Revenue from the Reſtoration to the late Peace.

THE favourable Diſpoſition of the Nation at the Opening of this Period, and the Motives on which it was founded. The State of the Revenue, and the Care taken by the Legiſlature for promoting the public Welfare during the Reign of Charles the Second. The very ample Eſtabliſhment made by Parliament on James the Second, and the material Occurrences during his ſhort Reign. The real Cauſes of the improved Condition and proſperous State of this Country at the Time of his quitting the Government. A ſummary Account of the Money raiſed, and a ſhort Detail of public Affairs during the Reign of King William the Third. A like Deduction in reſpect to the Finances and other Concerns of theſe Iſlands under Queen Anne. A ſuccinct Review of the Revenue, and of the principal Events that happened in the Reign of King George the Firſt. The Means that were employed for bringing the Debts of the Public into Order, with a brief Relation of the Origin and Iſſue of the South Sea Scheme. A conciſe View

of ſome ſalutary Statutes for the Eaſe and Emolument of the commercial Intereſt. A ſuccinct Detail of the principal Events in the firſt Thirteen Years of his late Majeſty King George the Second. The Meaſures purſued in that Time for the Benefit of the Public, and their Effects. The War with Spain and afterwards againſt both that Crown and France, which continued for about Six Years. The Laws enacted, and other Methods uſed for promoting the public Weal within this Space. A Review of what paſſed from the Peace of Aix-la-chapelle to the Breaking out of the laſt War. The Progreſs thereof to the Demiſe of his late Majeſty. The State of the Nation conſidered through this Period. The Proſecution of this Subject from the Commencement of the preſent Reign to the Concluſion of the Peace of Paris. The Nature and Conſequences of the public Debt truly ſtated and impartially conſidered. The Riſe and Progreſs of the Sinking Fund in like Manner fairly repreſented, and its Utility explained and eſtabliſhed. The Concluſion of this Book and Chapter, with ſome neceſſary Remarks.

THE Horrors of a Civil War, the long Series of Commotions that followed, and the numerous fatal Conſequences that viſibly attended them, brought the Nation in general to a true Senſe of its own Intereſts, and convinced them by Experience, that the overturning their ancient Conſtitution had ſubverted the Baſis of their Happineſs, by removing thoſe wiſe Proviſions, that by a due Temperament of rational Liberty with Sovereign Authority conſtitute the beſt of all Governments, a limited Monarchy. Experience had convinced them likewiſe of many Truths, to a juſt Senſe of which they could never have been perſuaded by Arguments. They perceived plainly that for the Security and Proſperity of the State, it was requiſite that Government ſhould be ſupported by an ample Revenue. They diſcovered that in a flouriſhing Society, Taxes judiciouſly laid and properly applied, might promote the Welfare, inſtead of diſtreſſing the Circumſtances of the Subject. They were rendered fully ſenſible of the Oppreſſion, as well as Danger of a numerous Army, from which they were conſequently very deſirous of being freed. They ſaw clearly the great Utility of Cultivation, and they felt from the Removal of the feudal Tenures, and the Increaſe of Inhabitants, that this was fully in their Power. They began to have more enlarged Notions in regard to the Benefit ariſing from Manufactures, the lowering the Intereſt of Money, and the removing all Obſtructions to the Freedom of Navigation and Commerce. They were therefore diſpoſed, from theſe and other Conſiderations, chearfully to embrace any Meaſures that had a Tendency to promote theſe ſalutary Views, and to prevent their falling again into thoſe Confuſions, from which they were ſo lately recovered.

At the Return of King Charles the Second, the Convention Parliament, as it was called, made an immediate Settlement for the Support of the Crown, provided for the diſbanding the Army, and though by no means diſpoſed to be profuſe in their Grants, ſhewed an Inclination to do whatever was neceſſary. The ſucceeding Parliament was more liberal till diſguſted by the Miſcarriage of the Firſt, and the bad Intention of the Second Dutch War. After this Time, though the King received occaſionally much Aſſiſtance from Parliament, yet his Conduct brought him into Neceſſities that involved him in Diſputes with his People as well as in perpetual Difficulties, and induced him to incur a Debt, which he found it out of his Power to diſcharge. But notwithſtanding theſe Miſtakes and Misfortunes the Nation received ſome Advantages from that Monarch's Diſpoſition, and many more from the Attention and public Spirit of the Legiſlature. His Temper and Experience inclined him to take great Care of the Navy, to promote the Intereſts of the Plantations, to countenance uſeful Inventions and Improvements of different Kinds, and particularly Diſcoveries, in which his Views were ſeconded by ſeveral Perſons of Quality and Diſtinction. On the other Hand the Parliament took many laudable Steps for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Maintenance of Juſtice. They removed by wiſe and well-weighed Statutes, all thoſe Impediments that had ſo long continued to impede the Cultivation of Land, and took the moſt effectual and ſalutary Methods to promote it, and were not wanting in their Endeavours, though theſe were not ſo ſucceſsful, to ſupport and extend our Fiſheries. They encouraged Manufactures, afforded a kind Reception to Foreigners that might be inſtrumental in this Reſpect, brought the Cuſtoms into Order, were zealous in promoting a free Trade, and by the Act of Navigation and ſubſequent Laws to ſupport and enforce it, provided effectually for the Security of Commerce, and took the wiſeſt Methods for maintaining a Conjunction of Intereſt between the Colonies and their Mother Country, from which many beneficial Conſequences ſpeedily enſued to both [a].

James

[a] His Firſt Parliament paſſed an Act for affording his Majeſty a ſpeedy Supply of Seventy thouſand Pounds, ſettled on him Tonnage and Poundage, the hereditary Exciſe in Compenſation for the legal Abolition of Wards and Liveries and Purveyance; the temporary Exciſe for the Support of Government, the Revenue ariſing from the Poſt-office, and afterwards Hearth-money. But it ought to be obſerved that many Years elapſed before theſe Revenues were brought into Order. This was done at firſt by farming, which gradually diſcovered their true Value. The Cuſtoms (Davenant on public Revenues, vol. ii. p. 42.) yielded A. D. 1666, Three hundred and Ninety thouſand Pounds; but were raiſed by Degrees to Five hundred Fifty-five thouſand Seven hundred and Fifty-two Pounds per Annum. The Exciſe, as the ſame Author tells us, vol. i. p. 127, roſe in like Manner from Two hundred Seventy-five thouſand Nine hundred Fifty-two Pounds, to Six hundred Forty-four thouſand Eight hundred Fifty-four Pounds per Annum. The Poſt-office, as we have already obſerved, vol. ii. p. 256, 257. advanced from Twenty-one thou-

JAMES the Second, notwithſtanding the Difficulties to which he had been expoſed in the Reign of his Brother, ſucceeded to the Throne with greater Advantages than almoſt any Prince that had ever ſat upon it. He found the public Revenue much improved, and put into better Order than it had ever been. He added to this the eſtabliſhed and ample Income which he had poſſeſſed as Duke of York. His Parliament was ſo complaiſant as to ſettle both upon him, notwithſtanding he had by Proclamation directed the Payment of the Cuſtoms before that Aſſembly met. They likewiſe granted him ſeveral conſiderable Additions for the Repair and Support of the Fleet, and for ſuppreſſing the Duke of Monmouth's Inſurrection. As he was naturally a good Œconomiſt, well acquainted with public Affairs, and a Prince of indefatigable Application, He very ſoon brought his Revenue into ſo good a State, as to be able to make annually very conſiderable Savings. That Spirit of Cultivation and Improvement which had prevailed for many Years, ſtill exerted itſelf with the greateſt Vigour, and the French Refugees who were kindly received and very prudently encouraged, perfected ſome and introduced many new Manufactures, which in Proceſs of Time proved of infinite Benefit to the Nation. The peaceable State of Europe, and the Removal of thoſe Diſturbances that had long ſubſiſted in America, was exceedingly favourable to Commerce, to the promoting of which he ſhewed great Attention. He was particularly careful in protecting the Eaſt India and African Companies, which were then in a very flouriſhing Condition. The Navy, in the Management of which he was perfectly well verſed, he directed himſelf with the Aſſiſtance only of a Secretary, and had brought it into excellent Order, when his exceſſive Bigotry to the Popiſh Religion,

ſand Five hundred Pounds, to Forty-three thouſand Pounds. Hearth-money in his Time brought in One hundred Sixty-two thouſand Pounds. The King, notwithſtanding this Income, and ſeveral large Grants from Parliament, amounting in the Courſe of his Reign to Eleven Millions Four hundred Forty-three thouſand Four hundred and Seven Pounds, found himſelf obliged to ſell Dunkirk to the French for a Million and a Half of Crowns, which were coined into Three hundred Thirty-ſix thouſand Seven hundred and Thirty-three Pounds. He alſo ſold the Fee-farm Rents in virtue of Two Acts of Parliament, but for what Sum is not a little incertain, and at his Death ſtood indebted to the Bankers, who had advanced Money on the hereditary Revenue, in the Sum of One Million Three hundred Twenty-eight thouſand Five hundred Twenty-ſix Pounds, and alſo owed his Houſehold Sixty thouſand Pounds. The Teſt Act, the Habeas Corpus, the Law for preventing Frauds and Perjuries, and many others prove the Truth of what is advanced in the Text. In conſequence of theſe, Property was ſo well ſecured, and Induſtry ſo effectually encouraged, that our Trade became both extenſive and lucrative; the Plantations flouriſhed, the Royal Navy was doubled, and Land roſe from Twelve to Sixteen and Eighteen Years Purchaſe. The Coinage of Gold and Silver in this Reign was very near Eight Millions. By an Act paſſed in the Eighteenth of his Reign, a Duty was impoſed upon Wine, Brandy, &c. to defray the Expence of Coinage; which Duty being by ſubſequent Statutes continued ſtill ſubſiſts, ſo that Gold and Silver are aſſayed and coined at the Mint in the Tower free from all Charges.

and thoſe Innovations in Government into which that led him, excited the Diſaffection of his Subjects, and obliged him to abandon his Dominions [b].

Besides thoſe Circumſtances that have been, and many more, that if we had Room might be mentioned, which contributed to increaſe the Subſtance as well as Credit of the Public, there was alſo a wonderful Concurrence of favourable Events which human Wiſdom could not foreſee, or human Policy bring about, that conducted to the ſame deſirable End. Such as the general Situation of Chriſtendom at that Period, the great Need that Spain had of our Friendſhip, the Advantages accruing to our Commerce after the laſt Peace with the Dutch, whilſt they were ſtill engaged in a War with France, and the Security with which our Veſſels navigated the Mediterranean, while thoſe of other States were expoſed to the Depredations committed by the Barbary Corſairs. Theſe excited and maintained a more general Spirit of Enterprize than had been ever ſeen, and that Succeſs which attended theſe Efforts was really amazing. Our very Errors turned in ſeveral Inſtances to our Benefit. The Attempts made to introduce arbitrary Power produced new and effectual Barriers againſt it. The prohibiting of Iriſh Cattle inſpired the People of that fertile Iſland with Views which they proſecuted to their own Advantage. The hard Uſage of Diſſenters of different Denominations filled our Plantations with Numbers of ſober, intelligent, and active Inhabitants. It was from theſe and a Variety of other Cauſes, that not only the Stock of this Country was augmented much beyond what it had been in former Times, but the Seeds of univerſal Induſtry ſo effectually ſown, as to promote

[b] The Revenue granted to King James amounted to full Two Millions per Annum, whereas that of his Brother did not exceed One million Two hundred thouſand, and this was ſo well managed by him, that he is ſuppoſed to have ſaved about Three hundred thouſand Pounds a Year. A long Continuance of Peace, an increaſing as well as extenſive Commerce, and many other favourable Circumſtances concurred to the Improvement of the Country, and the enriching of its Inhabitants. The French King having revoked the Edict of Nants, many Thouſand Refugees came over hither, who were not only well received and protected, but highly encouraged alſo by the King, on account of their bringing with them many valuable Manufactures. To the Eaſt India Company he granted a new and very ample Charter, which was the Sixth they had received ſince the Reſtoration, and at this Time their Trade was ſo flouriſhing, and their Credit ſo great, that they borrowed Six hundred thouſand Pounds at Three per Cent. He was alſo very indulgent to the African Company, in which while Duke of York he had a large Concern. But as both theſe were excluſive Charters by the ſole Power of the Crown, the Legality of them was diſputed, and ſeveral private Merchants endeavouring on this Ground to interfere with them, were ſtiled Interlopers. In reſpect to the Navy, it was at the Time he left the Kingdom in admirable Condition, conſiſting of One hundred and Seventy-three Veſſels of different Rates, for the Manning of which Forty-two thouſand Seamen were required. The Coinage during his ſhort Reign was in Gold Two Millions One hundred Thirteen thouſand Six hundred Thirty-nine Pounds, and in Silver Five hundred and Eighteen thouſand Three hundred Sixteen Pounds. Amounting together to Two Millions Six hundred Thirty-one thouſand Nine hundred Fifty-five Pounds.

laſting Proſperity, which was truly fortunate for the Nation, as ſhe was thereby enabled to ſupport ſoon after thoſe glorious Struggles, in which ſhe was involved, for the Preſervation of her own and the Liberties of Europe [c].

The Reign of King William and Queen Mary opened with an extenſive and expenſive War with France, undertaken and carried on with great Difficulties for the Space of Eight Years. It was however a War of Neceſſity not of Ambition, and was ſupported with a Spirit that did Honour to the Nation. Repeated Cuſtoms, Exciſes, Poll-taxes, Impoſitions on Windows, Joint-ſtocks, Marriages, Burials, Manufactures, and Land, bore heavy upon all Ranks of People, and theſe were much aggravated by high Premiums, large Intereſt, Mortgages for long Terms, and other oppreſſive Circumſtances. It is very probable that many of theſe Difficulties might have been leſſened, and ſome of them avoided, but we wanted Experience in Things of this Nature, and which was ſtill worſe, there was a Want of Unanimity, and of conſequence of public Spirit. The War was at firſt unſucceſsful in its Operations, and diſaſtrous in its Conſequences;

[c] It will not be Time miſpent to enquire a little more minutely into the Cauſes of theſe Effects, in order to have a clearer Conception of both. The Nation had been certainly in many Reſpects improving and growing more wealthy for at leaſt Forty Years before the Reſtoration, and though this might and certainly did receive ſome Check from the Dutch and Spaniſh Wars, and though very large Sums might be hoarded in thoſe Days of Confuſion, yet from inconteſtable Marks it appeared that the Public was ſtill in a healthy State, and capable with a competent Degree of Attention of recovering its former Vigour. Many excellent Treatiſes in regard to Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce were publiſhed, which by explaining the true Principles of them all had ſingular good Effects. The Firſt, becauſe the eaſieſt Improvements were made in Paſture and Meadow Lands, which by taking in large Quantities of what had been eſteemed waſte and barren Grounds, occaſioned in ſome Places a Fall of Rents, whence aroſe the Clamour againſt Iriſh Cattle, but the Rental of the Kingdom was raiſed, and Eſtates in general increaſed in their Value. Corn continued dear, which gave the Firſt Hint for giving a Bounty on Exportation, as we have ſhewn elſewhere. A Native of the Low Countries brought over hither the Secret of dying Woollen Cloths to the higheſt Perfection, which till then we ſtill wanted. The Art of making fine Glaſs was at the Expence of the Duke of Buckingham brought from Venice. We became better ſkilled than formerly in whatever related to Metals. The Manufacture of Hats was gained. The Silk Trade became very conſiderable. The Manufactures of Linen and Cotton were introduced and encouraged. The Taxes were ſo laid as to promote Circulation, which was ſtill farther increaſed by the joint Stock Companies, and by the Loans to them and to the Crown. It is very true that the Two Dutch Wars, the Plague, and the Fire of London produced Loſſes that have been computed at Twenty-ſeven millions, which however duly conſidered amount to a convincing Proof of the Truth of what hath been ſaid. For after this our Commerce augmented; the City was very ſoon, as well as very ſplendidly rebuilt; and the Number of its Inhabitants within this Period increaſed more than One Half. Add to all this, that our Shipping doubled in the ſame Space, all which could never have happened, if Things had not been as we have ſtated them, as in Points of this Nature no Arguments are ſo concluſive as thoſe that ariſe from Facts.

but

but our Perſeverance at length changed the Face of Affairs. The Action at La Hogue was fatal to the naval Power of France, her Commerce did not enable her to repair it, her Manufactures declined, her Finances were gradually exhauſted, and the Peace of Ryſwick clearly proved that ſhe was ſenſible of her decaying Strength. On the other Hand there were many Circumſtances that turned to our Advantage. The Bill of Rights declared and eſtabliſhed our Conſtitution. The Minds of Men were quieted, the Proteſtant Intereſt ſtrengthened by the Toleration, and at the Cloſe of the Reign by the Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Succeſſion. Some very ſalutary Alterations were alſo made in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. A Bounty on the Exportation of Corn was ſettled by Act of Parliament. The Subject was reſtored to Freedom in the important Buſineſs of working Mines, and in the Midſt of all our Diſtreſſes that which threatened us moſt, the miſerable State of our Money, was effectually removed by a Recoinage. The Bank of England was erected, and its ſalutary Operations promoted by an Engraffment. The Board of Trade was eſtabliſhed, our Manufactures enlarged at the Expence of France, the Length of the War delivering us from a Trade with that Country, and a Fondneſs for its Faſhions, which had been highly detrimental. In a Word, national Credit gradually revived, Circulation increaſed, and the Benefits flowing from it began to be underſtood. At the Cloſe of the Reign our Navy was doubled [d].

At

[d] At this great Criſis, in conſequence of the deſpotic Power of her Monarch, France was become terrible to all Europe, and nothing but Union in Sentiments, and that Conjunction of Intereſts which the Revolution brought about, could have reſtrained its Force within proper Bounds. The Parliament having aſſigned their Majeſties a Civil Liſt, undertook to provide for the Expences of the War, which they conſidered as abſolutely neceſſary for the Support of that Government which they had eſtabliſhed. As they had the Power of controuling the Diſburſements, as well as raiſing the Supplies, they were able to proceed with Vigour, and in the Courſe of Thirteen Years raiſed the Sum of Fifty-nine Millions Two hundred Fifty-one thouſand Seven hundred and Fifty two Pounds Fourteen Shillings and Nine Pence. But as they judged it unſafe at leaſt, if not impracticable, to raiſe the Sums requiſite within the Year, they had Recourſe to Loans at the Rate of Eight and of Seven per Cent. and notwithſtanding this, and the granting Annuities at as high or higher Rates, they were obliged ſometimes to give Premiums, in conſequence of which the whole Sum borrowed amounted to Forty-one Millions One hundred thouſand Seven hundred and Ninety-five Pounds. For the ſatisfying the public Creditors, they mortgaged Funds for long Terms, the Produce of which went in Diſcharge both of Principal and Intereſt. By this Means there was repaid Thirty-four Millions Thirty-four thouſand and Eighteen Pounds. Among other Helps towards carrying on the public Service, Exchequer Bills were invented, but in the Year 1697 Things were in ſo bad a State, that Tallies were from Fifty-five to Sixty-five per Cent. Diſcount, and the Diſcount on Bank Notes at the ſame Time Thirteen or Fourteen per Cent. At this Juncture the Engraffment took Place, which made an Addition of Five Millions One hundred Sixty thouſand Four hundred and Fifty-nine Pounds to the Capital of the Bank of England, Four Fifths of which was ſubſcribed in Tallies and other Government Securities, and the remaining Fifth in their own Notes at Eight per Cent. Intereſt, which

At the Time Queen Anne aſcended the Throne the Nation was preparing for a War on Motives of political Prudence, in order to prevent France from giving Law to us and to the Reſt of Europe, for which Purpoſe the Grand Alliance had been formed. This War, into which we ſoon after entered, as it was more extenſive and of longer Continuance, ſo it was more expenſive than the former. To ſupport theſe Expences the ſame Methods were purſued that had been taken in the preceding War, probably from the Experience of their Practicability, though many Objections had been raiſed againſt them, on account of their bearing hard upon our Manufactures, raiſing the Price of Neceſſaries, and producing other Inconveniencies. Theſe however being eſteemed lighter in their Nature than the Evils that were apprehended from what the War was meant to remove, occaſioned their being adopted by Parliament, and the great Succeſs of our Arms made them more tolerable to the People. Beſides this there were other Circumſtances that contributed to keep up their Spirits. Several Laws were made of viſible Utility to the Public, ſuch as for the preventing the Alienation of Crown Lands, the encouraging Tillage and Manufactures of different Kinds, the promoting inland and foreign Trade, by a Variety of ſalutary Meaſures of which we have already taken Notice. Some Obſtructions were removed that impeded the free Courſe of Juſtice, a farther Security given to the Freedom of Parliament, by requiring certain Proportions of landed Intereſt as a Qualification for the becoming Members of the Houſe of Commons. We may add to this the Union between the Two Nations ſo often attempted without Effect, and now happily concluded. Some juſt Steps were likewiſe taken for promoting the Welfare of Ireland, for encouraging the Commerce of our Colonies, and the bringing from thence naval Stores, and to aſſiſt theſe by facilitating general Correſpondence, a new Form was given to the Poſt-office, which diffuſed the Benefits ariſing from it through all the Britiſh Dominions, and as a Proof of the proſperous State of the Nation, notwithſtanding the vaſt Charges ſhe had ſuſtained, the legal Rate of Intereſt was reduced from Six to Five per Cent[e].

King

which in a very ſhort Space brought every Thing into Order with the Aſſiſtance of the Recoinage at the Tower, and at the Mints eſtabliſhed at Briſtol, Cheſter, Exeter, Norwich, and York, in all which were coined Six Millions Four hundred Thirty-five thouſand Thirty nine Pounds, and the total Coinage in this Reign both of Gold and Silver amounted to Ten Millions Five hundred and Eleven thouſand Nine hundred and Sixty-three Pounds, and the Whole of the Debt was by the Means before-mentioned reduced to Ten Millions Sixty-ſix thouſand Seven hundred and Seventy-ſeven Pounds.

[e] The ſame Proviſion was made for the Queen upon her Acceſſion as had been granted to King William, viz. Seven hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum, out of which the Queen gave One hundred thouſand Pounds a Year towards the Expences of the War. She was likewiſe impowered to ſettle One hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum, and the Palaces of Kenſington and Southampton upon

KING George the First, in virtue of the Act of Settlement, came to the Succession on the Demise of the Queen. But he had not been long seated on the Throne before a formidable Rebellion broke out, which however though speedily suppressed, occasioned the making some severe Laws for preserving the public Tranquillity. Soon after a Misunderstanding arose with Sweden, and the unsettled State of Things in Europe gave Occasion to the quadruple Alliance, which brought on a War with Spain, and the Destruction of the naval Force of that Kingdom. Some Differences we likewise had with Russia, and their Imperial and Catholic Majesties having concluded a Treaty at Vienna, his Majesty thought proper to counterbalance this, by what was stiled The Treaty of Hanover. These Disputes made it requisite to send Fleets into the Baltic, to the Mediterranean, and to the Coasts of Spanish America, which, though expensive, seem to have answered the Ends intended by them, by preventing the Mischiefs with which we were threatened, so that we had no War of any Continuance during this Reign [f].

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upon Prince George of Denmark, in case he survived her. The Money requisite for carrying on the War was raised upon easier Terms than in the preceding Reign, as public Credit was now better established. As in order to effect this the great Companies were equally ready and useful, they were treated with great Indulgence. The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies were thoroughly established in the Beginning of her Reign, and their Capital afterwards augmented to Three Millions Two hundred thousand Pounds, the Interest of this Sum being reduced from Six to Five per Cent. The Bank having discharged the great Sum engrafted in the former Reign. and being very serviceable in circulating Exchequer Bills, were allowed to increase their Capital to upwards of Six Millions and a Half, and their Term prolonged to the Year 1746. After the Conclusion of the War the South Sea Company was erected, with a Capital of between Nine and Ten Millions, composed of a Subscription of public Debts, on the same Plan with the Engraftment on the Bank Stock in the Reign of King William. At the Union the Produce of the Customs in England was stated at One Million Three hundred Forty-one thousand Five hundred and Fifty-nine Pounds, and the Excise at Nine hundred Forty-seven thousand Six hundred and Two Pounds per Annum. In the Course of the War the French Marine, which had been once so formidable, was in a great Measure ruined, whereas ours was greatly increased, most of our Manufactures were exceedingly improved, many new Ones erected, and our Commerce in general and with the Colonies in particular much extended. The Supplies granted amounted to Sixty-nine Millions Eight hundred Fifteen thousand Four hundred and Fifty-seven Pounds Eleven Shillings and Three Pence Half-penny. The Expences of the War were stated by the Commissioners for taking the public Accounts at Sixty-five Millions Eight hundred Fifty-three thousand Seven hundred Ninety-nine Pounds Eight Shillings and Seven Pence Half Penny. The Coinage in this Reign amounted to Two Millions Six hundred Ninety-one thousand Six hundred and Twenty-six Pounds.

[f] At the Accession of King George the First the Parliament gave his Majesty a Revenue of Seven hundred thousand Pounds per Annum in clear Money to defray the Expences of his Civil List, and assigned for this the Funds that had been given to his Royal Predecessors. But it being found that these Funds were incumbered with several Charges and Pensions to the Amount in the Whole of Two hundred and Seventy-six thousand Eight hundred Pounds per Annum, it was thought requisite to assign the annual Sum of One hundred and Twenty thousand Pounds from another Fund to make up the Seven hundred thousand Pounds in clear Money. As ample as this

Provision

The bringing the Funds into proper Order for the effectual Support of public Credit was often recommended from the Throne as a Point of the higheſt Importance, and was for ſome Years proſecuted with ſo much Prudence, as to produce a Reduction in the Intereſt paid to the public Creditors [g]. This Succeſs however made Way for that Calamitous Project called the South Sea Scheme, which under a Variety of fallacious Pretences ruined the Fortunes of Multitudes, and brought no ſmall Diſgrace upon the State. The moſt effectual Remedies were as ſpeedily applied as poſſible, and by Degrees the Evils this Project had introduced were ſo thoroughly removed, that public Credit revived, and the national Intereſt was at length reduced from Five to Four per Cent. which was highly beneficial to Society [h]. There were likewiſe ſeveral good Laws made for preventing Delays

Proviſion might ſeem, it was found neceſſary in the Courſe of this Reign to grant about One Million for paying the Debts of the Civil Liſt. The Whole of the Supplies raiſed during the Life of this Monarch for the public Service amounted to Thirty-five Millions Four hundred Forty-eight thouſand One hundred and Thirty-five Pounds. At the Time of the King's Demiſe the public Debt was about Fifty Millions. The Coinage during his Reign amounted to Eight Millions Seven hundred Twenty-five thouſand Nine hundred and Twenty-one Pounds. It may not be amiſs to remark that in the Year 1718 there was a Coinage of Nineteen thouſand Five hundred and Eighty Pounds in Quarter Guineas.

[g] The State of the public Funds was at this Time, as indeed it is at all Times, a Matter of the utmoſt Conſequence. We have before obſerved, that in the Reduction of legal Intereſt at the Cloſe of the Queen's Reign from Six to Five per Cent. there was an Exception in favour of the Stipulations made with the public Creditors. But the Situation of Things being much altered, it was thought both reaſonable and practicable to relieve the Public in this Reſpect, as well as in another, which was then conſidered as a great Inconvenience on account of the Number of private Perſons holding Annuities at high Intereſt, with whom it was difficult to treat ſeparately. But the engrafting Act in the Reign of King William, and the Mode of eſtabliſhing the South Sea Company in the Queen's Time affording Precedents, there paſſed in the Third Year of this King, Three Acts known by the Names of the General Fund Act, the Bank and the South Sea Acts. By the Firſt of theſe ſuch as held Annuities were allowed to ſubſcribe them into the Bank Stock, and to receive Five per Cent. for the future. By the other Two Acts the Bank (excepting their original Fund) and the South Sea Company agreed to reduce reſpectively the Intereſt they received from the Public, from Six to Five per Cent. and to advance, the former Two Millions and a Half, the latter Two Millions, to pay ſuch of the private Creditors as choſe rather to accept their Money, than to continue it at the reduced Intereſt. This had ſo good an Effect, that upwards of Nine Millions and a Half were ſubſcribed into the Bank, and thoſe who choſe to receive their Money were paid with leſs than Five hundred Pounds.

[h] The great Succeſs attending the Subſcription to the Bank before-mentioned, and another Operation of the ſame Kind by the South Sea Company, excited a ſtrong Deſire of putting all the Reſt of the public Debts, if poſſible, into ſuch a State as might render it practicable to pay them in ſome reaſonable Time. Theſe Debts were of Two Kinds, Irredeemables and Redeemables. The former were alſo of Two different Sorts, ſome for very long Terms, others for a ſhorter Number of Years, which taken together, coſt the Public very near Eight hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum. The latter were alſo of Two Sorts, that is, Annuities bearing Five per Cent. and others Four per Cent. amounting together to upwards of Sixteen Millions and a Half. A Propoſal was made by the South Sea Company, to take in the Whole by the Conſent of the Proprietors, and for the Liberty of doing this they offered a large Sum to the Public. Upon this the Bank offered Five Millions for the Bargain. But the South Sea Company outbid them,

Delays in the Courts of Juſtice, for aboliſhing pretended priveleged Places, a Grievance which had long prevailed, and was now effectually removed, and for giving Eaſe to Sheriffs in the paſſing their Accounts, all of which were of great public Utility. Care was likewiſe taken of the general Tranquillity by effectually ſuppreſſing Pirates Abroad, by ſeveral Laws againſt Deer Stealers, and Perſons committing Acts of Violence in Diſguiſe, as alſo for ſuppreſſing Smuggling, which had roſe to an enormous Height.

The Woollen, Linnen, and Silk Manufactures were promoted, regulated, and encouraged by ſeveral Statutes; and the wearing printed Calicoes to the Prejudice of our own Manufactures prevented. There was much Attention paid to the Fiſheries of North Britain, and a particular Treaty made with the City of Hamburgh in reſpect to their pickled Herrings. The like Notice was extended to the Government and Trade of Ireland, and many Favours granted to the Colonies in order to preſerve a uſeful Supply of Timber for Ship Building, encouraging the Making of Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, and other naval Stores. But what may be juſtly ſtiled the peculiar Honour of this Reign, was the exempting moſt of our native Commodities from Duties on Exportation, an heavy and moſt impolitic Burden, and at the ſame Time the Duties were aboliſhed on a great Variety of foreign Drugs imported for the Uſe of Dyers, which gave no ſmall Aſſiſ-

and obtained an Act in the Sixth of the King, upon ſuch Terms as would have coſt them Seven Millions, and likewiſe agreed that at Midſummer 1727 the Intereſt of their whole Capital ſhould be reduced from Five to Four per Cent. This was moſt certainly highly advantageous to the Public, and the Terms they propoſed to the Proprietors of theſe Debts were ſo ſpecious, that upwards of Twenty-ſix Millions were actually ſubſcribed, and the Capital of the Company thereby raiſed to upwards of Thirty-ſeven Millions. On the Concluſion, and even before the Concluſion of this Bargain, South Sea Stock roſe to Three hundred per Cent. This Madneſs was cheriſhed by taking in a Money Subſcription at Three hundred, a Second at Four hundred, a Third and Fourth at One Thouſand per Cent. each, to which Price Stock had gradually riſen. The Company alſo made Loans upon their Stock and declared very high Dividends, and theſe for a Term of Years. The Fallacy with reſpect to the public Creditors lay in paying them for their Property in Stock at a very high Price, ſo that when the Infatuation was over they found themſelves by the Fall of that Stock in a deplorable Condition. The Parliament took ſeveral Methods for their Relief, in conſequence of which the Proprietors of the Redeemable Debts had ſomewhat more than Fifty-five per Cent. The Proprietors of the Irredeemables had better Terms, and the old Proprietors of South Sea Stock had upwards of Fifty-five per Cent. added to their reſpective Capitals. The Public loſt the Seven Millions that had been promiſed, but upon the Whole were no Loſers by this Project, ſince thereby upwards of Twelve Millions of the Irredeemables were converted into South Sea Stock, and the Intereſt at the Term before mentioned was to be reduced to Four per Cent. It would have required a Volume to diſcuſs this Matter thoroughly, but it is hoped that what is here ſaid will be ſufficient to explain the Text.

tance to our Manufactures, which Indulgences were recommended from the Throne [i].

At the Acceſſion of King George the Second, the political Hemiſphere of Europe was overcaſt with very thick Clouds, for diſperſing which we entered into a long Train of Negotiations. Preliminaries in a little Time were ſigned with his Catholic Majeſty. A Congreſs for diſcuſſing all Diſputes was afterwards held at Soiſſons. To this ſucceeded the Treaty of Seville, and in order to execute the Engagements contracted thereby we were obliged to conclude another Treaty at Vienna, by which we guarantied the Succeſſion of the Dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria agreeable to the Pragmatic Sanction. The Spaniards, notwithſtanding all the Complaiſance that had been ſhewn them, continued to take our Ships in America under Colour of their being employed in an illicit Trade, and for compromiſing the Diſputes on this Head we concluded, after many tedious Altercations, a pacific Inſtrument ſtiled a Convention. Theſe different Tranſactions involved us in a very conſiderable Expence, by obliging us to keep foreign Troops in our Pay, granting Subſidies to ſeveral Princes, and employing large Sums to facilitate our Views with reſpect to different Courts.

By theſe Means however it muſt be acknowledged, that we avoided an actual War, and thereby gained Time to make Abundance of neceſſary Regulations for the viſible Benefit of the Nation, by ſome convenient Proviſions in reſpect to the Funds, by taking Meaſures to ſecure their Stability, and by Diſcharging ſeveral Millions of the public Debt. Many prudent Laws were alſo enacted for the Support, Encouragement, and Extenſion of our Manufactures, as alſo in regard to the Fiſheries. Great Attention was paid to the interior Police of the Kingdom, the Emendation of the Laws in ſeveral Reſpects, and particularly by putting all the

[i] The Statute referred to in the Text is the 8th Geo. I. cap. 15, by which it was enacted, That from and after Lady-day 1722, the Subſidies and other Duties payable on the Exportation of any Goods or Merchandize of the Product or Manufacture of Great Britain ſhould ceaſe and determine, except thoſe payable on the Exportation of Allum, Lead, Lead Ore, Tin, Leather tanned, Copperas, Coals, Wool Cards, white Woollen Cloths, Lapis Calaminaris, Skins of all Sorts, Glue, Coney Hair or Wool, Hares Wool, Hair of all Sorts, Horſes, and Litharge of Lead. Then as to Importation, the ſeveral Sorts of Drugs and foreign Goods uſed in Dyeing were in this Act particularly enumerated and made free from all Duties, but if again exported, to pay upon Exportation Sixpence in the Pound ad Valorem, according to the Rates fixed by this Act. The Duties upon Importation alſo of ſeveral Sorts of Goods were reduced, upon Beaver Skins from Sixteen Pence to Sixpence per Skin, upon Pepper from One Shilling and Eleven Pence Halfpenny per Pound to Four Pence per Pound, upon Mace from Ten Shillings to Three Shillings, on Cloves from Five Shillings to Two Shillings, and on Nutmegs from Four Shillings to One Shilling and Six Pence per Pound.

Proceedings in our Courts of Juſtice into Engliſh. The like Care was extended in moſt of theſe Particulars to North Britain and Ireland, and Induſtry cheriſhed in every Part of the Britiſh Dominions. The Welfare of the Colonies was likewiſe conſidered, ſeveral Bounties continued, ſome new Ones granted, more eſpecially in regard to naval Stores, and at the ſame Time that Meaſures were taken to render them uſeful to themſelves and to their Mother Country, the Legiſlature provided likewiſe by proper Reſtrictions againſt ſuch Practices amongſt them as might be prejudicial to her Intereſts [k]. But notwithſtanding all the Pains taken, and the many different Methods tried in ſo many Years to prevent the Interruption of Peace, it was at length found neceſſary, for the Support of the Honour of the Nation and the Freedom of our Commerce, to enter into a War with Spain.

At the Beginning of this War, our Squadron in America took Porto Bello, which ſtruck the Spaniards with great Conſternation. But we were not ſo fortunate in our Attempt upon Carthagena, or in ſome other naval Enterprizes. However ſo long as we were ſingly engaged againſt Spain, and of conſequence carried on all our Operations by Sea, the War was leſs burthenſome to us, and more diſtreſſing to our Enemy. But the Death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth exciting a War in Germany, in which we were obliged to take Part, the Diſpute became more complicated, and of courſe more expenſive and more doubtful in its Event. The Battle of

[k] At the Entrance of this Monarch's Reign the Parliament ſettled his Civil Liſt in ſuch a Manner, as that if the ſeveral Funds, which were the ſame granted to his Royal Father, ſhould not produce Eight hundred thouſand Pounds, the Deficiency was to be made up to his Majeſty. The Total of the Supplies within this Period of Thirteen Years amounted to Forty-three Millions Seven hundred Twenty-eight thouſand Seven hundred Twenty-nine Pounds. The Eaſt India Company, beſides a conſiderable Sum paid for the renewing her Charter, conſented to the Reduction of Intereſt on her Capital from Five to Four per Cent. The Proprietors of South Sea Stock were, at their own Requeſt, permitted to convert Three-fourths of their Capital into Annuities, ſtiled New Annuities, to diſtinguiſh them from the Old, the whole Capital, ſome Years before having been divided into One Moiety Stock, and the other Moiety Annuities. A Law was likewiſe paſſed to prevent Stock-jobbing, and the Miſchiefs attending it. Great Encouragement was given to the Manufacture of Britiſh Sail Cloth, a Thing in many Reſpects of the greateſt Conſequence to the Nation. The moſt effectual Means were employed for promoting the Whale Fiſhery which was become ſo much the more neceſſary, as it had failed when attempted by the South Sea Company. The ſeveral Proprietors of Carolina (except the late Earl of Granville) ſurrendered their Charter for a valuable Conſideration, and the Province was divided into Two Royal Governments with very happy Effects. The new Colony of Georgia was ſettled. The free Exportation of Rice to all Places South of Cape Finiſterre was permitted, which hath been highly beneficial to the Two Colonies laſt-mentioned. An Act alſo paſſed for encouraging the Sugar Colonies. By another Statute effectual Means were provided for the ſpeedy Recovery of Debts due from the Inhabitants of the Plantations to the Merchants of Great Britain, and a Law was likewiſe made to prevent the Exportation of Hats manufactured in any of the Colonies.

Dettingen was very glorious to our Arms, and ſo alſo was the naval Engagement near Toulon, in which the combined Fleets of France and Spain were beaten, and might have been deſtroyed. Our Enemies ſenſible of their Inferiority inſtigated a Rebellion here, which operated in their Favour, as a Diverſion, but was very quickly cruſhed. The War on the Continent was then reſumed with Vigour. The Battles of Fontenoy and Laval ſhewed the Valour of our Troops; and though the French were in ſome Inſtances ſucceſsful againſt our Allies, yet they began to be weary of the War, more eſpecially after we rendered ourſelves Maſters of the Iſle of Cape Breton, and threatened both their Dominions on the Continent of America and their Iſlands in the Weſt Indies with formidable Invaſions, which however was prevented by a Peace that put all Parties nearly in the ſame Condition they were at the Time of the Commencement of Hoſtilities.

YET our Councils were not ſo entirely occupied with Military Affairs as to neglect our domeſtic Concerns. For as at the Beginning of the War proper Meaſures were purſued to procure the Seamen requiſite for our ſeveral Fleets, ſo at the ſame Time very juſt Precautions were taken to render this as little detrimental as poſſible to our commercial Navigation. The great Companies continued to be very uſeful in raiſing the neceſſary Supplies, and in raiſing them on eaſy Terms. Salutary Laws were paſſed for promoting our Manufactures, particularly Sail Cloth, already become very conſiderable from former Bounties. The Linnen Manufactories in North Britain and Ireland were conſidered with Attention and liberally encouraged. A Royal Charter was granted to a Company formed in order to facilitate the Progreſs of the Firſt, and the moſt effectual Means uſed for ſupporting the latter. The Colonies likewiſe continued to be conſidered by Legiſlature, and the Alacrity and Courage they had ſhewn in the Reduction of Cape Breton, met, as it merited, with proper Regard, as well as Applauſe from the Mother Country. The Province of South Carolina having ſtruck into the Culture of Indigo, a Bounty was granted for its Support, which hath been attended with great Effects. The moſt liberal Methods were uſed to increaſe the Number of Inhabitants in the Plantations by inviting foreign Proteſtants to ſettle in them, and to prevent the People there from being impoſed on by plauſible Projects, a Stop was put to Banks when on the Point of being erected[1].

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[1] The War with Spain, which began by the Court of Madrid's refuſing to pay what had been ſtipulated by the Convention, unleſs the South Sea Company complied with a certain Demand made on them by the Court of Spain, was declared here October 19th 1739. In the Three Years which the naval War continued, the Supplies voted amounted to Sixteen Millions, Six hundred Fifty-three thouſand

The Treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, and even the Definitive Treaty with Spain, though they delivered us from many Inconveniencies and all the Hazards of War, left us ſtill under ſuch Embarraſſments and Apprehenſions as created greater Expences than had been uſual in Time of Peace, and hindered in ſome Meaſure thoſe Alleviations of public Burdens, that in ſuch a Seaſon might have been expected. In this pacific Period, comprehending the Space of about Six Years, it muſt be however acknowledged that ſeveral prudent Meaſures were taken for the public Benefit, and that theſe were attended with conſiderable Succeſs. The farther Reduction of Intereſt on the public Funds, a Meaſure which but a few Years before had been in Agitation, and then laid aſide, was reſumed and carried into Execution, which demonſtrated at once the Spirit and the Subſtance of the Nation. The favourable Opportunity was taken of relieving the People of North Britain from the Hardſhips they laboured under from their ancient Tenures, and by the ſame wiſe Proviſions that were thought neceſſary for preventing future Diſturbances in that Part of the Iſland, the moſt effectual Encouragements were given to almoſt every Species of Induſtry, and the great Hopes that were conceived from theſe Expedients were very ſpeedily, as well as very perceptibly accompliſhed. The Attention of the Legiſlature was likewiſe ſhewn afreſh in the Support of thoſe Manufactures which had been raiſed by former Bounties. They ſtill extended their Care and Protection alſo to the Fiſheries, becauſe the Situation they were in evidently required Aſſiſtance. The Colony of Nova Scotia, which had been too much and too long neglected, began to be ſettled at a large Expence, and other Steps were taken to promote thoſe

thouſand Six hundred Seventy-two Pounds. After we were involved in continental Meaſures, which was before France declared War againſt us, the Supplies in the Space of Six Years amounted to Forty-ſeven Millions Three hundred Seventy-nine thouſand Two hundred Eighty-five Pounds. The Supplies in the whole Nine Years came to Sixty-four Millions Thirty-two thouſand Nine hundred Fifty ſeven Pounds. The Peace of Aix-la-chapelle was concluded October 11th 1748, by which the French reſtored to us Fort St. George in the Eaſt Indies, as we did to them the Iſle of Cape Breton. The Diſputes between us and Spain were not very long after adjuſted by what was called the Definitive Treaty, and thereby a Period was put to the Aſſiento with the South Sea Company, and the Sum of One hundred thouſand Pounds given in full Satisfaction for her Claims. The public Debt at the Cloſe of the War was ſwelled to above Seventy-four Millions, which in the Year 1740 was ſomewhat under Forty-ſix Millions. Within this Period, our Taxes were alſo very conſiderably increaſed in the ſeveral Branches of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, and Inland Duties, which could not fail of checking in ſome degree both domeſtic Induſtry and foreign Commerce. It hath been before remarked, that the original Capital of the Bank being One million Six hundred thouſand Pounds ſtill continued at Six per Cent. but upon a Prolongation of her Charter the Company advanced the like Sum upon the ſame Annuity, which reduced the Intereſt on both to Three per Cent. The Eaſt India Company alſo advanced a Million at the ſame Intereſt. Farther Bounties during this Juncture were granted on the Exportation of Britiſh and Iriſh Linnen, and in regard to the latter, it may not be amiſs to remark, that in the Space of Fifty-two Years the Exportation of that Commodity advanced in its Value from Six thouſand Pounds to Six hundred thouſand Pounds annually, and hath been increaſing ever ſince.

Enterprizes

Enterprizes of the Inhabitants in the Plantations which were calculated for their own and for the Benefit of Great Britain, and theſe had and continue ſtill to have very happy Conſequences in reſpect to both. We may add to all this the Zeal of Individuals for promoting the public Intereſt which appeared in ſeveral Inſtances and afforded indiſputable Teſtimonies of that heroic Genius, which is the diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtic of a free People, and which, though confined to their own Country and their own Concerns, does them more Honour than the moſt extenſive Conqueſts [m].

From Purſuits of this Nature the Attention of the Nation was diverted by the Dangers impending over her Colonies, from apparent Marks of the Jealouſy and Ambition of the French, who ſaw with equal Envy and Regret the continual Advantages we derived from them. The Diſputes that began in that Part of the World ſoon brought on a War, the moſt extenſive and the moſt expenſive in which we were ever engaged, attended with a Variety of intereſting Events in every Part of the Globe.

[m] The Incumbrances left upon us by the War, the Diſcharge of a large Navy Debt, Deficiencies on new-created Funds, Subſidies to foreign Princes, and the Charges incurred by conſtructing Fortifications in America, were the Cauſes of thoſe extraordinary Expences mentioned in the Text, ſo that the Supplies in theſe Six Years amounted to Twenty-one Millions Eight hundred Ninety-five thouſand Six hundred and Eleven Pounds. Beſides the Reduction of Intereſt on the Funds to Three per Cent. which though it did not take Place immediately, was a very extraordinary Thing, conſidering the Charges which the Nation had ſo lately born, ſome other Alterations were made in reſpect to the public Companies. Theſe were with a View to relieve Commerce from the Reſtraints that were ſuppoſed to be prejudicial to it. The Terms of Admiſſion into the Turky Company were made eaſier, as well as the Manner of trading, in Hopes of reſtoring it to its former Vigour. The old African Company was diſſolved at no ſmall Expence to the Public, and a new One ſubſtituted upon a more free and enlarged Eſtabliſhment. The Duties upon China Silk were reduced, farther Bounties were allowed in Favour of Britiſh Sail Cloth, the like was done with reſpect to Britiſh Linnen. In a former Note we have ſhewn the Effects of theſe Bounties in reſpect to Ireland, it may therefore not be improper to mention here the ſurpriſing Progreſs of this Manufacture in North Britain. The Board of Truſtees for the Encouragement of Fiſheries, Manufactures, and Improvements, was conſtituted by Authority of Parliament, A. D. 1727, and the next Year the Linnen made for Sale was 2,183,978 Yards, in Value One hundred Three thouſand Three hundred and Twelve Pounds, and in A. D. 1754 (that is, in the Space of Twenty-ſeven Years) the Quantity of Linnen made was 8,914,369 Yards, and its Value Four hundred Six thouſand Eight hundred and Sixteen Pounds. The Importation of Wool and Woollen Yarn, which hitherto had been permitted only from certain Ports in Ireland to certain Ports in Britain, was now laid entirely open for the Benefit of both Countries. An Act was made for encouraging the Importation of Pig and Bar Iron from America. The Bounties allowed on Whale Fiſhing were extended to thoſe Seas, and Foreigners employed in that Fiſhery for Three Years were naturalized. A voluntary Society for carrying on the Herring Fiſhery was incorporated, and received repeated Encouragements from the Public. The Britiſh Muſeum was erected, and endowed at the national Expence, and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, a moſt laudable Deſign, was begun and proſecuted for the public Benefit, at the Expence of Individuals. It may help us to form ſome Idea of the Extenſion of our Power at Sea, to remark that the Tonnage of the Navy had doubled in the Space of the laſt Forty Years.

At firſt we were unſucceſsful in our Operations from the Enemies being earlier and better prepared. The Check we received in America, the Loſs of the important Iſland of Minorca, the indeciſive Battle in the Mediterranean, rouſed at once the Indignation and Spirit of the People, which produced ſuch an Exertion of our Power as will ſcarce appear credible in ſucceeding Times. Our Troops were employed on the Continent, our Fleets were ſpread even to the remoteſt Seas. The Valour and Activity of our Soldiers and Seamen were every-where conſpicuous, and triumphant in moſt. The French were diſpoſſeſſed of their Forts on the Coaſt of Africa, which put us in Poſſeſſion of the Gum Trade. We became once more Maſters of Cape Breton, and not long after the Capital of Canada was reduced. The Iſle of Guadaloupe ſubmitted to our Arms. We more than once inſulted the Coaſts and ſpread Terror into the very Heart of France. We waſted her Strength, and exhauſted her Wealth in Germany, where Valour and Military Skill proved too hard for the Superiority of Numbers; and we at length deſtroyed her whole naval Force in Sight of her own Ports. Theſe great and glorious Atchievements demanded immenſe Diſburſements, and theſe were cheerfully ſupplied in a great Meaſure from the Profits of our Commerce, which our Maritime Force ſecured. In the Midſt of theſe Military and Naval Expeditions, the Legiſlature was not inattentive to Affairs at Home. The Militia was ſettled, diſciplined, and rendered truly reſpectable. Our Humanity was diſplayed, in generouſly relieving the Portugueſe on the Subverſion of Liſbon by an Earthquake, and in the kind Treatment of a Multitude of Priſoners, which perhaps procured the Bleſſing of Providence on our Arms. Our Prudence appeared in the Meaſures that were taken to prevent the Scarcity with which we were threatened, and which in other Countries was ſeverely felt. At the ſame Time our Manufactures, Fiſheries, and Colonies experienced in many Inſtances the public Care; ſo that while many other Countries were during the Whole of this Period expoſed to innumerable Calamities, this happy Iſland eſcaped them all, and its Inhabitants continued in the full Poſſeſſion of undiſturbed Proſperity [n].

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[n] The Supplies granted within theſe Five Years amounted to Fifty-four Millions Three hundred Nineteen thouſand Three hundred Twenty-five Pounds. All this immenſe Sum was raiſed by a Duty upon Plate, Licences for ſelling Beer, a farther Duty upon Cards and Dice, an Impoſition of Five per Cent. on Offices and Penſions, additional Duties on Houſes and Windows, a new Poundage of Five per Cent. and an additional Malt Tax of Three Pence per Buſhel, with the Aſſiſtance of Loans, Lotteries, and the Application of the Sinking Fund. The Total of the Supplies during this whole Reign amounted to One hundred Eighty-three Millions Nine hundred Seventy-ſix thouſand Six hundred Twenty-four Pounds. Laws were made for encouraging our own Woollen Manufactures, and preventing the pernicious Practice of Britiſh Merchants exporting French Cloths from Leghorn to the Levant. The Britiſh and Iriſh Linens had ſtill farther Encouragements given them in order to ſupport that amazing Progreſs they had already

At the Acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty King George the Third the War was in the moſt critical Situation, and notwithſtanding all our paſt Succeſſes, required ſuch an Exertion of our Force as might bring it both to a happy and a ſpeedy Period, which was the more difficult from the Remoteneſs and the Diverſity of the Scenes of Action. This arduous Undertaking was accompliſhed by the Zeal, Unanimity, and Firmneſs of the Nation. The War in Canada was ended by the complete Conqueſt of that Country, and the entire Submiſſion of its numerous Inhabitants. In the Eaſt Indies the Power of the French, which had been once ſo formidable, was abſolutely extinguiſhed by the Reduction of Pondicherry. Nearer Home the Terror of our Arms, and the Senſe of their own Weakneſs was increaſed by the Capture of Belleiſle, which was as humiliating at the Cloſe, as it would have been fatal at the Beginning of the Diſpute. In the Weſt Indies many of their ſmaller Iſles, and one of their largeſt, Martinico, fell into our Power, whereby an End was put to the troubleſome Depredations of their Privateers. The War in Germany was carried on with Vigour. In the Midſt of theſe complicated Efforts we nobly ſuccoured the Portugueſe, and after all milder Meaſures had been tried in vain, we declared War againſt the Crown of Spain. This new Object was proſecuted with a Spirit that convinced all Europe that Magnanimity was the ſole Motive of our Forbearance. Our Fleet, the greateſt ever ſeen in the American Seas, paſſing through the dangerous Channel of the Bahamas, appeared on the Coaſt of Cuba, where our Forces beſieged, and after a gallant Reſiſtance made themſelves Maſters of the Havannah, the Key of the Spaniſh Commerce, and of all the Ships of War and other Veſſels in the Port. Providence favoured our Endeavours againſt the ſame Power in the Eaſt, where, having made a Deſcent on the Iſland of Luconia, we reduced its Capital the City of Manilla. Theſe deciſive Strokes had the deſired Effect, and compelled our Enemies to yield to a Peace, which gave abſolute Security to our old Colonies, and left us

already made. The Cultivation of Madder, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, received, as it highly deſerved, the Protection of the Legiſlature. Farther Aſſiſtance was afforded to the Whale and White Herring Fiſheries, and the latter was in North Britain relieved from ſome Oppreſſions that had continued for Ages. The Bounties upon Indigo were continued, and Pig and Bar Iron from the Plantations, the Importation of which had hitherto been reſtrained ſolely to the Port of London, was allowed to be brought into any Port. The Encouragements given to the Sugar Colonies were likewiſe continued. If in Addition to theſe viſible aad inconteſtible Marks of the Increaſe of domeſtic Induſtry, and the Extenſion of foreign Commerce, we advert likewiſe to the ſeveral Statutes made within this Period for embelliſhing and improving the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, and other Cities and great Towns throughout the Kingdom, for draining Fens, incloſing Commons and waſte Lands, erecting Bridges, improving old and making new Roads, conſtructing Hoſpitals, Infirmaries, and other Edifices for public Convenience, with many more Inſtances of a like Nature that might be mentioned, we can entertain no Doubt of the Truth of what is aſſerted in the Text.

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in quiet Poſſeſſion of thoſe vaſt Acquiſitions, the Value of which will hereafter appear, and muſt continue gradually to improve. The Conduct and Succeſs of this War inconteſtibly demonſtrate the Excellence of our Conſtitution, the unſhaken Intrepidity of its Subjects, with the amazing national Reſources ariſing from Freedom and Commerce. All theſe afford us a probable Aſſurance, that by a conſtant and ſteady Adherence to theſe Principles, all theſe invaluable Advantages may be preſerved to us, and tranſmitted to our lateſt Poſterity °.

We are now come to the Cloſe of this Period, and it is hoped that the candid Reader will diſcern from the Compariſon between the public Income, and the improved State in all Reſpects of this Country, how exactly they have correſponded with, or rather how much they have contributed to ſupport each other. The Power of raiſing Money on the Subject, and of controuling the public Expence, being both lodged in the Repreſentatives of the People upon whom it was to be levied, and for whoſe Benefit it was to be ſpent, produced a Facility of furniſhing Supplies adequate at all Times to the Neceſſities of the State, without Danger of their being ſquandered or miſapplied; and as this was done without interfering with, or leſſening the Force of the executive Power, the Advantages of a popular and of a monarchical Form of Government have been happily united, without our being in any great Degree expoſed to the Inconveniencies of either. After having from the Evidence of Facts eſtabliſhed theſe very important Points, it would be expedient to put an End to the Chapter, if there were not ſome collateral Matters of Conſequence to the full Illuſtration of the Subject which ſtill remain to be diſ-

° At the Time of the preſent King's Acceſſion, a very conſiderable Change was made in the Settlement of the Civil Liſt by his Majeſty's Conſent, on account of the Alterations that it had been found neceſſary to make in the Courſe of the late Reign for the public Service in reſpect to the ſeveral Funds appropriated thereto; which Alterations are recited in the Act, all of which Funds, to prevent for the future theſe and other Inconveniencies, were given up to the Public, and inſtead thereof an Annuity granted to his Majeſty out of the Aggregate Fund of Eight hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum, being the Sum granted to the late King including therein Seventy-ſeven thouſand Pounds per Annum ſettled on the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, and other Branches of the Royal Family. In the Courſe of the firſt Three Years the Supplies granted by Parliament amounted to Fifty one Millions Four hundred Thirty-ſeven thouſand Three hundred and Fourteen Pounds, and ſome of the Taxes impoſed in order to raiſe theſe vaſt Sums bore heavy upon the People, more eſpecially the additional Exciſe of Three Shillings a Barrel on ſtrong Beer, on which Twelve Millions were borrowed. By this and other Loans the public Debt was ſwelled to an enormous Height, which however was far from depreſſing the Spirit of the Nation, for that was ſuſtained not only by a continued Flow of Succeſs in all Parts of the World, but by a viſible Increaſe alſo of internal Improvements and of foreign Commerce, which afforded juſt Hopes, that upon the Concluſion of an honourable and advantageous Peace, ſuch Meaſures might be purſued as would ſupport Great Britain in the full Poſſeſſion of that Superiority, which through the Bleſſing of Providence on her Councils and Arms, ſhe had ſo glorioufly acquired.

cuſſed, and therefore we will endeavour to ſet theſe alſo in as clear a Light as may be before we conclude.

We have in the Courſe of this Deduction ſeen the Origin, the Mode of Increaſing, and in Proceſs of Time the immenſe Accumulation of our Public Debt. At the Juncture in which it was firſt contracted thoſe who were the ſole, and at the ſame Time propereſt Judges, held it neceſſary for many Reaſons, ſome of which are ſtill ſufficiently obvious, and others which are not now clear to us might be ſo to them. The Weight of it was felt from the Beginning, and ſeveral Circumſtances concurred to render it at that Time more uneaſy to the People than it hath been ſince. The Facility of increaſing it aroſe from the Augmentation of national Wealth, the Opinion entertained of Parliamentary Security and that ſtrict Regard which hath been always paid to public Faith. The War in the Reign of Queen Anne, as it prevented the Removal of the Incumbrances then lying on the Public, ſo the Expences attending it ſwelled the Debt to a Size that rendered the immediate or even the ſpeedy Diſcharge of it impracticable; and therefore all that could be done in the ſucceeding Reign was to take ſuch Meaſures as might render the Load leſs felt, and we may without Injury to Truth affirm, that ſuch Meaſures were taken, and taken with Effect. This will appear leſs extraordinary, if we conſider that the far greater Part of the public Creditors are Natives of this Country, and conſequently the Sums they hold therein, though a Debt on the Public, is at the ſame Time the Property of Individuals, and the monied Men have the ſame natural as well as legal Title to their Intereſt that the Land-owners have to their Rents; and as the Situation of Things have varied, the former have ſubmitted to Reductions, as well as the latter (at all Times) to the Weight of Taxes. We are likewiſe to obſerve that this Species of Property, being in conſtant Circulation, hath in regard to the Community been attended with great and manifeſt Advantages. Gentlemen have by this Means an Opportunity of improving the Savings out of their Income; Tradeſmen veſt their Money occaſionally in the Funds, and in like Manner Merchants, ſo that (though always ready) it never lies idle, when there are no immediate Demands in reſpect to retail Trade, Manufactures, or Commerce. Beſides the Funds have been found equally ſafe and convenient for depoſiting the Money left to Widows, Orphans, and public Truſts, and all theſe together have excited a peculiar Kind of Induſtry unknown to our Anceſtors. Foreigners alſo are no inconſiderable Proprietors, at which, if duly conſidered, we have no Reaſon to repine. In the firſt Place it is the higheſt Mark of Confidence in our national Subſtance and Credit, that Strangers can give. In the next, we have their Money at a low Intereſt, and this paſſing into the Hands of our Subjects, is employed by them in a great Variety of Ways to their own Advantage. We had

had it formerly, at higher Intereſt, for the ſame Purpoſes, on private Credit, and if we have more of it now, ſo much the better. Add to all this, that whatever the Amount of the public Debt may be, the Nation in reſpect to Payment can never be diſtreſſed by it, for though the Intereſt may yet the Principal cannot be demanded. But notwithſtanding all that hath been and much more that might have been ſaid on ſo copious a Subject the public Debt, more eſpecially as it is increaſed of late Years, muſt have been conſidered as an heavy (and as moſt of the Funds for paying the Intereſt of it, though at firſt granted only for certain Terms of Years, are long ſince for the Security of the Creditors rendered perpetual, might have been eſteemed an intolerable Burden, if a Method had not been happily contrived for its Diſcharge. Of this we are next to ſpeak, and are thereby obliged to take Things a little higher, and to recapitulate ſome Particulars, that for other Purpoſes have been already mentioned [p].

The Public Debt, as we have already obſerved, became at the Entrance of the Reign of King George the Firſt, a principal Object of the Attention of the Legiſlature from a laudable Deſire of rendering the public Creditors eaſy, and of reducing their Demands into ſuch a Situation as that they might be managed with more Facility, and transferred with

[p] It would no doubt be very ſatisfactory to ſhew by what Means and in what Manner the ſignal Events mentioned in the Text have been and are continually brought about; which however would require much more Room than we can ſpare. We will notwithſtanding endeavour, by ſtating a few leading Principles, to put it in the Power of any intelligent and inquiſitive Reader, who will reflect on and purſue them, fully to ſatisfy himſelf upon this Head. The Sums raiſed, whether by Levies or by Loans, are immediately expended for the public Service, or in other Words, what was drawn from the Nation iſſued again to Individuals. By this Means a conſtant, regular, and increaſing Circulation is kept up, and Multitudes of all Ranks uſefully employed in their different Occupations, which creates a continual Demand for Proviſions, raw Materials and Manufactures. This Circulation neceſſarily lightens the Weight of Taxes, for the Money being no ſooner collected by them, than again ſpread abroad for the Purpoſes beforementioned, enables thoſe who receive it to contribute afreſh without any conſiderable Inconvevience. As this Expence promotes and ſupports Induſtry of every Kind, ſo conſtant and certain Intereſt draws out Specie from every Hoard, where it lay as uſeleſs as in the Mine, and of courſe quickens Circulation, and by its viſible good Effects invites Foreigners to participate in theſe Advantages. That all this is not plauſible Conjecture, but founded on the Baſis of Truth, is evident from thoſe Difficulties found originally in funding ſpeedily decreaſing, and ſtill more fully appears from the Increaſe and Improvement of our Manufactures, the Enlargement of our Commerce, the Augmentation of our Marine, and above all the Riſe of landed Property, and the repeated Falls of Intereſt. Theſe are Facts too viſible to be denied, and cannot be referred to any other Cauſes than thoſe that we have aſſigned. But we muſt not conclude from what hath been ſaid, that our public Debts are not productive of ſome Inconveniencies, for we have ſhewn as well as allowed the contrary, yet their being liable to Ruſt, was never urged againſt the Uſe of Metals. Much leſs can it be inferred, that our national Credit is without Limit. It is our great and ſingular Happineſs that we have not hitherto been convinced of it by Experience, and it will be a ſtrong Proof of our Wiſdom to ſecure thoſe good Effects that flow from it, and at the ſame Time maintain and accelerate this ſalutary Circulation by a regular and judicious Reduction, which is certainly in our Power.

greater Eaſe. It was with this View that an Act paſſed in the Firſt Year of that Reign, by which, for the Purpoſes therein aſſigned, a Number of Duties which had been formerly granted, were now combined and afreſh appropriated under the Title of the AGGREGATE FUND [q]. About Two Years after this, and when the Efficacy of that Arrangement was clearly diſcerned, it was judged expedient to purſue this Method ſtill farther. To this End ſeveral Laws were paſſed, of which, ſo far as they regarded the Reduction of Intereſt, we have already taken Notice, but beſides that, they had other important Points for their Objects. The South Sea Company having conſented to a new Regulation of their Concerns on ſuch Terms as are clearly ſtated in the Act which regards that Company, had alſo a Number of Duties appropriated, or rather re-appropriated for the Payment of the Intereſt, as it became due to their Proprietors, which from thence aſſumed the Title of the SOUTH SEA FUND [r]. A ſimilar Diſpoſition being made in Reference to thoſe Branches of the public Debt, which for the Convenience of the Public were to be put thenceforward under the Management of the Bank, many of the Duties formerly granted, were in like Manner appropriated to that Company, and theſe Duties from the Time of this Appropriation were diſtinguiſhed by the Name of the GENERAL FUND [s]. By theſe wiſe and well concerted Meaſures

[q] This Fund took its Riſe and Name from Stat. 1 Geo. I. cap. 12, which enacts, That a great Number of Duties, Cuſtoms, Exciſe, and inland Impoſitions therein very accurately ſtated, which had been granted to his Majeſty's Predeceſſors, ſhould be accumulated, and ſuch of them as were not before granted for ever, are unleſs redeemed by Parliament, rendered perpetual, and all Sums coming into the Exchequer, and being unappropriated, after Michaelmas, A. D. 1715, are directed to be carried to this Fund. The Services to be anſwered by it are next aſſigned, and it is provided, that after their Diſcharge, if any Surplus ſhall remain, it is to be at the Diſpoſition of Parliament, and in caſe of any Deficiency it was to be made good out of the next annual Supplies. The Tenor of this Act plainly ſhews that theſe Duties and Impoſitions, and conſequently the Materials out of which they aroſe, had, notwithſtanding the Two long and expenſive Wars in the Reign of King William and Queen Anne been continually increaſing.

[r] This was eſtabliſhed by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. 9, which, though intituled An Act for redeeming the Capital of the South Sea Company, continues and eſtabliſhes to them the Duties originally granted them by the 9th of Anne, cap. 21, and for the Security of their Intereſt granted for ever. The Scope of this Act was to reduce with the Conſent of the Proprietors of this Company their Annuity of Six hundred thouſand Pounds to Five hundred thouſand Pounds upon their Increaſed Capital of Ten Millions. It was alſo provided, that if there was any Deficiency it ſhould be made good by Parliament, and that with regard to any Surplus that might ariſe, it ſhould be at the Diſpoſition of Parliament. It is evident that by this Act, excluſive of other Advantages which have been before-mentioned, the Public gained, or at leaſt ſaved One hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum.

[s] Theſe Duties were accumulated and appropriated by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. 7, which was intituled, An Act for redeeming the Duties and Revenues which were ſettled to pay off Principal and Intereſt on the Orders of Four Lotteries in the late Reign, &c. The total Amount of the Duties which were to conſtitute this general Fund was computed at Seven hundred Twenty-four thouſand Eight hundred Forty-nine Pounds. The Deſign of this new Arrangement was to procure ſome Eaſe to the Public, by engaging the Poſſeſſors of theſe Lottery Orders to ſubſcribe them

Meaſures the redeemable Debts of the Nation were at leaſt in ſome Degree reduced into Order, and brought into ſuch a Method as was at once ſatisfactory to the Proprietors, and convenient in regard to Government. In purſuance of theſe Alterations, and a clear Conception of the Effects that muſt follow from them, the Legiſlature very prudently enacted, that the Surpluſſes of theſe ſeveral Funds ſhould from time to time as they aroſe conſtitute another, which from the End and Deſign of its Inſtitution hath been ever ſince known by the Appellation of the SINKING FUND, as being ſolely appropriated to the Diſcharge or ſinking of the national Debts contracted before Chriſtmas, A. D. 1716[t]. The great Sagacity of this Diſpoſition appeared in many Reſpects very conſpicuous, but in none more than in the viſible Diſproportion between the public Debt and the inconſiderable Fund aſſigned for reducing it. This ſhewed that

them into the Bank, and to receive Annuities at the Rate of Five per Cent. or if they declined this to be paid off. They choſe the former, and accordingly upwards of Nine Millions and a Half were ſo ſubſcribed. For the Security of this general Fund it was provided, that if at any Time the Duties fell ſhort of the Sum before-mentioned, the Deficiency ſhould be made good out of the next Aids granted by Parliament.

[t] There is ſtill another Law, of which it is neceſſary that Notice ſhould be taken, and this is 3 Geo. I. cap. 8, intituled, An Act for redeeming ſeveral Funds of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and for ſecuring to them ſeveral New Funds and Allowances, &c. by which many Things were ſtipulated that the Bank were to do and perform in Conſideration of the new Security they obtained, and by which the Public, as in the Caſe of the South Sea Company, ſaved upwards of One hundred and Thirty thouſand Pounds per Annum, and the Surplus of theſe Funds thus appropriated, was reſerved to the Diſpoſition of Parliament. But as all theſe Acts were Part of One great Syſtem, by a Clauſe in the general Fund Act all theſe Surpluſſes, viz. of the Aggregate, South Sea, and General Funds were directed to be ſet apart and applied to the national Debt, and are from thence, as we obſerved in the Text, ſtiled The Sinking Fund. This, though at firſt inconſiderable, yet being gradually increaſed by Abatements in Intereſt, and the augmenting of the ſeveral Duties appropriated to the Three Funds ſo frequently mentioned, conſtantly growing, as at its Inſtitution had been foreſeen, and is in this Reſpect, as might be eaſily ſhewn, the trueſt and beſt Criterion of the State of the Nation. In order to explain this we ſhall obſerve, that at Michaelmas 1719 theſe Surpluſſes ſtood thus: On the Aggregate Fund Two hundred Eighty ſix thouſand Four hundred Ninety-five Pounds Seven Shillings and a Penny; on the South Sea Fund Ten thouſand Six hundred Sixty eight Pounds Sixteen Shillings and Eleven Pence Farthing; on the General Fund One hundred Twenty-ſeven thouſand Seven hundred Forty-two Pounds Six Shillings and Nine Pence Three Farthings; making in the Whole Four hundred Twenty-four thouſand Nine hundred and Six Pounds Ten Shillings and Ten Pence. Twenty Years after this, viz. at Michaelmas 1739, the Account ſtood thus: On the Aggregate Fund Seven hundred and One thouſand Four hundred Ninety-two Pounds Eleven Shillings and Four Pence Halfpenny; on the General Fund Three hundred Eighty-five thouſand Seven hundred and Forty Pounds Eighteen Shillings and Four Pence; on the South Sea Fund One hundred and Eight thouſand Sixty-one Pounds Six Shillings and Three Pence Half-penny, amounting in the Whole to One million One hundred Ninety-five thouſand Two hundred Ninety-four Pounds Sixteen Shillings. At the Cloſe of this Period, A. D. 1763, the Sinking Fund with the Additions carried thereto in virtue of ſubſequent Acts, had produced from its Commencement Sixty-nine Millions Seven hundred Seventy-two thouſand Three hundred and Sixteen Pounds Five Shillings and Seven Pence Halfpenny.

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thoſe who formed this Proviſion thoroughly underſtood the Nature and the Conſequences of all the preceding Regulations, had at the ſame Time a perfect Knowledge of the Circumſtances of the Nation in all Reſpects, and a true Foreſight of the gradual Increaſe and Operation of this ſeemingly ſmall Engine deſtined to remove ſo ponderous a Weight. Experience hath fully juſtified the Efficacy of this Proviſion, if it had been invariably applied, and all poſſible Precautions were taken at its Eſtabliſhment to ſecure the Permanency of its Effects, as well as to aſcertain the End and Mode of its Application [u].

As in regard to natural Knowledge, the ſureſt Principles are thoſe deduced from Experiments; ſo in reference to political Reſearches, the cleareſt Lights are ſuch as we derive from Facts. There are not many Countries that have undergone more Revolutions than this, and however remote in Point of Time we ſtill retain more or leſs of their Effects, which Circumſtance rendered it neceſſary to give diſtinct hiſtorical Details of them all, that from thence it might the better appear how our preſent Conſtitution had been formed and gradually improved, by the purging out of old Errors, and adopting new Meaſures as the Change of Affairs required, and carefully remarking the Conſequences they produced, as eſteeming theſe the beſt Indications of their Nature, according to that unerring Rule, that as Trees are known by their Fruit, ſo the Excellence of a Government is to be diſcerned and determined from the Condition of the Subjects who live under it.

It hath been laid down as a juſt Poſition, that the moſt perfect Syſtem of Rule is that which makes the moſt People happy. This can be only

[u] The enacting Clauſe referred to in the Text runs in theſe Words, "That all the Monies "to ariſe from time to time, as well of or for the ſaid Exceſs or Surplus, by virtue of the ſaid "Act made for redeeming the Funds of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, "viz. the Aggregate Fund, and of or for the ſaid Exceſs or Surplus by virtue of the ſaid Act for "redeeming the Funds of the ſaid Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the South "Seas, &c and of or for the ſaid Exceſs or Surplus of the ſaid Duties and Revenues by this Act "appropriated as aforeſaid, viz. the General Fund, and the ſaid overplus Monies of the ſaid General "Yearly Fund by this Act eſtabliſhed or intended to be eſtabliſhed as aforeſaid, ſhall be appro-"priated, reſerved, and employed to and for the Diſcharging the Principal and Intereſt of ſuch "national Debts and Incumbrances as were incurred before the Twenty-fifth of December 1716, "and are declared to be national Debts, and are provided for by Act of Parliament in ſuch "Manner and Form as ſhall be directed and appointed by any future Act or Acts of Parlia-"ment to be diſcharged therewith or out of the ſame, and to and for none other Uſe, Intent, or "Purpoſe whatſoever." If the Reader is deſirous of entering more minutely into this moſt important Subject, he may conſult a Treatiſe intituled, "An Annual Abſtract of the Sinking Fund "from Michaelmas 1718, when it was firſt ſtated to Parliament, to the 10th of October 1763. "By a Member of Parliament many Years in the Treaſury, London 1764, 4to.

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done by leaving to Individuals as much of their natural Freedom as is conſiſtent with the Welfare of Society, and the Submiſſion due to the Laws made for its Support, and without which no Society can ſubſiſt. This rational Liberty excites the full Exertion of the human Faculties, and enables Men to diſplay their ſeveral Capacities to the utmoſt, in order to procure for themſelves and their Families the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life. This active Spirit of Induſtry, being encouraged, ſupported, and protected by the Powers intruſted with Government for that Purpoſe, is ever attended with the moſt favourable Effects, as contributing to whatever hath a Tendency to public Welfare. This it is that conſtitutes the Difference between One Nation and another; and in like Manner the different State and Condition of the ſame Nation under different Circumſtances.

INDUSTRY, as we have always aſſerted, is the ſole Source of national Riches; and as Liberty is the Support of Induſtry, ſo where this prevails, a Spirit of Independency, that is, of ſubſiſting from their own Acquiſitions, pervades the whole Body of the People. Every Citizen according to his Abilities and Situation employs his Skill and Labour to uſeful Ends, and the Produce of theſe, in whatever Kind, are Riches. The Proofs of this are never equivocal or incertain. In a Country filled with ſuch Inhabitants the Lands are cultivated, Manufactures flouriſh, Situations are improved, Rivers navigated, Ports opened, Commerce extended. The whole Community is in continual Motion, the Succeſs of one exciting the Emulation of another. Old Arts are improved, new Ones invented, Colonies are ſent out into the remoteſt Parts of the World, and theſe diſtant Citizens carrying with them the ſame Diſpoſitions, not only provide plentifully for their own Subſiſtence, but by adminiſtering freſh Motives to Induſtry employ, and conſequently enrich thoſe they left at Home. Such are the Effects of Freedom, Diligence, and Oeconomy, which cannot either be counterfeited or concealed. Whereever therefore theſe appear, and appear with Splendour, they are indiſputable Characteriſtics of the Genius of the Nation, and the Temper of the Government, and are ſure to continue and to increaſe ſo long as theſe remain unchanged.

THE POLITICAL SURVEY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Of Colonies in general and their Utility.

THE wiſeſt Nations in ancient Times ſet us the Example of eſtabliſhing Colonies for promoting Commerce. The barbarous People who ſubverted the Roman Empire relied ſolely on Force for the Preſervation of their Conqueſts. In more civilized Ages Factories were ſettled, and gradually attained ſuch Immunities as rendered them a Kind of Colonies in Effect. The Spirit of Diſcovery introduced into this Country by Henry the Seventh and proſecuted by all his Deſcendants. The Plantations by a Concurrence of different Events

Events became conſiderable in a ſhort Space of Time. The Propriety and Utility of ſuch Settlements hath been controverted upon different and even contrary Principles. In our own Times the Advantages accruing from our Plantations are too evident and numerous to admit of Diſpute. Some Inſtances of their extraordinary Utility to the Mother Country more particularly pointed out. The Reaſons for entering into a ſuccinct Detail of them in this Work, and of the Method in which it is propoſed to treat them.

THERE are certain Principles ſo clear and ſo ſelf-evident as to ſtrike the Underſtandings of Men in general upon their making any Matter of Importance the Object of their particular Attention. To this we may attribute the Idea of fixing Settlements in diſtant Countries for the Sake of Commerce. We may even look upon this as a Matter of Certainty, when we conſider that the wiſeſt and moſt intelligent Nations in early Times who acted ſyſtematically upon Maxims of ſound Policy, and not from Caprice, univerſally adopted this Meaſure. This we find to have been the Caſe with regard to the Egyptians, the Chineſe, the Phœnicians, the commercial States of Greece, the Romans and the Carthaginians. It is true that their Colonies differed in certain Circumſtances, but the leading Principle, that of maintaining a Correſpondence between the Mother Country and the Colony, was the ſame [a].

THE Warlike Nations, who by Numbers, Hardineſs, and Valour overrun and ruined the Roman Empire, aimed only at Conqueſts, and after overcoming the Inhabitants of the Countries in which they ſeated themſelves, either extirpated them or held them in Vaſſalage. This unfeeling and unpoliſhed military Diſpoſition laſted long, was the conſtant Source of Bloodſhed

[a] What is ſaid in the Text muſt be underſtood of the ancient Egyptians. For how much ſoever the Accounts we have of Oſiris, Seſoſtris, and other Monarchs of theirs may be mingled with Fable, yet they certainly had a Ground of Truth. Under them the Egyptians ſettled Colonies in the Indies, in Arabia, in Colchis. Herodot. Euterpe. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. Strabo xvi. The Chineſe, in the Opinion of the judicious Biſhop Huet and many other learned Men, were themſelves a Colony from the Egyptians. Before the Europeans navigated thoſe Seas the Chineſe viſited all Parts of the Indies, ſettled many Colonies, and particularly in the Iſland of Ceylon. The Two great Republicks of Tyre and Sidon maintained their Power and extended their Commerce by their numerous Settlements. In reference to the Maritime States of Greece, and particularly of Athens, the Reader may find a very curious and inſtructive Account in Clark's Connexion of Roman, Saxon, and Engliſh Coins, chap. ii. p. 53. The Romans, though their Colonies were chiefly Military, made Uſe of them likewiſe for the Purpoſe of Trade, as hath been already ſhewn at large. The Carthaginians were a Colony from the Tyrians, and for a Time divided the Commerce both of the Eaſt and Weſt with their Mother Country. They likewiſe ſettled many Colonies, and are by ſome ſuppoſed to have diſcovered America. Theſe Inſtances are ſufficient to ſhew both the Sentiments and the Practice of the wiſeſt Nations as to this Point.

and Devaſtation, and whenever Princes enlarged their Dominions at the Expence of their Neighbours, they had Recourſe to Garriſons in ſtrong Places, and to flying Camps in the Field in order to preſerve theſe Acquiſitions, as judging rightly enough on their own Principle, that what by Force had been obtained, Force only could retain. For this they have been however blamed by a celebrated political Writer, as in his Judgment they might better have attained their End by eſtabliſhing Colonies [b].

But when in Proceſs of Time this ferocious Temper abated, and Monarchs began to have better Notions of Policy, they returned gradually, though ſlowly, to ſomething of this Sort. Edward the Third when he beſieged Calais made even his Camp a Kind of a Mart, and when he became poſſeſſed of the Place very prudently fixed his own Subjects therein, and made it the great Staple for Engliſh Commodities of all Sorts. The Factories eſtabliſhed in the Low Countries, with extenſive Privileges, and the Settlements made in different Parts of Europe by the Merchants of the Hanſe Towns were of the ſame Kind, and were made with the like View. Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth extended theſe mercantile Eſtabliſhments in favour of their own Subjects into ſeveral foreign Countries. Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third, as we have ſhewn in its proper Place, ſettled Conſuls and Factories in Countries ſtill at a greater Diſtance, and particularly in Italy, and ſecured to their Subjects very extenſive Privileges by Treaties, as we have likewiſe ſhewn [c].

[b] The Author alluded to in the Text is the famous Machiavel del Principe, cap. 3. where he labours to ſhew that the ſettling Colonies would have been a cheaper and a more ſecure Method than that of building Fortreſſes in order to bridle conquered Countries. He hath advanced the ſame Doctrine, and ſupported it by very ſolid Arguments in his Hiſtory of Florence, and in ſome of his other Works. All theſe are very juſtly and properly applied in regard to Republics; but One would think he had little Reaſon to ſuppoſe that Princes, more eſpecially ſuch as he has repreſented them, would ever have Recourſe to ſuch Expedients, becauſe in their very Nature Colonies require Eaſe and Freedom, and are conſequently not very compatible with the Maxims that prevail in deſpotic Governments.

[c] The eſtabliſhing Factories in Foreign Countries was One of the Firſt Effects that followed from the Revival of a Spirit of Commerce, and the Conſequences that attended them were ſo beneficial that when they were once introduced, they quickly increaſed. In conſequence of the Privileges granted them, the Merchants who compoſed them lived according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of their own Country, and were governed by Magiſtrates of their own chuſing, or appointed by their own Sovereigns, wherever they were placed. In Proceſs of Time they became ſtill more like Colonies, for it appears that in virtue of Treaties Engliſh Subjects ſettled in Bergen, and in other Parts of the Daniſh Dominions, were allowed to purchaſe Lands, to erect Warehouſes, to vend their Goods wholeſale or retail, according to their own Choice, and were exempt from all Duties, except ſuch as were conſented to previous to their Eſtabliſhment. See Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 381.

HENRY the Seventh, as might well be expected from a Prince of his Temper and Genius, entered deeper into Things of this Nature, readily received Bartholomew the Brother of Chriſtopher Columbus, and accepted his Propoſitions for Diſcovery before they were agreed to in Spain. He afterwards took John Cabot into his Service, who may be juſtly ſtiled the Author of our Title to all that we poſſeſs on the Continent of America, and to whom by Letters Patent he granted the proper Powers to ſettle Colonies in remote and new found Countries. His Son Henry the Eighth had the ſame Objects in view, and encouraged his Subjects to Enterprizes of this Sort, in conſequence of which they ſailed to the Coaſts of South America, traded to Guinea, and viſited Newfoundland. In ſome of theſe Expeditions Sebaſtian the Son of John Cabot was employed, who was in ſuch Favour with Edward the Sixth that he granted him the Office of chief Pilot of England with a handſome Salary. He ſettled at Briſtol, where he kept up this Spirit among the Merchants, and it was chiefly by his Credit that the Ruſſia company was formed, of which, for his great Services, he was in the ſucceeding Reign declared by Charter Governor for Life; and indeed the Diſcovery of Archangel and the ſettling a regular Correſpondence with that Empire hath been conſidered as the moſt fortunate Event of Queen Mary's Adminiſtration [d].

IN conſequence of theſe Beginnings, and the Increaſe of our Navigation and Commerce, Diſcoveries and foreign Settlements were more vigorouſly puſhed in the Time of Elizabeth, as that heroic Princeſs had many Motives to give them as ſhe did all the Countenance poſſible, and thereby, as we have already mentioned, excited a Multitude of bold, active, and enterprizing

[d] It is equally curious and pleaſing to contemplate the dawning of thoſe Speculations which in their Proceſs and Practice have been ſo uſeful and beneficial to Mankind. Henry the Seventh hath been moſt unjuſtly cenſured for letting ſlip the Offer of Columbus, which was his Misfortune, not his Fault. His Patent to the Cabots is an inconteſtible Proof how ready he was to liſten to any thing of this Nature, and it is not a little ſurprizing to find how quick theſe Arts advanced. Mr. Robert Thorne, a Merchant who had reſided long in Spain, addreſſed to Henry the Eighth Two hundred and Fifty Years ago, a Requeſt that he would attempt opening a Paſſage to China, by navigating directly through the North Pole; which Scheme he ſupported by Arguments equally rational and ſtriking. It was probably by his Advice that Sebaſtian Cabot, who had made a Voyage in the Service of their Catholic Majeſties, returned hither, which ſhews that he had more Dependance upon Encouragement here, neither was he deceived in his Expectations as we have ſhewn above. We may indeed be ſaid to owe as much to the Father and Son as Spain did to Columbus. They gave the Nation a Turn to theſe Kind of Studies, which very quickly grew faſhionable, and Perſons of the Firſt Quality became not only Patrons and Proficients in theſe Sciences, but undertook Voyages in Perſon, or cauſed them to be undertaken at their Expence. This maintained the like Diſpoſition amongſt the Merchants, and excited an Emulation in fitting out Veſſels for Diſcoveries from ſeveral Ports. We may likewiſe add, that the Fame acquired by theſe Enterprizes kept up their Credit till by the Advantages flowing from them it came to ſtand upon firmer Ground.

Perſons to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in ſuch Undertakings. In the Days of her Succeſſor they were proſecuted from Motives of Profit. Companies were formed for promoting them. Noblemen and Gentlemen of large Eſtates obtained Grants of Iſlands and Tracts of Country which they undertook to ſettle at their own Expence. The ſame Steps continued to be taken in the Reign of Charles the Firſt, and whoever attentively conſiders the Situation of Things and the Diſpoſitions of Men in theſe Three Reigns will eaſily diſcern how our Colonies came in ſo ſhort a Space to acquire that Strength and Conſiſtency which rendered them of ſo much Conſequence, and ſo juſtly an Object of national Concern as we find them to have been a little before, and at the Reſtoration, when that Proviſion was made which hath been ſo highly advantageous to them and to their Mother Country by the Act of Navigation [e].

We muſt not however conceive that theſe Settlements, many of them in wild and deſart Countries, and at a vaſt Diſtance from this Iſland, were made with general Conſent and univerſal Approbation. The Nature of Mankind does not admit of Unanimity in Matters of this Sort, and therefore we need not be ſurprized that both in their Origin and Progreſs they have been expoſed from ſeveral Motives, and from ſeveral Quarters to many Objections. At the Beginning they were turned into Ridicule by thoſe who were very incompetent Judges of their Utility. Their ſlow Growth and the Miſcarriages that happened to ſome of them occaſioned their being treated by ſome others as raſh and chimerical Projects, by which the Perſons and Fortunes of Numbers were expoſed to be ſhipwrecked on

[e] John de Witt, who was One of the ableſt and moſt diſintereſted Stateſmen that ever committed his Sentiments to Writing, though he knew perfectly well how much Population contributed to the Welfare of Holland, yet zealouſly recommended Colonies, as affording a Refuge to ſuch as had been unfortunate in Trade, who becoming poor after having been rich were doubly miſerable; as opening a Field in which ſuch Men might exert their Abilities, as through want of Intereſt could not riſe to Power and Places in their own Country; and as a Supplement to Hoſpitals and other charitable Foundations which he thought in Time might come to be overcharged. He alſo highly commended the free Spirit of our Plantations, which as we have hinted in the Text were ſettled by very different Sorts of People. Under Elizabeth Men of Figure and Family, of bold adventurous and enterprizing Tempers, led the Way, and left behind them a Succeſſion of Men leſs conſiderable in Point of Rank, but of the ſame Turn of Mind. Under James a more ſober Race of People, preferring the Freedom of their Conſciences to all other Conſiderations, embraced the Opportunities that were offered them of removing into theſe remote Countries rather than live under Conſtraint in their own. Under Charles political Malcontents took Shelter in the Colonies. Afterwards the diſtreſſed Royaliſts retired in great Numbers to Virginia. The Parliament and Cromwell increaſed their Number, by tranſporting ſuch as were obnoxious to them. Whoever wiſhes to ſee upon what Principles theſe Things were conducted in their Origin may conſult Lord Bacon's Works, vol. i. p. 493. vol. ii. p. 273. where in his Advice to Sir George Villiers upon this Head will be found as much good Senſe and ſolid Reaſoning as perhaps was ever delivered upon this Subject.

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inhoſpitable Coaſts and in unwholſome Climates from the Views of avaritious Men, who made no Scruple of ſacrificing public Welfare to private Gain. When all theſe Pretences were not only fully refuted by ſolid Arguments, but what admitted of no Reply, the Teſt of Experience, new Clamours were raiſed from very different Topics, and it was ſurmiſed that the Growth and flouriſhing State of the Colonies muſt operate to the Detriment of this Iſland, and become the Source of gradual Depopulation, with many other ſiniſter Inſinuations of a like Nature which never did or can make any Impreſſion on the Minds of ſenſible Men, and who from their comprehenſive Knowledge are enabled to be proper Judges of Things of this Nature [f].

But whatever might be the Caſe in reference to this Subject in Times paſt, yet in our Days the Value, Utility, and Importance of the Colonies in reſpect to this Iſland have been by the Evidence of Facts put beyond all Diſpute. The Britiſh Inhabitants in them draw ſome of the Neceſſaries and many of the Conveniencies of Life from hence. The ſupplying them with theſe is a new and very great Source of Induſtry, which by affording Employment to Multitudes, cannot but have an Effect in augmenting the Numbers as well as contributing to the Eaſe and Happineſs of our People at Home. The having a certain, conſtant, regular, and increaſing Market for our Commodities and Manufactures hath had a very viſible Effect on almoſt every Branch of our domeſtic Trade. Beſides, as the Correſpondence between us and our Countrymen in theſe remote Parts is carried on by Sea, this extends our Navigation, and hath added amazingly to the Num-

[f] In regard to thoſe who made a Jeſt of the Advantages propoſed by Plantations, they could not well receive an Anſwer, for as there is nothing ſo important that Men of quick Wit and light Minds may not ridicule, ſo there is ſomething ridiculous in affording them a ſerious Conſideration. Lord Bacon ſays truly, that foreign Plantations may be compared to thoſe of Trees at Home, from whence immediate Profit cannot be hoped, and if it is, the Abſurdity lies not in the Thing, but in the Expectation. Such as went to the Colonies were not forced thither, but went of their own Accord, and if they had not gone thither would not or could not have ſtayed here. Before we had any ſuch Settlements, Multitudes went from this Iſland to the Continent from a Variety of Cauſes, and in the Time of Queen Elizabeth many Thouſands of Browniſts into the Dominions of the States. This is a clear and a true Anſwer to what had been ſaid of our Loſs of People, and without having Recourſe to other Reaſons that will hereafter appear, it muſt be evident to every candid and judicious Reader, that our Colonies are ſo far from being the Cauſes of Depopulation, that they are quite the contrary. By our having Plantations we preſerve our People and their Poſterity. They remain as much our Subjects there as if they had remained at home, and as will be ſhewn hereafter, not only remain Subjects, but become more uſeful Subjects. Upon this Principle was built the Toleration of religious Opinions in our Firſt Settlements, and in conſequence of this moſt of the Browniſts who had retired to Holland and Zealand quitted thoſe Countries and went to take the Benefit of that Toleration into New England. In order to receive farther Satisfaction upon this Head, William Penn's excellent Diſcourſe on Plantations may be conſulted, as alſo Sir Joſiah Child's Remarks in his Diſcourſe on Trade, and a Treatiſe on the ſame Subject by Joſhua Gee.

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ber of our Shipping, which is another Article very advantageous and profitable to the Inhabitants of Britain. At the ſame Time by raiſing and ſubſiſting Numbers of hardy and experienced Seamen, it evidently contributes to the Support of our Naval Power g.

These, though ſignal and ſhining Advantages, as plainly conducing to the increaſing our Riches and Strength, are far, very far from being all the Benefits that have reſulted and continue to reſult from our Settlements. By the Returns they make us for Goods of every Kind that we ſend them we are enabled, after furniſhing our Home Conſumption, to manufacture and export immenſe Quantities of their Produce to other Countries, which is a farther Addition to our Commerce, and ſwells not a little the Profit that ariſes from it. We likewiſe receive from them many Things which we formerly purchaſed from other Nations at their own Prices, and which were frequently brought to us in their own Bottoms, neither in ſome Caſes were theſe the greateſt Inconveniencies. Their inexhauſtible Fiſheries are alſo pregnant with innumerable Benefits. The Number of our Subjects in theſe Parts have been and may be increaſed without Danger, by permitting foreign Proteſtants to ſettle in them, from whoſe Skill and Labour new Improvements may with much Probability be expected to ariſe. What conſiderably advances the Value of theſe, and many more Advantages that might be enumerated is, that they are not only ſolid and permanent, but belong excluſively to Great Britain, and of which, while we retain our Freedom and Naval Power, we never can be deprived h.

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g It muſt give no ſmall Pleaſure to a curious and judicious Enquirer to reflect upon and inveſtigate thoſe Points in order to ſatisfy his own Mind, as to the Manner with which they are brought about. It is from hence that our Planters in general, their Servants and Slaves, are ſupplied with Apparel of all Kinds, with moſt Sorts of Furniture, with a vaſt Variety of Tools and Inſtruments for their ſeveral Occupations; which of courſe gives Buſineſs and Bread to our Artificers and Manufacturers. The directing and collecting of theſe employs Merchants, Factors, and their Servants All the Trades that are connected with building, rigging, and ſupplying Materials of every Kind for Ships and fitting out Seamen are indebted to the ſame Cauſes for their Subſiſtence. The Freight alſo both out and home is a Matter of great Conſequence, amounts often to as much and ſometimes more than the Value of the Goods. The Proviſions and other Neceſſaries conſumed by the Seamen in theſe long Voyages, with many more Articles which would be tedious to enumerate, concur to promote and to reward almoſt every Species of Induſtry exerciſed amongſt us. All this ariſes chiefly from the Difference of Soil and Climate, and from the Remoteneſs of our Plantations; and that theſe are not fallacious Suggeſtions or plauſible Conjectures, the Riſe of our Cuſtoms, the Improvement of our Lands, the Numbers of our Ships, and the gradual Increaſe of our Fleets, are Teſtimonies that leave us not a Shadow of Doubt, but on the contrary demonſtrate clearly that this Repreſentation is in all Reſpects founded in Truth.

h Amongſt many other Articles that are the Product of our Colonies, and ſent from hence into other Parts of the World are Tobacco, Sugars, Rice, Cotton, &c. to a very great Value; which being the Returns of our own Goods and Manufactures are clear Gain to this Nation, and

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As from this very ſlight and ſlender Sketch of the Emoluments flowing from our Plantations, it is inconteſtibly evident, that they have contributed greatly to increaſe our Induſtry, and of courſe our Riches, to extend the Commerce, to augment the Naval Power, and conſequently to maintain the Grandeur and ſupport the Proſperity of the Mother Country; the Propriety clearly appears of inſerting a ſuccinct Detail of them in a Political Survey of Britain, which would be indeed otherwiſe very incomplete. This then being the ſole Point of View in which they are here to be conſidered, it is by no means neceſſary to enter any farther into their Deſcription than is requiſite to this Purpoſe, and to afford a Series of inconteſtible Proofs of the Truth of what hath been aſſerted in relation to them in this Chapter. We may be the rather diſpenſed with on this Head, as there are already ſeveral general and very many particular Hiſtories of the Colonies in the Hands of the Public, where all the Information that can be farther ſought in reſpect to them may be obtained. As theſe Settlements were made in very different Parts of the World at very different Times, and for very different Purpoſes, ſo the moſt eaſy and obvious Method of treating them ſeems to be, at leaſt in regard to our Plan, ranging them under the ſeveral Quarters of the Globe in which they have been eſtabliſhed, and pointing out particularly by what Means, in what Manner, and to what Extent they are or may be rendered beneficial to Britain [i].

to this, as moſt of them are exported in our own Bottoms, we are to add the Freight likewiſe, which is very conſiderable. Moſt of theſe Goods before we had Plantations of our own we bought from Foreigners at very high Prices, as for Inſtance, Brazil Sugar at Seven and Eight Pounds by the Hundred, Tobacco from four to Eight Shillings a Pound. Indigo, of which we now receive much, and are like to receive much more from our own Colonies, we ſtill purchaſe from the French and Spaniards to a large Amount. What may ſerve to ſet this Point in a ſtronger Light is the Caſe of Pitch and Tar, which we formerly bought from the Swedes at what Price they pleaſed to ſet upon it, and even at this high Rate they inſiſted on ſending in their own Ships. At the Beginning of Queen Ann's War we found ourſelves in ſo precarious a State with reſpect to theſe Commodities ſo neceſſary for our Navy, that Dr. Robinſon, afterwards Biſhop of London, then our Miniſter at the Court of Sweden, recommended the procuring them from our Colonies upon any Terms. This produced a Bounty for the obtaining them, and that ſoon brought them not only at a Third Part of what we had paid for them to Sweden, but alſo in ſuch Quantities as enables us to export them to the Straits, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Bremen, and Hamburgh. Upon the ſame Principle we have ſince by the ſame Means obtained great Quantities of Iron, and in Time are likely to draw all our Naval Stores from our own Settlements.

[i] There is nothing can more fully or more ſenſibly evince the Truth of our Aſſertions in reſpect to the commodious Situation of this Iſland, the ſuperior Genius of its Inhabitants, and the Excellence of our Conſtitution, than the performing the Promiſe made in the Text, of giving a conciſe View of the Eſtabliſhments we have made in all Parts of the World. For theſe muſt be conſidered as ſo many diſtinguiſhing Teſtimonies, ſo many ſhining Trophies of our maritime Skill and naval Strength. Theſe maintain regular and conſtant Correſpondence under our Auſpice between Countries the moſt remote from each other, and thereby while they extend the Fame, diſplay the Power and ſupport the Commerce of Great Britain.

CHAP. II.

Of the Britiſh Territories in Europe.

SECT. I.

Of the Fortreſs, Town, and Port of Gibraltar.

THERE are few Places of ſo ſmall an Extent, that have made ſo ſhining a Figure in Hiſtory as this. It lies in the Province of Andaluſia, the faireſt and fineſt in Spain, in the Latitude of Thirty-five Degrees Fifty Minutes North, though ſome place it higher by near Twenty Minutes, and in Five Degrees Thirty-five Minutes Longitude Weſt from London. It is a Promontory or rather a Peninſula, joined to the Continent of Spain by a narrow, flat, and ſandy Iſthmus. The whole Extent of this immenſe Rock, for ſuch it is, riſing in its perpendicular Height about Four hundred and Forty Yards, meaſures from North to South about Two Engliſh Miles and Three Quarters in Length, and is ſcarce One in Breadth. The Mountain which gives Name alike to the Town, the Straits, and the Bay, is called Gebel-Tarek, that is, the Mount of Tarek, from the Mooriſh General, who landed here in the Beginning of the Eighth Century. This Promontory was known to and famous amongſt the Ancients by the Name of Calpe [a].

On the Eaſt Side which is waſhed by the Mediterranean, the Rock is ſo ſteep as to be eſteemed utterly inacceſſible. On the Weſt which looks to the Bay it is leſs rugged, and on this Side lie the Town and Fortifications, by which it is now thought to be rendered impregnable. In regard to the Climate, the Air when the Weather is ſerene is very thin and pure, and conſequently wholſome; but from the Beginning of June to

[a] The Spaniſh Hiſtorians ſay, that the Egyptian Hercules built Cadiz, and that the Grecian Hercules came with the Argonauts, and built a City here. The very learned Bochart derives the Name of this Promontory Calpe from the Phœnician Word Galpha, which ſignifies a hollow Veſſel. The learned Reader, if he deſires to enquire farther in regard to its Antiquity may conſult Strabon. Geograph. lib. i. p. 51. lib. iii. p. 139, 140. 148. 170. Mela de ſitu Orbis, lib. ii. cap. 8. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 1. or if he would ſee the Subject at One View, Cellarii Geographia Antiqua, lib. ii. cap. 1. p. 90. The Arabs call it Gebal al Tharek, from Tharek ben Ziad, General of the Moors, who conquered Spain under the Caliphat of Walid the Son of A'bdalmalek in the Year of the Hegira 92.

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the Middle of September, it is exceedingly warm. In the Winter it is ſubject to very heavy Rains, and the Weather is ſometimes cold. Snow ſeldom falls, and does not lie long. Ice is rarely ſeen, and only on the Summit of the Rock, where it is very thin. The Soil is various; where the Town ſtands, it is red Sand, but in ſome Places, and more eſpecially in the Clefts of the Rock it is black and rich, ſo that Oranges, Lemons, Grapes, Pomegranates, and other Fruits grow in the higheſt Perfection, and the whole Mountain is covered with Shrubs of different Kinds, and a great Variety of aromatic Plants. There is alſo, which is a great Bleſſing, Plenty of excellent Water [b].

The Town of Gibraltar lies along the Bay on the Weſt Side of the Mountain, on a Decline, by which, generally ſpeaking, the Rains paſs through it freely and keep it clean. The old Town was conſiderably larger than the new, which conſiſts at preſent of between Four and Five hundred Houſes, many of the Streets are narrow and irregular, the Buildings of different Materials, ſome of natural Stone out of the Quarries, ſome of a factitious or artificial Stone, and a few of Brick. The People are ſupplied with freſh Proviſions chiefly from the Coaſt of Barbary, with Fruit, Roots, and Vegetables of all Sorts from thence or from their own Gardens. Beſides what is properly called the Town there are ſeveral ſpacious and commodious public Edifices erected, ſuch as Barracks for the Soldiers with Apartments for their Officers, Magazines of different Kinds, Storehouſes for Proviſions, Warehouſes, Yards, and proper Accommodations for the Commander of the Mediterranean Squadron, and for repairing and heaving down of Ships, with very airy, ſpacious, and noble Hoſpitals for the Uſe of Soldiers and Seamen when ſick. The Inhabitants, excluſive of Britiſh Subjects dependant on the Garriſon, or who reſide there from other Motives, conſiſt of ſome Spaniards, a few Portugueſe, a conſiderable Number of Genoeſe, and about as many Jews, making in the Whole between

[b] The Air of Gibraltar is juſtly celebrated as remarkably wholeſome, but its Thinneſs renders it leſs ſo to Perſons of conſumptive or broken Conſtitutions. In the Summer and Autumn the Weather is very ſultry and cloſe, and the Inhabitants are likewiſe expoſed to Thunder and Lightning. The Levant Winds are violent, but do not continue long. The Rock in ſome Places reſembles Portland Stone, in many is true Lime Stone, and in others there is a Kind of coarſe Marble. There are many Caves, ſome of them very capacious, in that of St. Michael towards the Southern Extremity of the Promontory, Five hundred Spaniards concealed themſelves, having taken an Oath to become Maſters of the Place or periſh, as they did. The Mountain had many more Trees upon it formerly than at preſent, particularly Locuſt or Carob Trees, by the Help of which the Spaniards before-mentioned aſcended, and therefore they were deſtroyed, and the Soldiers have alſo cut down Numbers on the Summit for Firing, ſo that at preſent except in the Gardens, there are few.

Two and Three thouſand (though ſome make them much fewer) without reckoning the Garriſon [c].

THIS Town may be ſaid to have Two Ports, the Firſt lying to the North, and which is proper only for Tartans and ſmall Veſſels, covered towards the Land by the old Mole. The other lying to the South of this between the little and the new Mole, is very commodious for larger Veſſels, and hath a fair Stone Quay. The Bay of Gibraltar is very beautiful and capacious, being in Breadth from Europa Point to Point Cabrita about Five Engliſh Miles, and in Depth about Eight or Nine, with ſeveral ſmall Rivers running into it. The Iſthmus between this Bay and the Mediterranean, on which are the Spaniſh Lines, is about a Mile in Breadth, and between it and the Mountain there is a Moraſs, which is now rendered an Inundation [d].

THE Strait of Gibraltar through which the Ocean paſſes into the Mediterranean, thereby dividing Europe from Africa, runs from Weſt to Eaſt, about Thirteen Leagues, though others make it longer. In this Strait there are Three remarkable Promontories or Capes on the Spaniſh,

[c] The old Town extended farther to the North and higher up the Mountain, conſiſting of many more Houſes than the preſent. There was a Pariſh Church, ſeveral Convents, and many Chapels both within and without the Town. It made a very pleaſing Appearance from the Bay, but after all was but a poor Place. It was probably both larger and better in the Time of the Moors, for upon their Foundations the Spaniards built, and there are ſtill the Remains of many Mooriſh Structures all over the Mountain, ſome of which even now convey very clear Ideas both of Strength and Magnificence. The preſent Town has a Church for the Service of the Garriſon and Proteſtant Inhabitants; but the Pariſh Church remains in the Hands of the Papiſts conformable to the Capitulation. All poſſible Attention hath been ſhewn to the Eaſe and Convenience of the People conſiſtent with the Safety of the Place, and for the neceſſary Accommodation of thoſe who are to defend it. The Town is now well ſecured from the Attacks of the Spaniards on the Land Side, if they ſhould again beſiege it, and in regard to the Bay, ſuppoſing an Enemy's Fleet there, beſides the natural Defence of ſhallow Water and Rocks, which will always keep Ships of War at a Diſtance, they muſt even there be expoſed to the Fire of the Ramparts, on which there are mounted between Three and Four hundred Pieces of Cannon beſides Mortars.

[d] The old Mole was built by the Spaniards to cover their Veſſels. Our Battery erected thereon was exceedingly ſerviceable in both Sieges, and of courſe the Enemy did their utmoſt to deſtroy it, and not altogether without Effect. Since the laſt Siege however it hath been exceedingly improved, the Head taken down, carried out Thirty Yards farther into the Sea, the Gun Battery new conſtructed and rendered more commodious, with the Addition of a Platform for Mortars. The new Mole is about Two thouſand Five hundred Yards diſtant, and is a very capital and elegant Work. The Bay of Gibraltar is a very fine Body of Water in which our Squadron may lie in great Safety, as in the Midſt of it there is no Ground to be felt at a hundred Fathoms. It is every Way advantageous to the Place, affording a moſt pleaſing and delightful Proſpect, the Breezes from it are very refreſhing, and it contributes likewiſe to the Subſiſtence of the Inhabitants by ſupplying them with Plenty of different Sorts of fine Fiſh. The Town of Old Gibraltar on the oppoſite Side is diſtant ſomewhat more than a League.

and

and as many oppoſite to them on the Barbary Side. The Firſt of theſe on the Side of Spain is Cape Trafalgar, oppoſite to this is Cape Spartel, near which ſtood the Fortreſs of Tangier, once in our Poſſeſſion. Between theſe is the Weſtern Entrance of the Straits about Eleven Leagues in Breadth. The next on the Spaniſh Side is Tarifa, and over againſt it lies Malabata near the Town of Alcaſſar, where the Straits are about Five Leagues broad. Laſtly Gibraltar, facing the Mountain of Abyla near the Fortreſs and Town of Ceuta, which make the Eaſtern Entry of the Straits. It is commonly ſaid that Gibraltar abſolutely commands the Straits, which is in a great Degree, though not abſolutely true, for with a ſtrong Levant Wind, which brings with it very dark Clouds, Fleets have paſſed through the Straits without being diſcerned by a Squadron in Gibraltar Bay [e].

In the War occaſioned by the diſputed Succeſſion to the Crown of Spain Vice Admiral Sir John Leake propoſed to Sir George Rooke who commanded the Engliſh Fleet in the Mediterranean, and to Prince George of Heſſe Darmſtadt, an Attempt upon Gibraltar, the Reduction of which he judged would be of the greateſt Conſequence to the carrying on the War. The Admiral and the Prince concurred in Opinion with him. The Fleet entered the Bay on the Twenty-firſt of July One thouſand Seven hundred and Four. The Prince landed a Body of Men on the Iſthmus, the Fleet cannonaded the Town from the Bay, a Detachment of Engliſh Seamen debarked at Europa Point, and with ſome Loſs carried the Outworks, which made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Inhabitants and the Garriſon, that the Governor the Marquis de Salinas capitulated, and the Prince of Heſſe took

[e] This famous Strait which makes ſo great a Figure in ancient Hiſtory is ſtiled in Latin Fretum Herculeum, or ſometimes Gaditanum, by the Spaniards Eſtrecho de Gibraltar. Diodorus Siculus and other ancient Writers are very copious on the Subject, and on their Authority an Opinion hath been propagated that Hercules placed ſomewhere hereabouts Two Columns with an Inſcription, purporting that it was impoſſible to paſs further. But where he placed theſe Columns is a Matter of great Doubt, except to the People of Cadiz who actually ſhew them. The Tradition that they were there is indeed ancient, but as for the Two Pillars that are now ſhewn Father Labat (Voyages en Eſpagne et Italie, tom. i. p. 383.) who actually ſaw them at the Beginning of the preſent Century, aſſerts that they were no more than the Bodies of Two old Windmills. The moſt probable Opinion is that the Two Mountains Calpe in Europe and Abyla in Africa were from their Figures ſtiled the Columns of Hercules, and it is not unlikely that from the blowing of the Weſt Winds which hindered the Entrance into the Strait, the Notion aroſe in early Times, that it was impaſſable. The Reader who would inveſtigate this Matter ſtill farther, as from thence great Lights may be derived in reſpect to the Navigation of the Ancients, may conſult Diod. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 20. Strabonis Geograph. lib. iii. p. 308. Arrian de Expedit. Alex. Magn. lib. ii. p. 126. Appian. de Bello Hiſp. p. 425. Apollodor. p. 125. The Arabians call this Strait Bab al Zocak, i. e. the Gate of the Road, and the Turks call it Bab Bogazi, literally the Throat of Paſſage, which with them is the common Name of all Straits, but they call it alſo Sebtah Bogazi, that is, the Strait of Ceuta.

Poſſeſſion of the Place on the Twenty-fourth of the ſame Month with the Loſs of leſs than One hundred Men. The Truth is that it was in a poor Condition of Defence with ſcarce One hundred Guns mounted, and a Garriſon not more in Number than the Guns. The Fleet landed Eighteen hundred Marines for a Garriſon, and ſupplied them with Ammunition and Proviſions for three Months [f].

The Spaniards extremely ſenſible of the Loſs, immediately marched an Army of Ten thouſand Men under the Command of the Marquis de Villadarias to beſiege it, and at the ſame time the Count de Thouloufe who commanded the French Fleet in the Mediterranean put to Sea to co-operate with the Spaniards. This produced the Battle of Malaga Auguſt the Thirteenth, in which the French were beat, though Sir George Rooke was forced to draw Nine hundred Marines from Gibraltar to man his Ships, and was in ſuch Want of Ammunition from what he had ſpared to the Garriſon, that he was unable to proſecute his Advantage and totally deſtroying the French Fleet. The Siege however went on, and the Place was ſo much preſſed, that if Sir John Leake had arrived a Day later in the Bay of Gibraltar it muſt have been taken, Five hundred Men having ſcaled the Rock with Rope Ladders, all of whom were deſtroyed. Marſhal de Teſſé with a Body of French Troops joined the Spaniſh Army, and continued the Siege for near Six Months, when the French Fleet under the Baron de Pointis being beat by Sir John Leake they were forced to change the Siege into a Blockade. The good Correſpondence between Sir John and the Prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, and the excellent Conduct of both ſaved the Place. At this Port the late Emperor Charles the Sixth

[f] It is but juſt to obſerve that this very important Conqueſt was planned by Two of our moſt able Admirals Sir George Rooke and Sir John Leake, who knew its Value, more eſpecially at that critical Conjuncture when there was the utmoſt Neceſſity of obtaining a Port in Spain, and of all its Ports for the Purpoſe of the War, this was the moſt commodious. As it was planned by Admirals, it was entirely executed by Seamen, and conducted with great Judgment. By a furious Cannonade in which the Fleet expended Fifteen thouſand Shot, the Enemy were driven from their Works. This gave an Opportunity to the Captains Hicks and Jumper to puſh on Shore, and with an Intrepidity celebrated even by the French Writers, ſcaled a Redoubt near Europa Point, of which they kept Poſſeſſion notwithſtanding the Governor Don Diego de Salinas ſprung a Mine under it by which Two Lieutenants and Fifty Men were killed, and Sixty more wounded. It was on a Sunday, and moſt of the Women were at their Devotions in a Chapel without the Town, which threw the Inhabitants into ſuch Conſternation that they conſtrained the Governor to capitulate. After the Reduction of Gibraltar, the Fleet ſtood over to the Barbary Coaſt, with a Deſign of making themſelves abſolutely Maſters of the Straits, by prevailing upon the Garriſon of Ceuta to declare for Charles the Third; but the Marquis de Gironella who was then Governor rejected the Propoſal, and the Fleet having taken in Water ſailed in ſearch of the Enemy. Life of Sir John Leake, p. 83, 84. Memoirs du Regne de Philipe V. par le M. de Sainte Philippe, vol. i. p. 271, 272. Pere Daniel Hiſtoire de France, tom. x. p. 218, 219.

then

then ſtiled Charles the Third King of Spain landed. On the Concluſion of the Peace his Catholic Majeſty Philip the Fifth yielded this Town and Fortreſs in full Property (but without any territorial Juriſdiction) to Great Britain for ever [g]. The Spaniards notwithſtanding this continued to behold it with a jealous Eye, and are ſaid to have meditated ſeveral Attempts to recover it. At length in the Spring of the Year 1727 they again beſieged in Form with a great Army under the Conde de las Torres, but after lying before it near Four Months, during which they made but a very ſmall Progreſs, a Ceſſation of Arms took Place, and we have ſince remained in quiet Poſſeſſion [h].

The Preſervation of this Fortreſs, more eſpecially after the perpetual Ceſſion of it to the Crown of Great Britain, became and will be ever conſidered as a Point of the utmoſt Conſequence. The Firſt Siege, in which it ran a great Hazard of being taken, was however of great Utility in pointing out the moſt proper Means for providing for its future Defence, by repairing or rather reconſtructing moſt of the old Works, and adding new wherever it was thought requiſite, ſcarping the Rocks where the ſcaling them was in any Degree practicable, elevating and increaſing the Number of Batteries ſo as effectually to protect the Town and Ports. In theſe Works the ableſt Engineers were employed, and no Expence ſpared in rendering them ſolid and complete, the good Effects of theſe Precautions

[g] The Ceſſion of Gibraltar is contained in the Tenth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht concluded between her Majeſty Anne Queen of Great Britain and his Catholic Majeſty King Philip the Fifth; our Miniſters did indeed demand an Extent of Ground of Two Cannon Shot round it, but the French King anſwered, he could not prevail with the King of Spain to part with One Inch of Land more than the Town itſelf; but if the giving up the whole Iſland of Minorca would be taken as an Equivalent, he would endeavour to obtain it. This was accepted, and the Ceſſion of that entire Iſland is contained in the very next Article of the ſame Treaty. In reſpect to both it muſt be obſerved that the Ceſſions are as full, clear, and abſolute as Words can expreſs, ſo that no Room is left to controvert the Title of the Crown of Great Britain to either, for the only Condition annexed is (which if poſſible ſtrengthens the Title) that in caſe Great Britain ſhall be inclined to Part with them, his Catholic Majeſty is to have the Firſt Offer.

[h] The Spaniards, as we have ſaid, were very near ſucceeding in the Firſt Siege, when the Town and Fortifications were in a very indifferent State of Defence, and when the Enemy ſuffered their Affairs to run almoſt to ruin elſe where in Hopes of taking it. The Second Siege was owing to the Hopes given to Philip the Fifth by the Regent Duke of Orleans that he would procure the Reſtitution of this Fortreſs and the Iſland of Minorca, and when it was found that this could not be effected, it was reſolved to attempt the Reduction of Gibraltar by Force. The Governor was the Earl of Portmore, the Lieutenant Governor Colonel Clayton; the Garriſon conſiſted of about Twelve Battalions, and as the Place was now well fortified, well ſupplied, and a Fleet in the Bay the Spaniards, though they did all that could be expected from them, had themſelves little Hopes of Succeſs. In this Siege we had Two Officers and Sixty-nine Men killed, and about Two hundred wounded. The Loſs of the Enemy was between Three and Four hundred Men.

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appeared clearly in the Second Siege, where notwithſtanding the Spaniſh Army was commanded by an experienced General who had many good Officers under him, and very ſkilful Engineers, yet they were able to do ſo little that they began to be heartily tired of the Enterprize when the Ceſſation of Arms took Place. However from this Siege new Lights were acquired, in conſequence of which an Inundation was formed by letting in the Sea from the Bay, which coſt the Labour of Four Years, and is ſo contrived that by the Help of a ſtrong Sluice the Water may be raiſed as occaſion requires, and this renders it impoſſible for an Enemy to approach the Glacis of the Place. As to the Military Eſtabliſhment it is always perfectly complete, and the Garriſon according to the Circumſtances of the Times conſiſts of fewer or of more Battalions, uſually Seven. The Ordinance alſo in all its Branches is very amply provided for, and the Magazines of Military Stores kept conſtantly full, with Six Months Proviſions at all Times, regular Returns being made to the Governor, and theſe certified upon Oath. The like Attention is ſhewn to whatever concerns the Department of the Marine, in conſequence of which after the Loſs of Minorca in the late War, we ſtill remained Maſters in the Mediterranean[i].

The great Importance of this Place is ſuch, that to ſtate it fully and to enumerate all the Advantages that we derive from it would require more Room than could be allowed to this Chapter. It will however be ſufficient to touch on a few principal Points, and leave them to the Contemplation of the judicious Reader. It is evident that the Fortreſs of Gibraltar and the Bay it covers, not only give us the Command of the Straits and their Navigation; but affords Accommodation and Refreſhment to our Fleets in Time of War, and to our Merchantmen at all Times, which to a Maritime Power is a Matter of the utmoſt Conſequence. From its Situation it divides Spain from Spain, that is, the Ports in One Part of that Kingdom from thoſe in another, and in the ſame Manner France from France, and

[i] It muſt be allowed that Gibraltar from the Time it came into our Poſſeſſion, hath occaſioned a very conſiderable Expence. The Garriſon, when it conſiſts as it does at preſent of Seven Battalions complete, making in the whole Three thouſand Four hundred effective Men, with the Expence of the Staff, and the Proviſions iſſued for their Subſiſtence, amounts annually to ſomewhat more than One hundred thouſand Pounds. The Works have alſo coſt a great Deal of Money, but in Abatement of this it is to be conſidered that Stone and excellent Lime are found upon the Place, to which it may be added that the old Mooriſh Walls and Foundations have been of great Service, and coſt nothing. The Salt Proviſions, alſo Peas, Butter, &c. are our own Produce, and ſent from hence. The Marquis de Quincy, though otherwiſe One of the moſt accurate and moderate of the French Hiſtorians, muſt be allowed to exaggerate, when he ſays as he does that the Engliſh have paid dearly for Gibraltar, ſince every Stone in the Place coſt a Pound Sterling. Hiſtoire Militaire, tom. iv. p. 421.

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of courſe hinders the Conjunction of their Fleets or Squadrons with each other, or at leaſt renders it ſo difficult and precarious as to be a perpetual Check upon thoſe ambitious Powers, upon whoſe Motions it behoves us always to have a great Degree of Attention. Beſides theſe it is uſeful in many other Reſpects [k].

It awes the ſeveral piratical States of Barbary, and in like Manner the Emperor of Morocco, and this to ſuch a Degree that our Commerce is more ſafe than that of any other European Power, which gives us great Advantages in Point of Freight. It is otherwiſe highly favourable to our Trade in the Mediterranean and Levant. It procures us the Reſpect of the Italian and other Powers, which, though far diſtant from Great Britain, muſt conſider this as a continual Inſtance of her Power, and of her Capacity to hurt or to aſſiſt them. It is a Poſſeſſion that ſaves us the Expence of Squadrons and of Convoys upon any Diſputes or Diſturbances that happen among thoſe Powers, and which otherwiſe would in ſuch Caſes be requiſite for the Protection of the Navigation of our Subjects. There are many Inſtances that might be given to elucidate each of theſe Heads, but they are in themſelves ſo clear and ſo ſelf-evident, and thoſe Inſtances too are ſo well known as well as ſo recent, that it would be needleſs.

It can be no juſt Cauſe either of Jealouſy or Apprehenſion to Spain or France ſo long as their Intentions are pacifick, for it gives us no Oppor-

[k] There may ſeem to be ſome Room for Objection from what hath been ſaid in the former Part of this Work in regard to the exorbitant Expence our Anceſtors were at in keeping Calais and other French Conqueſts. The attentive Reader however will diſcern that, though ſpecious in its Firſt Appearance, yet there is in this no Weight at all. Thoſe Conqueſts were maintained to preſerve a Footing in France, and to afford the Means of making frequent Invaſions, which is not the Caſe here. Calais as a Mart circumſcribed our Navigation, whereas the great Uſe of Gibraltar is to keep it free and open. In reſpect to the Charges, if we compare the Coſt of One in reſpect to the whole public Revenue with that of the other, we ſhall ſee the Caſe in its true Light. If it ſhould be ſurmized that before we became Maſters of Gibraltar we had the free Navigation of the Mediterranean, we ſhall alſo find on a ſtrict Examination that in this there is no more Weight. It was for the very ſame Purpoſe that we obtained and preſerved this Fortreſs, that we were at a vaſt Expence in conſtructing a Mole, building Fortifications, and maintaining a Garriſon at Tangier, which was not deſerted from any Notion of its Inutility, but from a Suſpicion that the Garriſon ſerved as a Nurſery for Popiſh Troops. Should it be farther aſſerted that both before and after our Poſſeſſion of Tangier, we had free Acceſs into the Mediterranean, the Anſwer is eaſy and deciſive. So long as the Houſe of Auſtria poſſeſſed Spain we were conſidered as their Protectors, and had the Uſe of Gibraltar Bay, and the Harbour of Port Mahon as much as we have now. But when after a long and expenſive War, Spain was left in Poſſeſſion of a Branch of the Houſe of Bourbon, it was equally prudent and neceſſary to provide for our own Security, and upon this Principle, and as a ſmall Indemnification for the vaſt Charges we had been at, we demanded and obtained the Ceſſion of Gibraltar and Minorca.

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tunity or Tempation to invade or injure either, though at the ſame Time it certainly enables us to gain the moſt early and certain Intelligence of any of their hoſtile Preparations, and at the ſame Time, as we have before obſerved, puts it very much in our Power to obſtruct, diſtreſs, and to defeat them, as Experience hath fully and repeatedly demonſtrated, and from thence gives us a Degree of Security that could by no other Means be obtained. The holding this Fortreſs, and the holding it in ſo reſpectable a Manner as hath been ſhewn we do, does Honour to the Britiſh Arms and to the Councils of this Nation in the Eyes of all Europe, which we may ſay with Probability at leaſt hath been from this Circumſtance indebted more than once for the Preſervation of the Public Peace. Upon the Whole, from this ſhort and plain State of Things every candid and competent Judge will be able to ſatisfy himſelf, that conſidering the Inconveniencies it prevents, the Reſpect it excites, and the Benefits it procures, the Fortreſs of Gibraltar fully merits all the Care that hath been taken, and all the Attention that can be ſhewn to it [1].

[1] There hath been an Opinion advanced and at ſometimes very warmly inſiſted upon, as if Gibraltar might be made a Place of Trade, at leaſt in ſuch a Degree as to diminiſh its Expence. In this View it ſhould ſeem that her late Majeſty Queen Anne, very ſoon after it came into our Poſſeſſion, declared it a free Port without any great Effect. In the Year 1740 a civil and criminal Juriſdiction to be eſtabliſhed here was in Contemplation, but never carried into Execution. It may be, that the very ſmall Extent of the Place, and the Difficulties that might ariſe between a civil Adminiſtration and a Military Government have hindered ſuch a Deſign from taking Place. But certainly if any Method could be found to render a Thing of this Kind in any Degree practicable the Situation of the Place is ſo favourable as to promiſe great Advantages. But the procuring theſe muſt be left to thoſe who have a Power of examining into and removing thoſe Obſtructions that have hitherto prevented it. The Number of Ships that entered this Bay A. D. 1770 were Eight hundred and Twenty-ſeven.

SECT. II.

The Iſland of Minorca.

THE ſmall but pleaſant Iſland of Minorca, which the Natives write Menorca, is ſituated in the Mediterranean in the Latitude of between Thirty-nine and Forty Degrees North, and in the Longitude of near Four Degrees Eaſt from London. It lies Ten Leagues to the North Eaſt of Majorca, about Sixty South Weſt from Barcelona, having France to the North, the Italian Iſles of Sardinia and Corſica, and the Kingdom of Naples on the Eaſt, Spain to the Weſt, and Barbary to the South. In Length

Length from South East to North West, it is about Thirty-three Miles, in Breadth from Eight to Twelve, but in general about Ten Miles, so that in point of Size it may be nearly equal to the County of Huntingdon or to Bedfordshire. The Form of it is very irregular, and the Coasts much indented by the Sea, which forms a Number of little Creeks and Inlets that might some of them be rendered very advantageous [a].

The Climate is temperate, except from June to the Midst of September, when it is very hot, the rainy Season follows; but it is admitted by our Officers who have resided there, that for Seven Months in the Year it is as pleasant a Country as can be wished. The North, North East, and North West Winds generally blow from the Middle of September to the Middle of March, and though wholesome to the Inhabitants yet are very unfavourable to the Fruit Trees that are exposed to them. The Face of the Island is diversified with rising and sloping Grounds, for though there are many Hills, yet there is not properly speaking a Mountain, or at most but One in the Island. In the Vallies, for Want of a sufficient Declivity, the Rains settle in many Places and the Grounds are marshy. The Soil in the flat Country is thin and sandy, on the Sides of the Hills and in the Valleys, black, rich, and fertile, and may be every where cultivated without any great Degree of Labour. The great Defect is in respect to Water, of which, except what is saved from Rain in Cisterns, there is little either palatable or healthy [b].

This

[a] The Islands stiled Baleares by the Ancients were only Two, the One larger and the other less, from whence they derived their Names, the former of Majorca and the latter Minorca. The Epithet Baleares arose from their Inhabitants being more dextrous Slingers than any other Nation, in which the Shepherds of this Isle still excel, and the Inhabitants in general are very excellent Marksmen. These Isles made a very great Figure in early Times, as the learned Reader may be informed by consulting Diod. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 17, 18. Strabon. Geograph. lib. iii. p. 167. Mela de Situ Orbis lib. ii cap. ult. If he wishes to see a Continuation of their History he may find it in Johan: Gerunden: Parilip: Hisp: lib. ii. they have besides had Two Historians of their own Juan Dameto and Vincent Mut, the Works of both printed in Majorca. But without taking this Trouble his Curiosity may be gratified by perusing Armstrong's History of Minorca, which is very entertaining as well as very methodical and exact.

[b] Though the Climate of this Island is certainly very warm, yet through the Favour of Providence it is in many Respects so qualified as not to be intolerable. For in regard to Men the Eminencies scattered over the whole Island afford them the Means of fixing their Habitations where the Air is cool and serene for the greatest Part of the Year. In respect to Animals Nature hath provided almost every where sufficient Shelter for them by Trees, Shrubs, and Brush Wood growing on the Sides of the Rocks. Both participate of the Breeze from the Sea which follows the Course of the Sun, being strongest at Noon, and dying gradually away as the Day declines. The Marshes which are in many Respects noxious might be easily drained and turned into Meadows, as in that State they certainly were in earlier Times, when this Country was more thoroughly inhabited and by a more industrious Sort of People. See Dr. Cleghorn's Observations on the Diseases

This Iſland, ſmall as it is, contains many Commodities that are or might be rendered of conſiderable Value. In the Bowels of the Earth are Iron, Copper, Lead Ores, of none of which except the laſt hath hitherto any Uſe been made, and even the Working of this it is ſaid hath long been diſcontinued. Great Quantities of Marble, very beautiful and finely variegated. Free Stone and Lime-Stone in Plenty, and an excellent Kind of Slate that might be raiſed in any Quantities, and is very near the Water. The Surface thin as it is produces excellent Wheat, though not enough for the Conſumption of the Inhabitants, as alſo Barley, and ſome India Corn, not inferior to any in America. In reſpect to Fruits they have great Plenty of Vines which bear both white and red Grapes, from which they make a conſiderable Quantity of Wine. They have alſo Olives, Dates, Almonds, Oranges, Lemons, Limes, Pomegranates, Figs, &c. Hemp and Flax grow in great Perfection, and from ſome Trials that have been made it is known they might have large Quantities of admirable Cotton. They grow likewiſe ſome very good Tobacco, but not Half as much as they conſume, as alſo Capers and Annis. Their Kitchen Gardens are exceedingly well ſtocked, and the Vegetables they produce are not inferior to thoſe of any other Country [c].

As to Animals that ſerve for Food, there are in this Iſland black Cattle, ſmall in Size, and in general poor and lean, which ariſes chiefly from the Careleſſneſs of the People who diſlike fat, for with proper Attention they have been and may be rendered as good as any of their Size. Sheep alſo are ſmall, their Wool neither very coarſe or very fine, yet ſuch as furniſhes the Inhabitants with Cloth for their own Wear, and ſome of their Wool likewiſe they export. Goats are larger in Proportion, but are eat only by the pooreſt People. Their Swine are large, and as the Minorquins have a Reliſh for their Fat, they are well fed and afford great Plenty of excellent

in Minorca. London 1762, 8vo. Reflexions Générales ſur l'Iſle Minorque, ſur ſon Climat, ſur la Maniere de vivre de ſes Habitans, & ſur les Maladies qui y regnent, par M. Claude François Paſſerat de la Chapelle. Paris 1764, 12mo.

[c] There are in this Iſland Clays of different Colours, of which they make Tiles, and ſome coarſe Earthenware, and of which much finer might be made by Perſons better ſkilled in the Art of Pottery. Their Free Stone is of the ſame Nature with that of Bath, and is generally cut in the Quarries into what they call Cantoons, being a Double Cube of a Foot. A Dozen of theſe coſt but Half a Crown, and might be exported as Ballaſt. They have likewiſe an excellent Cement called Guiſh, which is a grey coloured Gypſum, and with this they join their Cantoons, and it hardens in a Moment. By the Help of theſe Materials their Houſes are very quickly built at a very ſmall Expence, and in that Climate are very laſting. Their Lands would produce much more if well dunged, which might be eaſily effected, if they were more attentive to their Cattle. Their numerous Fruit Trees might be improved to the higheſt Perfection as Experience hath ſhewn, and indeed hardly any Kind of Improvement attempted here and properly purſued ever failed. But Things of this Sort being done by Perſons who did not long reſide in the Iſland have never been either laſting or of much Utility.

Meat.

Meat. They have no Deer or Hares, but Rabbits in great Plenty. In reference to Beaſts of Burthen they have a Breed of ſmall Horſes, which for want of Graſs and Hay are fed with chopped Straw and a little Barley mixed with it, ſo that though they ſeem to have Spirit they have little Strength. On the other Hand their Aſſes are large, and are made uſe of both for the Saddle and Plough. Mules are large, ſtrong, and fit for all Kinds of Service, being eſteemed full as good as any on the Continent of Spain. They have all Sorts of domeſtic Fowl, and theſe very good in their reſpective Kinds. Wild Fowl and Water Fowl of all Sorts, and many Birds of Paſſage, with which their Tables are plentifully ſupplied in all Seaſons. They have Eels and Smelts, with a great Variety of Sea and Shell Fiſh in as great Abundance as they can wiſh. They have no wild Beaſts,[d] but many Birds of Prey, ſuch as Eagles, Hawks, and Owls. There are alſo Snakes, Vipers, Scorpions, with ſome other venomous and troubleſome Reptiles and Inſects; yet not in ſuch Numbers as might be expected in ſo warm and moiſt a Country [d].

The Iſland is divided into what they ſtile Termino's, of which there were anciently Five,' now reduced to Four, and reſemble our Counties. The Termino of Ciudadella at the North Weſtern Extremity of the Iſland is ſo ſtiled from this Place which was once a City and the Capital of Minorca. It makes a venerable and majeſtic Figure even in its preſent State of Decay, having in it a large Gothic Cathedral, ſome other Churches and Convents, the Governor's Palace, and an Exchange which is no contemptible Pile. There are in it Six hundred Houſes which before the Seat of Government and the Courts of Juſtice were removed to Mahon were fully inhabited, and there are ſtill more Gentlemen's Families here than in all the Reſt of the Iſland. It hath a Port commodious enough for the Veſſels employed in the Trade of this Country, which though in the Poſſeſſion of a Maritime Power is leſs than it formerly was. It is ſtill in the Stile of our Officers, the beſt Quarters (and there are none bad) in the

[d] All the antient Authors deſcribe the Animals in this Iſland as remarkably large, which is ſo far from being contradicted, that it is really verified by their preſent Condition. In remoter Ages, as the Remains of them ſhew to this Day, the People built Walls round their Hills at certain Diſtances to prevent the Earth from being waſhed down, and cultivated thoſe Hills to their very Summits. This gave them Plenty of all Kinds of Grain, and as Marſhes are every where the Effects of Idleneſs, we may fairly preſume that in thoſe Days theſe were Meadows in which Cattle were fed to their full Size. An additional Proof ariſes from their domeſtic Poultry, for which they ſtand indebted to Governor Kane. He brought them from different Parts, diſtributed them amongſt the Peaſants, gave firſt a Premium for hatching and afterwards ſet a Price upon Eggs, which very ſoon produced Plenty, and ſhewed what might be done in other Things. Their Honey is the beſt, their Wax as good as any in Europe, and ſo univerſally acknowledged, and yet their Exports of both do not exceed Three hundred Pounds annually.

Country, and if there was a Civil Government, and the Place made a free Port, the beſt Judges are of Opinion would very ſoon become a flouriſhing Place again, and the Fortifications if it ſhould be found neceſſary might then alſo be eaſily reſtored and improved [e].

The Termino of Fererias is the next, a narrow Slip reaching croſs from Sea to Sea, and the Country little cultivated, it is therefore united to Mercandal. In this laſt Termino ſtands Mont-toro in the very Center of the Iſle, and the higheſt Ground, ſome ſay the only Mountain in it, on the Summit of which there is a Convent where even in the hotteſt Months the Monks enjoy a cool Air, and at all Times a moſt delightful Proſpect. About Six Miles North from Mont-toro ſtands the Caſtle that covers Port Fornelles, which is a very ſpacious Harbour on the Eaſt Side of the Iſland. There are in it Shoals and foul Ground which to thoſe who are unacquainted with them, render it difficult and dangerous, yet the Packets bound from Mahon to Marſeilles frequently take Shelter therein, and while the Spaniards were in Poſſeſſion of the Iſle large Ships and Men of War frequented it. At a ſmall Diſtance from this lies another Harbour called Adaia, which runs far into the Land, but being reputed unſafe, and being ſo near Fornelles, is at preſent uſeleſs. The Country about it is however ſaid to be the pleaſanteſt and wholeſomeſt Spot in the Iſland, and almoſt the only One plentifully ſupplied with excellent Spring Water, ſo that the Gardens are well laid out, and the richeſt and fineſt Fruits grow here in the higheſt Perfection. Alaior is the next Termino, in which there is nothing remarkable but the Capital of the ſame Name, well ſituated on an Eminence in a pleaſant and tolerably cultivated Country [f].

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[e] As Ciudadella was for a long Series of Years the Seat of Government and the Center of Commerce in this Iſland; ſo it is generally allowed that the Inhabitants both of the Town and of the Termino are the moſt civilized and poliſhed of any in the Country, which hath been juſtly aſcribed to their Intercourſe with other Nations, and to that ſmall Degree of Trade with Majorca and other Places that they ſtill retain, and which from the Appearance of their Exchange and the Circumſtances of ſome of its principal Inhabitants appears to have been much more extenſive in former Times. It hath therefore been the Opinion of ſome Britiſh Merchants that if a civil Government of a Mayor and Aldermen was eſtabliſhed here, and Matters of Commerce decided by a Court of Merchants, the commercial Spirit of the People might be revived, more eſpecially if it was declared a free Port under ſuch Regulations as thoſe of Leghorn or Marſeilles. It is alſo conceived that this would have a very beneficial Effect in exciting Induſtry amongſt the People in this Diſtrict, which is ſtill the moſt numerous after that of Mahon. See Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain conſidered, chap. 33. See alſo as to its Commerce in the laſt Century, Roberts' Map of Commerce, chap. cclx.

[f] It is obſervable that all the Towns in theſe Termino's are built upon Eminences, by which they are rendered both healthy and pleaſant. The Communication however between them was very difficult as well as diſagreeable, and in ſome Places dangerous till Mr. Kane, who commanded here ſeveral Years, made a noble Road as ſtrait as the Situation of the Country would allow from Ma-

hon

The Termino of Mahon at the South East End of the Island is at present the most considerable of them all, containing about Sixty thousand English Acres, and nearly One Half of the Inhabitants in Minorca. The Town of Mahon derives its Name from the Carthaginian General Mago, who is universally allowed to be its Founder. It stands on an Eminence on the West Side of the Harbour, the Ascent pretty steep. There are in it a large Church, Three Convents, the Governor's Palace, and some other public Edifices. It is large, but the Streets are winding, narrow, and ill-paved. The Fortress of St. Philip stands near the Entrance of the Harbour which it covers, is very spacious, of great Strength, with subterranean Works to protect the Garrison from Bombs, large Magazines, and whatever else is necessary to render it a compleat Fortification, and hath a numerous and well disposed Artillery g. Port Mahon is allowed to be the finest Harbour in the Mediterranean, about Ninety Fathoms wide at its Entrance, but within very large and safe, stretching a League or more into the Land. Beneath the Town of Mahon there is a very fine Quay, one End of which is reserved for the Ships of War, and furnished with all the Accommodations necessary for careening and refitting them, the other serves for Merchantmen. On the other Side the Harbour is Cape Mola, where it is generally agreed a Fortress might be constructed, which would be impregnable, as the Castle of St. Philip was esteemed before we took it

hon to Ciudadella. This Gentleman, who finished his Life here, was the Author of almost all the beneficial Regulations that have been made, and was deservedly stiled the Patron of his Officers, the Parent of the Soldiers, and the Protector of the Natives. There was before him a Spanish Governor, I am sorry I cannot mention his Name, who compelled the Inhabitants to take some Pains with regard to their Olives, as well in pickling as in expressing their Oil, but notwithstanding the Benefits that arose from thence all Attention to them expired with his Authority. The Gardens in the Neighbourhood of Adaia shewed plainly that their Fruits might be brought to as high Perfection, and consequently become of as great Value as in the Southern Provinces of France or the Islands of Hieres. The Truth is that Attention and Encouragement might do any thing in a Country where Nature has already done so much, as evidently to shew that with a moderate Proportion of Skill and Care she might be brought to do more.

g The Town of Mahon derives many Advantages from its elevated Situation, for besides an extensive Prospect and a cool Air, it is even in Summer almost entirely free from Musquitoes. It is at present the Seat of Government, the Residence of the Governor who hath a large irregular Palace here, and withal the principal Place of Commerce in the Isle, to which some attribute the indifferent and neglected Condition of the other Districts. It must however be allowed, that the Merchants have great Accommodations. Their Vessels come as close as can be desired to the Quay; there is a very convenient Place, (which is a Matter of the utmost Consequence) for the Performance of Quarantine, and are easily supplied with naval Stores. But as there is a Regiment quartered in the Town this Mixture of Military and mercantile People is liable to some Inconveniencies. The French settled here, and the Commodities they import, and which, from a Variety of Causes they are enabled to sell cheap, is by no Means acceptable either to the English or Minorquins, who from Motives of Interest probably would be glad to see French Fashions and French Fopperies discouraged, which by the Example of the Governor and the principal Persons about him might be easily effected.

and

and beſtowed ſo much Money upon it, that though ſome Works were erected at Cape Mola, it was not judged proper to proceed in the Fortifications there at a freſh Expence, at leaſt this is the only Reaſon that hath been aſſigned [h].

The ancient Hiſtory of this Iſland and its Inhabitants belongs by no Means to this Place. It was reduced in September, A. D. 1708, by Major General James Stanhope, with the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet under Sir John Leake. The General was afterwards created Earl Stanhope, and to preſerve the Memory of this important Service, Viſcount Mahon. In the Summer of the Year 1756, through a ſhameful and inexcuſable Infatuation it was ſuffered to fall into the Hands of the French, but was again reſtored to Great Britain by the Twelfth Article of the Treaty of Paris, A. D. 1763, in Conformity to the original, abſolute, and perpetual Ceſſion of this Iſle by the Eleventh Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, ſo that except this very ſmall Interruption it hath remained Part of the Territory of this Nation upwards of Threeſcore Years. A Space fully ſufficient to make us well acquainted with the Minorquins and the Minorquins with us, and with the Advantages they derive from their being Britiſh Subjects, of which it is but doing them Juſtice to ſay, that they are very highly ſenſible [i].

By

[h] At no great Diſtance of Time after this Iſland was reſtored to our Poſſeſſion it was viſited by Lord Hope eldeſt Son to the Earl of Hopeton, a young Nobleman of quick Parts and great Obſervations, who liſtened willingly to the Informations given him by the Natives, and undertook to convey them as he did to the Perſons in Power here. Amongſt other Things it was ſuggeſted that if Commerce was properly encouraged, a Fortreſs might be built at Cape Mola, leſs in Extent, and conſequently requiring a ſmaller Garriſon than that of St. Philip's, having an equal, if not a better Command of the Entrance of the Harbour, and anſwering in all other Reſpects to the full as well as that immenſe Fortification. In ſuch a Caſe they conceived that a conſiderable Part of the ſubterranean Works under St. Philip's might be converted into Warehouſes and Magazines, for the Poſſeſſion of which perhaps the Merchants might undertake to defray the Expences of conſtructing the new Fortreſs. How far this Notion deſerves to be conſidered muſt be left to better Judges, but that it might be mentioned here with Propriety, will be evident to any Reader who conſults Armſtrong's Hiſtory of Minorca, p. 39.

[i] The Natives of the Iſland are well enough apprized of the Advantages they derive from their being Britiſh Subjects. The Iſland produces Five Times as many Articles of Conſumption ſince it came into our Hands from the Demand for Proviſions and other Neceſſaries, and this is continually increaſing. In reſpect to Wine, though ſold very cheap, what is drank by the Troops hath been computed at Twenty Thouſand Pounds per Annum, which is Ten Times as much as the Value of what they drink themſelves. The Pay of the Garriſon makes the greateſt Part of their Circulation, and to the Inſtructions afforded them by the Officers, and the Examples given them by the Soldiers under their Direction, they owe the few Improvements they have. They know very well the Advantage of Sailing under our Flag, which not only ſecures them from Corſairs, but procures them alſo a free Admittance into the Ports of Barbary, and they are conſiderable Gainers by both. But they would ſtill reap much greater Benefits from the Eſtabliſh-

ment

By the Capitulation made with General Stanhope at the Time this Iſland came into our Hands, the free Exerciſe of their Religion was ſecured to this People, and at their own Deſire, though it hath been their heavieſt Misfortune, their ancient Form of Government which ſtill continues, and is entirely modelled on the feudal Syſtem. The Land Revenue, by which is to be underſtood the total Rental of the landed Property in Minorca, doth not exceed Twelve thouſand Pounds per Annum, and the public Revenue amounts to about One Third of this. The Number of Prieſts ſecular and regular and the Nuns are about Three hundred, and the Number of the Inhabitants about Two Years after the Iſland was reſtored to us was between Eighteen and Twenty thouſand. There have been ſome Greeks brought into Minorca, and as they were a very induſtrious and uſeful Race of Men, might have contributed much to the Improvement of the Iſland, if their Undertakings had not been diſturbed by the French coming into Poſſeſſion. Our uſual Eſtabliſhment conſiſts of a Governor, Deputy Governor, &c. with Five Regiments, the Expence of which, including the Staff and Subſiſtence, may amount to about Seventy thouſand Pounds a Year, excluſive of the Expence of the Ordnance and Marine, the Repairs of Buildings and other Contingencies [k].

After having thus given a very ſhort, though it is hoped a very plain and intelligible Account of this very valuable Iſland, it will be proper to inſiſt next on the actual Importance of it to this Nation, and then to point out what farther Advantages might be expected from it. In reference to the Firſt, it muſt be obſerved, that it would be very difficult fully to ex-

ment of an Engliſh civil Government, and having their Choice to ſeek Relief in our Courts or in their own. A decent Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment at Mahon and at Ciudadella, with Schools for teaching Engliſh, would have many good Effects, and Intermarriages with the Natives ſtill more.

[k] The Form of their Government, the Nature and Numbers of their Magiſtrates may be ſeen in the Ninth Chapter of Armſtrong's Hiſtory, where he takes Notice alſo of the Hardſhips reſulting from their Conſtitution, ſuch as Fines on the Alienation of private Property, on the granting of Leaſes beyond the Term of Nine Years, and the Impoſitions on almoſt all their Produce, in conſequence of which Taxes and their Inability to pay them they have contracted a large public Debt which bears Intereſt at Eight per Cent. There is however an Abſurdity beyond all thoſe of which he does not take Notice, which is, that an Appeal lies from their ſupreme Court to the Tribunal at Perpignan in Rouſillon, and that as they are very litigious, their Lawyers are a greater Burden to them than their Prieſts. As the Value of the landed Property is ſo ſmall Purchaſes might be eaſily made in favour either of Engliſh or of Greeks, or for any other uſeful Purpoſes, and the People might be readily drawn to follow their Examples in any Improvements. They are naturally very attentive to their own Intereſts, and if properly managed it would be our Intereſt that they ſhould be ſo. A ſtrong Proof of this is the Care and Diligence they uſe in manuring, pruning and fencing their Vineyards, though at the ſame Time they neglect the Culture of every other Kind of Fruit, becauſe no immediate Advantage could be derived from it.

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preſs the numerous Benefits that we derive from having ſo noble, ſo capacious and ſo ſafe an Harbour as that of Port Mahon, more eſpecially in ſo happy a Situation, where our Ships may be at all Times relieved, our Squadrons meet with Refreſhments, and not only theſe but alſo with every Kind of Accommodation and Repairs, and where our Armaments may be carried on with equal Security and Secrecy when neceſſary. The Senſe and the Experience of this hath ſtruck ſuch an Awe into all the piratical States of Barbary, who with the Emperor of Morocco have all acknowledged by Treaties this Iſland Part of the Dominion of Great Britain, that we have never had any Diſpute with them ſince, except as to Mediterranean Paſſes, in reſpect to which perhaps we have not been always in the Right. Our holding this Iſland hath a very ſtrong Influence on the Italian Powers, and indeed may be ſaid to render us an Italian Power, to whom in that Light, our maritime Force conſidered, due Reſpect will be at all Times paid. It is in Time of War a conſtant Bridle on the Ports of Marſeilles and Toulon; the former of which for that Reaſon furniſhed the French King with a very large Sum towards defraying the Expences of the Fleet that was employed to invade it. Its Vicinity to the Ports of Spain is another Circumſtance of Conſequence, and with regard to other Benefits flowing from it, it would require too great a Space, even ſuppoſing it proper, ſhould we attempt to enumerate them [1].

This Repreſentation, with the Reflections that it muſt neceſſarily ſuggeſt to a judicious Politician, would clearly convince him that Minorca ought by no Means to be conſidered as a Burthen or dead Weight upon Britain. But independant of theſe it is certain that many other, and thoſe alſo very conſiderable Benefits might be derived from thence, if due Attention was ſhewn to this Country, and proper Care taken of its Inhabitants. A few intelligent Perſons ſent thither and kept there for ſome Years would put the Natives in the Way of improving their Paſtures, which are now miſerably bad, and alſo their arable Lands for Agriculture muſt be ſurely at a very low Paſs in a Country where an Aſs and a Hog ſometimes draw

[1] While the French were Maſters of this Place they took Pains to perſuade the States of Italy that they were their Deliverers. They inſiſted that Gibraltar and Minorca in the Hands of Great Britain were to be conſidered as Badges of Slavery, that by the Reduction of Minorca they had removed One and had a Title to expect the Aſſiſtance of the Italian Powers to make themſelves Maſters of the other, and by this Means the Mediterranean would be entirely free, and by the proper Arrangement of a naval Force the Engliſh excluded the Entrance into that Sea. To ſupply the Want of Facts, as to the Tyranny which the Engliſh had exerciſed over the Italian States, they ſuggeſted that their Moderation was the Effect of Negligence, and not underſtanding the Extent of that Power which they had in their Hands. All this and much more the Reader may find in the following Treatiſe, "Eſſay Politique ſur les Avantages que la France peut retirer de la Conquête de l'Iſle Minorque. A Citadella, 1757, 12mo".

together

together the Plough [m]. Their Gardens and their Orchards with the Help of a little Skill and Application would furniſh them with near as great Profits as they now draw from their Eſtates. They have many ſtaple Commodities, or at leaſt might have them amongſt them, which would ſupply Exports to a very conſiderable Amount. Salt, which not only may be made but hath been made, and which is the ſole Support of the neighbouring Iſland of Yvica, might be obtained in any Quantities with little Trouble and leſs Expence; which Salt, if it was employed in their own Fiſheries under proper Directions, would be more than ſufficient to balance all their Imports, at leaſt upon their own Account [n]. All this will

[m] We have before remarked more than once, that this Country, as appears from Hiſtory, was formerly in a much better Condition, to which there is certainly nothing abſurd or improbable in ſuppoſing that by Skill and Induſtry it may be reſtored. The Marſhes, by cutting proper Channels might be drained, and with due Care converted into Meadows, which would facilitate the breeding a greater Number of Cattle, and this again would furniſh greater Plenty of Manure for their arable Lands. Indeed I have been (and I hope truly) informed, that Agriculture is now in ſo good a State, that Corn is very ſeldom imported. But more may be ſtill done. The Culture of Indian Corn might be encouraged, and in Places not ſuited to Wheat or Barley, Rice, Millet, and other Grains might be introduced. But due Care ſhould be taken in all Improvements to have conſtantly in view the Dependance of Minorca upon Great Britain, ſo that the Intereſts of the Natives ſhould, in conſequence of ſuch Improvements, be ſo united to this Country as that they might ever find their own Happineſs cloſely, and if poſſible, inſeparably connected with their remaining Britiſh Subjects, and then the Increaſe of Inhabitants would be an additional Strength to our Intereſts.

[n] It would require much Room to enter into a minute Detail of what might be done to render the Productions of Minorca more valuable than they are at preſent. It may ſuffice to ſay, that from their Gardens and Plantations we might be ſupplied with Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Almonds, Figs, Prunes and Raiſins, in as high Perfection as any we import from Spain and Portugal. It is amazing that they have never attempted to draw a Spirit from any of theſe rich Fruits, though they conſume annually to the Amount of Ten thouſand Pounds in Aguardiente or ſtrong Waters. Beſides theſe, all thoſe odoriferous Oils, Eſſences, &c. which we have now from different Parts of Italy, might be as well imported from hence. We might alſo, if a little Encouragement was given, receive much greater Quantities of Honey and Wax than we have hitherto done. In regard to valuable Commodities, we ſhall out of many, mention only Three, which it is indiſputable might be obtained, becauſe in ſmall Quantities they have been obtained, and theſe are Silk, Oil, and Cotton. As to the Firſt, they have a vaſt Number of Mulberry Trees over the whole Iſland, lying in the ſame Latitude with the Kingdom of Valentia, which produces the beſt Silk in Spain. In regard to the Second, large Quantities are annually exported from Majorca, as a Century ago they were from hence. In reference to Cotton, it grows to the full as well here as in Malta, where it is the ſtaple Commodity of the Iſland. To theſe may be added ſeveral valuable Drugs, particularly Maſtic, Aloes, and ſome think Cochineal, for the Opuntia or prickly Pear grows wild over the whole Country. In reference to Fiſh, the Tunny Anchovies and Sardins come there annually in immenſe Shoals, the Art of pickling and barrelling them might be eaſily acquired, and they might be cured with their own Salt; and great Quantities of Fiſh-oil might be likewiſe made. They have alſo on their Coaſts great Abundance of Coral, the Nacar, a large Kind of Muſcle, the Inſide of the Shell more beautiful than Mother of Pearl, and on the Outſide there is a Kind of long Hair, or as they call it Wool, which is manufactured in Italy and in Spain. The Orchilla, of which we import great Quantities from the Canaries, grows unnoticed upon their Rocks.

appear to the Reader the more practicable, if he recollects the Port that there are in this Iſland and their Situation, and is farther told that the Inhabitants are as expert Seamen, that is, for the Mediterranean, as any of their Neighbours.

CHAP. III.

Of the Britiſh Settlements in Aſia.

SECT. I.

Of the Iſland of St. Helena.

THE numerous Places occupied by Britiſh Subjects in this Quarter of the Globe were acquired at different Times, in very different Manners, ſettled for very different Purpoſes, and are held by different Tenures, all of which it is of no ſmall Importance to know, and which therefore it ſhall be the Buſineſs of this Chapter conciſely to explain. The Commerce of the Eaſt hath been ever eſteemed to be in its Nature and Conſequences ſuperior to all others, and in Point of Fact the Nations who have poſſeſſed it, have been, ſo long as they retained it, the moſt conſiderable Traders in the World. In early Times the Tyrians and Sidonians, in ſucceeding Ages the Carthaginians and Romans were Maſters of it. When after a long Series of Barbariſm Arts and Sciences began to revive in Europe, the States of Venice and Genoa engroſſed it, and thereby roſe in Reputation, accumulated immenſe Riches, and acquired a great naval Power. It fell next into the Hands of the Portugueſe by their diſcovering a Paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope, which opened the Way to other Nations, and to us among the Firſt. In ſo long a Navigation it was found of abſolute Neceſſity to have ſome Place of Refreſhment in the Route, and this it was that recommended to Notice and even raiſed into Conſideration a little unpromiſing Iſle, or as ſome have ſtiled it, a rugged inhoſpitable Rock, which, purely from the Convenience of its Situation, is and hath been long looked upon as a Place of the utmoſt Conſequence, and as ſuch it is our Duty to deſcribe [a].

THIS

[a] The Dutch have for the ſame Purpoſe made a Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, which, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Hundreds of French Refugees, they have from an inhoſpitable Wilderneſs rendered

This Iſland derives its Name from St. Helena, the Mother of the Emperor Conſtantine the Great, and ſhe is ſaid to have been a Native of Britain. In the old Maps it is laid down in the Latitude of Fifteen Degrees Fifty-five Minutes South, and in the Longitude of Seven Degrees Weſt from London. Modern Obſervations place it in the Latitude of Sixteen Degrees or Sixteen Degrees Fifteen Minutes South, and in the Longitude of One Degree Weſt from the Lizard, about Three hundred and Fifty Leagues from the neareſt Coaſt of Africa, Five hundred from that of Brazil, Five hundred and Fifty, though others ſay Six hundred and Twenty North Weſt from the Cape of Good Hope. It is full Six Miles long, hardly Four in Breadth, and about Seven Leagues in Circumference. In point of Size ſcarce ſo big as the Iſle of Bute. As it riſes very high it is ſeen at a great Diſtance, and being full of Rocks of different Heights looks like a vaſt Fortreſs in the Sea [b].

The Climate of this little Iſland may be juſtly ſtiled excellent, for notwithſtanding its Vicinity to the Line, the Heat is ſo qualified by Breezes continually flying over the Rocks, and the Air is ſo frequently cooled by ſhort refreſhing Showers that it is equally pleaſant and wholeſome, as appears from the Inhabitants being in a Manner free from Diſeaſes, and of as clear Complexions as in Europe. It is ſaid that they never have the Small Pox in their own little World, but are extremely apt to catch the Diſeaſe, if they remove out of it. It is alſo very remarkable that they are exempt from Thunder and Lightning. In its Appearance St. Helena ſeems to be no more than a Congeries of rude rough Rocks, amongſt which the natural Soil is red, friable, and reſembles Aſhes, from which Circumſtances, and the finding of Sulphur in many of the Cliffs, ſome have conjectured there was once a Vulcano. To the Windward it is utterly inacceſſible.

rendered a fine and fertile Country. Yet we Twice ſent People thither before them, who made ſo bad a Report both of the Place and the Inhabitants that we deſiſted from the Deſign of fixing there. The French have eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Iſle of Maſcarenhas, which they call Bourbon, and ſince that on the Iſland of Maurice, which they ſtile the Iſle of France; we might have had both or either of theſe. Indeed we had the latter even before the Dutch, who Twice deſerted it, and from our Voyages made thither to cut down Ebony, it was for ſome Time ſtiled the Engliſh Foreſt. The Portugueſe retain their original Settlement for Refreſhment at Mozambique. It may appear inaccurate to treat of this, which is commonly eſteemed an African Iſland, in the preſent Chapter, but as it belongs to the Eaſt India Company, and is connected with their Settlements, there ſeemed to be no Impropriety in placing it here.

[b] The Reader if he is inclined to ſearch more thoroughly into this Matter, may conſult the Decades of John de Barros. The noble Collection of Voyages by Ramuſio. The Voyages for eſtabliſhing the Dutch Eaſt India Company. Ovington's Voyage to Surat, p. 89. Lockyer's Account of the Trade to India, p. 304. Hamilton's New Account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. i. p. 4.

To the Leeward there are but few Landing Places, and thoſe difficult and dangerous from the Surf; ſo that the People may be ſaid to live in a Place which Nature has impaled with Rocks, and ſurrounded with the Ocean. The Interior of the Iſland hath alſo many high and ſteep Cliffs, but there are ſome little pleaſant Vallies between them, and rude and dangerous as theſe Rocks are, the Inhabitants with very little Aſſiſtance from Art have made Roads through them, which they and more eſpecially their Slaves paſs with great Speed and Facility, and which is much more wonderful, have taught their Horſes to do the like, ſo that how dreadful ſoever their Journeys may appear to Strangers, yet it is generally agreed that very few Accidents happen to the Natives, who think all theſe Inconveniencies are balanced by their living in perfect Security.

All the Advantages which this Iſland derives from Nature have been ſtated in the former Paragraph, whatever is found in it beſide may be truly ſtiled Exotic. The Soil is generally very thin, though in ſome of the Vallies it is now become near Two Feet deep, and from the regular Intervals of Rain and Sunſhine very fertile. Hitherto they have not been able to raiſe Wheat, but of late Years (if I am rightly informed) they have ſown Barley with Succeſs. Their Gardens produce Yams, Plantains, Bananas, Water Melons, as alſo French Beans, Purſlain, Sorrel, and many other wholeſome Herbs, moſt of them Antiſcorbutic. As to Trees, they have Oranges, Lemons, Apricots, Peaches, Pomegranates, Apples, and by the Care of the Company in ſending a French Gentleman, Mr. Porier thither, Vines which produce excellent Grapes, of which hitherto however they have not been able to make Wine. In reference to Animals they have a ſufficient Stock of Black Cattle, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs, with a Breed of ſpirited little Horſes, admirably ſuited to their rugged Roads. They have alſo Plenty of domeſtic Fowl, ſuch as Turkeys, Geeſe, Ducks, Guinea Fowl, and other Poultry; and for Game they have Pheaſants, Partridges, Woodcocks, and Plenty of Sea Birds. Yet the chief Support of the Natives is drawn from the Sea, which abounds with a vaſt Variety of excellent Fiſh, amongſt other Mackrel, Bonetta's, Conger Eels, &c. It is a Kind of negative Advantage that they have not either Beaſts or Birds of Prey, or venomous Creatures of any Kind. But with Rats and Mice the Iſland is exceedingly infeſted, for the Deſtruction of which no effectual Method hath been yet found. In the Cavities of the Rocks, the Sea Water by the Help of the Sun is turned into the fineſt white Salt. Let me have Leave to add, though none of our Writers mention it, my Conjecture, that they have alſo upon theſe Rocks the

Orchilla

Orchilla Weed [c], as it is certain they have a Kind of wild Tobacco which might poſſibly by tranſplanting be improved. We muſt not omit the principal Bleſſing of St. Helena, which is Plenty of moſt excellent Water ſtreaming from the Rocks, and wandering in little Rivulets through every Part of the Iſland. It is true that after heavy Rains the Water is apt to be a little brackiſh occaſioned by the waſhing down the Salt incruſted on the Rocks, but with a very little Attention in collecting Water in Ciſterns in milder Seaſons, this Inconvenience is eaſily avoided.

The Engliſh Eaſt India Company ſettled this Iſland in the laſt Century, that their Ships, more eſpecially Homeward-bound from the Eaſt Indies, might meet with Refreſhments and Accommodations there as the Dutch did at the Cape of Good Hope. In the Second Dutch War in the Reign of Charles the Second it was taken by a Dutch Squadron, the Fort being in no Condition of Defence, but the Governor and Garriſon retired on board the Ships with their Effects. The next Year Captain Richard Mundane, being ſent with Four Men of War to eſcorte our Eaſt India Ships, came to take in Water in the Road of St. Helena, when perceiving that the Dutch were Maſters of the Place where he had formerly been and with which he was well acquainted, he ſent ſome of his Boats well manned round to a ſmall Creek where they landed, and ſcaling the Rocks with infinite Labour and Hazard came down upon the Dutch Fort, at the ſame Time that the Ships made a Deſcent and a briſk Cannonade, which ſoon obliged the Governor to ſurrender May the Seventh 1673. It was indeed not only a very ſhort-lived but alſo a very unlucky Conqueſt to the Dutch, for the Europa, a rich Outward-bound Eaſt India Ship coming ſoon after into the Road was ſeized, and the Whole of the Dutch Outward-bound Eaſt India Ships were very near ſharing the ſame Fate, being decoyed by the Dutch Flag which the Governor kept flying, and Two of the largeſt Ships were actually taken. At his Return the King knighted Captain Mundane, and as the Property of the Iſland was veſted in the Crown by Conqueſt, his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant it to the Eaſt India Company by his

[c] This Orchil, which the French call Orſeille, both Corruptions of the Italian Word Roccella, grows on all the Rocks in the Canary Iſlands, from whence they uſually export Two thouſand Five hundred Quintals every Year, moſt of which is bought for the London Market at Four Pounds a Quintal. It likewiſe grows on the Rocks in Barbary, and very probably on the Rocks here, but being much of the ſame Colour with them is ſeldom diſcovered but by ſuch as are well acquainted with it. Mr. Nieuhoff, a very ſenſible Dutchman, who was here in 1658, (See Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 193) tells us, that the Iſland of St. Helena produces nothing valuable except a very fine red Colour, which ſeems to ſupport my Conjecture, though it may alſo have another Meaning. The beſt Method for preparing Orchil is to be found in an Italian Book, intitled Del' Arte Piatoria, p. 210.

Charter,

Charter, bearing Date the Sixteenth of December in the ſame Year, under which Grant they have poſſeſſed it ever ſince [d].

In Chapel or James's Valley, which though a difficult is the moſt commodious Landing Place in the Iſle, there is a little Town conſiſting of between Fifty and Sixty Houſes, a ſmall Church, which with the Governor's Reſidence were rebuilt at the Company's Expence with Materials ſent from England ſomewhat more than Twenty Years ago. Moſt of theſe Houſes are or at leaſt are turned into Places of public Entertainment when the Shipping arrive, at which Seaſon moſt of the Inhabitants repair thither to furniſh the Seamen with freſh Proviſions, and to purchaſe Neceſſaries for themſelves, when no Pains are ſpared to render thoſe Strangers all the good Offices in their Power. Lemon or Apple Valley where there is alſo excellent Water, is a very pleaſant Place. Beſides theſe there is in the interior Part of the Iſle a larger Spot of tolerable plain Ground, to come at which however from the Town in Chapel Valley it is neceſſary to paſs Ladder Hill near the Fort. This Plain is called Long Wood, in which the Governor hath an handſome Country Houſe, with pleaſant Walks planted with Fruit Trees, and here alſo are kept the Company's Stock of Black Cattle for the Service of their Ships. The Inhabitants have their Houſes, which are generally ſmall and neat, in the little Vallies between the Cliffs with a Garden, a ſmall Field, and a Hovel for their Slaves behind each. In the whole Iſland there may be about One hundred and Fifty Families, and theſe have amongſt them about Three hundred Slaves, exceedingly ſerviceable to their Maſters, who live comfortably and in great Tranquility.

The Company for the Security of a Place of ſuch Importance to them have conſtructed a ſtrong Fort, well provided in all Reſpects, and furniſhed with a numerous Artillery. This Fort completely commands the Road (for there is no Harbour) and Ships come up to and ride at Anchor al-

[d] It is generally aſſerted that this Iſland was diſcovered by Juan de Nueva, a Gentleman of Galicia, in the Service of Portugal, on the 21ſt of May A. D. 1502, but there is Reaſon to think it was ſeen by Vaſquez de Gama in his Firſt Voyage Four Years before. The Portugueſe left here Hogs, Poultry, and planted ſome Fruit Trees, which was their uſual Cuſtom. They were however ſo far from making a Settlement, except that now and then they left ſome ſick Men there, that they made a Point of driving out a few Negroes that took Shelter therein. A. D. 1588 it was viſited by our famous Circumnavigator Capt. Cavendiſh, who hath given a very good Account of it. It was alſo viſited by Sir James Lancaſter, who made the Firſt Voyage in the Eaſt India Company's Service. The Portugueſe erected a Chapel in which they depoſited Inſtructions for their homeward-bound Ships. Other Nations followed their Example, but upon their taking away the Dutch Letters, the Seamen of that Nation were ſo exaſperated that they demoliſhed the Chapel and deſtroyed moſt of the Trees. But about 1643 Two great Portugueſe Carracks being wrecked here, their Crews got on Shore, and once more repleniſhed the Iſland with Cattle, Hogs, Goats, &c. and it was not long after that we took Poſſeſſion of and ſettled it.

moſt

moſt cloſe to the Shore. At Chapel Valley, where conſidering the conſtant Difficulties and ſometimes Accidents that happen in bringing Goods on Shore, a Quay would be a great Conveniency, and might be made at no great Expence. The other Landing Places are in like Manner perfectly ſecured by ſtrong Batteries of heavy Cannon. The Garriſon conſiſts of about Three hundred Men, who are generally healthy, and make a very good Appearance. In caſe of Danger all the Inhabitants may be put under Arms, and their Slaves are furniſhed with Iron Crows, with which they might be enabled to roll Showers of immenſe Stones from the Rocks upon any Invaders. The Company beſides other Officers maintain likewiſe a Chaplain and a Schoolmaſter for teaching Engliſh, Writing, and Arithmetic, with competent Salaries. The Governor ſupplies the People's Wants from the Company's Storehouſes, allowing them Six Months Credit for what they purchaſe. Theſe Debts they are enabled to diſcharge by the Money they receive from the Seamen and Paſſengers, to whom they furniſh freſh Proviſions, which is all the Trade they have, as except Fiſhing Boats there are no Veſſels belonging to the Iſland.

The flouriſhing Condition of this little Iſle is a very ſingular and ſtriking Proof of the Benefits that are to be derived from Situation, which, as we have obſerved, hath raiſed into ſo much Conſequence a Rock deſtitute of every other Advantage. In its preſent improved State, there may be ſome Doubt made whether its Strength and Size, from both which it derives an almoſt abſolute Security, do not compenſate for all other Defects, and render it to the full as valuable to our Company as any Eſtabliſhment of this Nature their Competitors poſſeſs, though they make a much better Appearance. The annual Ship which carries the neceſſary Stores of every Kind is the only Outward-bound Indiaman that touches here, but as the Refreſhment of the Crews of Homeward-bound Veſſels is the principal Uſe of this Settlement, any poſſible Improvements in Agriculture would be highly advantageous. The diſcovering there, or introducing any valuable Drugs, or Plants that yield a rich Dye, might be alſo very beneficial to the Inhabitants, by enabling them to live better, and to make more vigorous Efforts in the Cultivation of their ſmall Farms; ſome have alſo thought that Means might be found by the Help of this Iſland to keep a more regular and conſtant Correſpondence between the Indies and Europe than hath been hitherto eſtabliſhed [e]. But as to the Utility and Practicability of this the Company muſt be the proper Judges.

CHAP.

[e] The Dutch, who were very well acquainted with this Iſland aſſert, that in the Clefts between the Rocks there are Veins of very valuable Kinds of Boles or Earth. Some of the Nature of the Terra Lemnia, and not at all inferior to it. Some in the Rocks towards the South-weſt.

weſt of the Iſle of a rich bright red, which may poſſibly be what Nieuhoff mentions, and toward the Eaſt Veins of a very fine Azure. It is not improbable that by the Offer of a Premium theſe Earths might be recovered; for though the Inhabitants are not in any high Reputation for their Induſtry, yet from Habit they are very dextrous in traverſing the Precipices of their native Country. The Company have always ſhewn an Inclination to promote Improvements; with which View, A. D. 1705, they cauſed to be tranſported from Gambron, ſome of thoſe Animals that bear the Caramania Wool, which however it is probable did not ſucceed. The annual Expence of the Company in reſpect to this Settlement, if I am rightly informed, amounts to upwards of Twenty thouſand Pounds, whereas their Income falls ſhort of One thouſand Pounds. In a State of the Company's Accounts dated 30th September A. D. 1771, it appears that the Expence of their Buildings to that Period amounted to 28,128l. The Caſh in their Treaſury was 8852l. The Value of their civil and military Stores was computed at 37,558l. Their Plantations at 11,166l. and their Slaves at 4595l.

CHAP. IV.

SECT. II.

Of the Preſidency of Bombay on the Coaſt of Malabar.

THE Deſcription and Hiſtory of the Eaſt Indies affords a ſpacious Field, that would require much Room, great Talents, and very extenſive Information to treat with a Degree of Accuracy and Preciſion. Theſe Circumſtances, together with the Importance of the Subject hath, of late Years more eſpecially, produced from many Perſons of diſtinguiſhed Abilities, a Variety of Works that do Honour to their reſpective Authors, as well as contribute to the ample Satisfaction of the Public. As the Scene is continually changing from Revolutions that happen there more frequently than in any other Part of the World, theſe muſt continue to furniſh Materials which will call forth new Performances of the ſame Nature, and theſe without Doubt will be equally well received. What is here propoſed is to exhibit a conciſe View of our Settlements in the Eaſt, with ſuch Circumſtances as may beſt ſerve to point out their Conſequence relative to Great Britain. To perform this with all poſſible Brevity and Perſpicuity, the eaſieſt and plaineſt Method that can be purſued is to ſpeak of the ſeveral Preſidencies the Company have eſtabliſhed, and their ſubordinate Factories, in that Order in which they lie according to the Geography of the Country [a].

FIRST

[a] The principal Objects here conſidered are the Situation of the Company's Poſſeſſions, their Extent and Condition, the Time and Manner in which they were acquired, the particular Purpoſes

First, then with regard to the Coaſt of Malabar, the Company have eſtabliſhed their Seat of Government at Bombay. This is an Iſland lying in the Latitude of Nineteen Degrees North, and in the Longitude of Seventy-two Degrees Eighteen Minutes Eaſt from London; One hundred and Thirty Miles South from Surat, and Two hundred North from Goa. It is, though in many Reſpects a Place of great Importance, yet of very ſmall Extent, being not more than Twelve Miles in Circumference. The Climate was heretofore eſteemed very unwholeſome from a Variety of Cauſes, the principal of which were a vaſt Number of Coco Trees which hindered the free Circulation of the Air, the Manuring theſe Trees with Fiſh, from whence aroſe putrid Exhalations, and from thoſe alſo of Sea Ouſe and Pools of ſtagnated Waters. Theſe Cauſes being now in a great Meaſure removed the Iſland is at preſent eſteemed tolerably healthy, and thoſe who live temperately ſpend many Years there without any extraordinary Inconvenience. The Soil is not very fertile, producing only Fruit, a great Quantity of Coco's and a little Rice, inſomuch that the Inhabitants depend in a great Meaſure for their Proviſions upon the neighbouring Continent and Iſlands. The Water alſo is but indifferent, there being but few good Springs in the Iſland [b].

The City or Town of Bombay, which is about a Mile in Circuit, is very pleaſantly and conveniently ſituated, and in its preſent State is large, commodious and well built. The Harbour is equally ſafe and capacious, pro-

poſes they are intended to anſwer, and in conſequence of theſe their Importance to Great Britain. Theſe are all ſolid and permanent Points, from the Contemplation of which we can at all Times form a Judgment of the State of Affairs in theſe far diſtant Countries, as well as of the Tendency of the Events that happen in them, to which there will be always ſuch Attention due as is proportioned to the Benefits reſulting from them to the Commerce, Navigation, and Revenues of this Nation.

[b] The Climate in Bombay is at preſent by no Means ſo intemperate as ſome of our old Writers repreſent it. The dry Seaſon laſts for eight Months, during which the Heat of the Day is generally tempered by alternate Land and Sea Breezes. Towards the Cloſe of May they have uſually a terrible Storm which brings in the Rains that laſt to the Beginning of September, refreſh the Air, reſtore Moiſture and the Power of Vegetation to the Earth, and are by no Means unhealthy. The Country by Dint of Cultivation produces Abundance of Cocos in which the Wealth of the Inhabitants conſiſts; ſome Rice, and great Abundance of excellent Onions, which with Variety as well as Plenty of good Fiſh, ſupply no inconſiderable Part of their Subſiſtence to the Natives. In this Reſpect they might be much better accommodated if vaſt Quantities of Fiſh caught upon the Coaſts of theſe Iſlands were not ſalted and ſent to Surat and other Places, in which Trade there are many large Boats employed. The Salt likewiſe expended in this Fiſhery is manufactured here, and a great Part of it made for the Account of the Company; this is certainly much better than laying the Fiſh to the Roots of the Trees and corrupting the Air, as was formerly practiſed. The Company have Two fine Gardens, One of them a little Way out of Town, the other at the Governor's Country-ſeat, both very pleaſant and well cultivated. The Company have likewiſe an Eſtate in Land, the Profits of which are brought to their Account.

tected by a regular Fortreſs very ſtrong, and to which at different Times Alterations and Additions have been made at a great Expence. Theſe, though every way ſufficient for Defence againſt the Country Powers might, from their being commanded by an adjacent Eminence, have been expoſed to great Danger if attacked by Europeans, but that Inconvenience is now removed. There are alſo ſome other fortified Poſts in the Iſland, by which it is rendered perfectly ſecure. This with the Excellence of its Port, in which there is a fine Dock that will admit a Seventy Gun Ship, together with other Docks and convenient Places for building and repairing Ships, much ſuperior to any in other Parts of India, have been highly advantageous to the Settlement, in Time of War more eſpecially when his Majeſty's Ships come thither to repair, and are readily ſupplied with all Neceſſaries. Merchant Ships are at all Times repaired here, and ſome even of Seven or Eight Hundred Tons Burthen are built here either for the Company's Service as Cruizers, or to be employed in Trade. Gunpowder is likewiſe made in great Quantities not only for the Uſe of the Ships and Settlement, but alſo for ſupplying Madraſs and Bengal. Theſe are Circumſtances which render this Iſland wonderfully populous. Amongſt its Inhabitants there are many rich Merchants, and formerly a Multitude of Weavers, of whom ſome remain, the Reſt of the People are Planters and Farmers, who under the Protection of the Company enjoy Plenty and Peace[c].

Bombay was for a long Series of Years in the Poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe, who notwithſtanding the Convenience of its Port, derived little Benefit from it. This induced them upon the Marriage of their Infanta Catherine, to make a Ceſſion of it to our King Charles the Second; who ſent a Fleet with a conſiderable Body of Land Forces to receive it, and at length, though not without much Reluctance, it was put into our Hands. The chief Difficulties were raiſed by the Clergy, and eſpecially by the Jeſuits, who, at length, by an equivocal Interpretation of the Grant, kept the Iſland of Salſet, which hath been ſince conquered by the Marattahs. Our King had not the Iſland long in his Hands before it was evident that

[c] We were in Poſſeſſion of the Iſland, Town, and Haven, many Years before they turned much to our Advantage, owing to a Variety of Accidents, but more eſpecially to an ill-judged War with the Mogul, and to our Diſputes with the Dutch. Theſe produced two Invaſions, which the Strength of the Place enabled us to repel. But when once our Preſidents began to have a true Notion of the Company's Intereſt, and in conſequence of this encouraged Trade, received Strangers kindly, and treated the Inhabitants with Juſtice and Lenity, the Number of People gradually increaſed. There is a general religious Toleration of Portugueſe, Moors, Perſees, Gentoos, and other Nations, ſo that every Man is free in Opinion, ſecure in his Perſon and ſafe in his Property. The State of this Iſland therefore candidly conſidered is a deciſive Proof of his Effects that might be produced by the Excellence of our Government in any Part of India.

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the Revenues were by no Means adequate to the Expence, and therefore at the Requeſt of the Eaſt India Company his Majeſty relinquiſhed all his Rights to the Iſland, Port, and Fortifications to them, reſerving only the Sovereignty and a very ſmall Quit-rent, and under that Grant it hath been enjoyed ever ſince [d].

AFTER this valuable Acquiſition came thus into their Hands, it was very wiſely judged expedient by the Company to transfer thither the Preſidency from Surat, where it had been eſtabliſhed under the Protection of the Mogul, which was done for many weighty Reaſons. The Place was their own in which they were abſolute Maſters. The Harbour ſo commodious, as under a good Government to attract Merchants from all Quarters; and the Situation of the Place exceedingly convenient for managing the Commerce of the whole Coaſt. The ſupreme Power is lodged in the Preſident and his Council, compoſed generally of Nine Perſons appointed by the Company, who have the Management of all Affairs Civil and Military. Judicial Proceedings belong to the Mayor's Court, erected by Charter, which with proper Regulations might be rendered exceedingly uſeful to the Settlement. The Members of the Council have alſo the principal Offices in the Company's Service allotted to them, that is, to ſuch as are reſident there, ſome being always abſent in Quality of Chiefs at their ſubordinate Factories. Theſe hold a conſtant Correſpondence with the Preſident and Council; which Correſpondence, together with their Deliberations and Reſolutions, are regularly tranſmitted Home to the Directors [e].

[d] The Portugueſe came into Poſſeſſion of Bombay and the Iſlands dependant upon it, A. D. 1537. They held them for above a Century with very little Improvement, except maintaining a Multitude of Prieſts, and carrying on but very little Trade, ſo that it was conſidered as of no great Conſequence to the Crown when it was given up to us. We did not enter into Poſſeſſion till the Year 1665. The Treaty of Marriage, by the Eleventh Article of which the Ceſſion was made, was dated the 23d of June 1661. The Fleet and Forces ſent by King Charles under the Command of the Earl of Marlborough and Sir Abraham Shipman the next Year, coſt the Crown One hundred Thouſand Pounds, and when we did get Poſſeſſion we were defrauded of Salſet and Caranjar, becauſe not mentioned by Name, though included as Royalties belonging to Bombay and inſerted in the Map which was delivered to the King. The Grant of the Crown to the Company bears Date the 27th of March 1668. We had from that Period continual Diſputes with the Portugueſe, till they were diſpoſſeſſed of Salſet and the other Iſlands by the Marattahs, which Conqueſt however could not deſtroy our previous Claim of Right.

[e] The Crown and the Company were equally deſirous that a Court of Juſtice ſhould be eſtabliſhed here conformable to our Laws. The Mayor's Court was accordingly erected by Letters Patent in the Thirteenth of George I. and again by the like Power in the Firſt of his late Majeſty's Reign. It is at preſent eſtabliſhed by virtue of Letters Patent dated the Eighth of January, in the Twenty-ſixth of his late Majeſty, all expreſſing the great Conſequence of maintaining Order, Juſtice, and Equity amongſt the Inhabitants; and if by any Regulations theſe can be more effectually ſecured, there is no Doubt that the Crown, which is the Fountain of Juſtice, will afford all neceſſary Aſſiſtance to the Company to render thoſe under their Juriſdiction happy.

The moſt Northern Place in which we have any Reſident is Scindy or Tatta, once the Capital of an independant Kingdom of the ſame Name, on the River Indus. At preſent this Place is poſſeſſed by one Golam Shah, who ſtiles himſelf Prince of Scindy, and notwithſtanding the Confuſion that hath ſo long reigned in theſe Parts, there is ſtill a very conſiderable Commerce carried on here in ſome of the richeſt Commodities, and in many of the fineſt Manufactures in the Eaſt. The Trade of the Company however hath been very much embarraſſed from a Miſunderſtanding with the Prince, for removing of which there was a Treaty made ſome Years ago, but we are not able to ſay what Effects it hath produced. We have alſo a Reſident at Cambay, in the Latitude of Twenty-three Degrees, at the Bottom of the Gulph of the ſame Name, in a very fertile Country, abounding with a Variety of rich Commodities and Manufactures. Some very judicious Perſons have thought that greater Advantages might be drawn from both theſe Places than have accrued for ſome Time paſt, and it is in Hopes of this that our Correſpondence with them is ſtill continued. Surat lies in the Latitude of Twenty-one Degrees Ten Minutes, it was formerly One of the moſt famous Marts in the Eaſt, but is at this Time much declined, and what Commerce ſtill remains is owing to its being immediately under our Protection, a Circumſtance that may hereafter poſſibly become of greater Conſequence than it is at preſent. As in this Part of the World Countries and Cities change their Appearance and Conditions much more frequently than in any other [f].

[f] The City of Surat ſtands upon the River Tappi. The Port is at Suhali. It roſe into Conſequence from its happy Situation, which drew to it the Commerce of all that Part of India, and our Factory was fixed there A. D. 1612. Beſides this it was the Place from which the Moors embarked for Mecca, which alſo cauſed a great Reſort thither. Aurengzebe when he became Maſter of it, ſurrounded it with a Wall, built a Fortreſs, and kept a Fleet to protect the Inhabitants from Pirates, allotting the Revenue ariſing from a large Diſtrict of Lands for the conſtant Support of this Force On the Declenſion of the Empire Things fell here as in other Places into great Confuſion, ſo that compelled by the Depredations committed on our Trade from thence, we made ourſelves Maſters of it in our own Defence. The Mogul recognized this Action and made a Grant to the Company, 4th September 1759, of the Caſtle and of the Office of Deroga or Admiral of the Fleet, with the Tanka or Salary of two Lacks of Rupees for its Maintenance, to which with the Lands before-mentioned we have a legal Title. The Rents of thoſe Lands aſſigned for the Support of the Governor and the Salary of the Deroga are ill paid, and the Marattahs have an Agent to receive their Chout or Proportion of the Revenue, to prevent their harraſſing the Inhabitants. But under all theſe Diſadvantages the holding this City is of ſome Conſequence as well as Credit to the Company. The Inveſtments are chiefly in ſuch Goods as are fit for the Guinea Trade, and in large Quantities of Cotton for the Bengal and China Markets. Conſiderable Merchants here buy up European Commodities which they ſend into the interior Parts of India, and there is good Ground to hope, if the Country Government was once well ſettled, the Commerce of Surat would ſpeedily revive.

At Carwar which lies to the South of Bombay in the Latitude of Fifteen Degrees, we had formerly a Fort ſeated in a fine healthy Country, and upon a pleaſant River, but we have not any Thing to do there at preſent. Onor in the Latitude of Fourteen Degrees is likewiſe ſeated in a good Country abounding with Pepper, for the Purchaſe of which we have ſtill a Reſident there. Tillicherry in the Latitude of Twelve Degrees Thirty Minutes, hath a ſmall Fort and a Town near it, the principal Object of Trade here is Cardemoms, a Spice peculiar to this Part of the World, but on account of the Expence the Company it is ſaid is diſpoſed to withdraw from thence. Ajengo is a little neat Fort about Thirty-five Miles North of Cape Comorin, erected about Fourſcore Years ſince for the Sake of the Pepper Trade, but the principal Uſe now made of it is for the Slaughter of Black Cattle for the Subſiſtence of the Inhabitants of Bombay. The whole Extent of the Malabar Coaſt is about Nine hundred Miles, in which we had formerly ſeveral more Factories than at preſent, but the Pepper Trade being of leſs Conſequence ſince our Improvements made at Bencoolen, they have to ſave Charges been withdrawn. The Trade to Arabia, the Red Sea, and the Gulph of Perſia were alſo with great Propriety put under the Direction of this Preſidency, when in a much more flouriſhing Condition than they are at this Juncture, though in proceſs of Time perhaps they may recover g.

The Company's Servants, private Traders, and Merchants of all Nations reſiding here carry on a conſtant and extenſive Commerce through all Parts of the Indies, which in many different Circumſtances proves exceedingly beneficial to the Inhabitants of Bombay. This Commerce conſiſts in ſupplying ſeveral Ports on the Malabar Coaſt, on that of Arabia, and in the Gulph of Perſia with Proviſions, Goods, and Manufactures brought from Madraſs, Bengal, and other Places, as well as European Commodities, and carrying the Produce and Manufactures of theſe Places, according as they are in Demand to thoſe Settlements reſpectively. This

g The Company had formerly a very conſiderable and profitable Trade in Perſia, for the Management of which they had Factories at Iſpahan and ſome other Places, but particularly at Gombron or Gambron on the Coaſt, where they annually ſold from Five Hundred to a Thouſand Bales of Cloth. This Commerce was very much decayed when the French under the Count d'Eſtaing plundered the Factory A. D. 1760, and it has not been judged expedient to reſettle it. The only Place in the Gulph in which we have now any Settlement is Buſſorah, which belongs to the Grand Signior, where we ſtill vend ſome Woollen-goods. There is alſo a great Reſort to this Port from Bengal, Surat, and other Places as well as Bombay, and theſe Veſſels pay a Conſulage to the Company for their Protection. There is Reaſon to hope, that if the Affairs of Perſia were once more in a ſettled Condition our Commerce there might revive. A Ship is ſent once in Two Years to Mocha on the Coaſt of Arabia from Bombay to purchaſe between Three and Four thouſand Bales of Coffee, each Bale being above Three hundred Weight.

it is which conſtitutes what is ſtiled the Country Trade. Beſides this the Gentlemen at Bombay ſend uſually an annual Ship to China, and diſtribute their Returns from thence through the ſeveral Places before-mentioned. As in the Management of ſo much Buſineſs a great and conſtant Circulation of Specie becomes requiſite, a Bank under the Direction chiefly of the Preſident and Council hath been erected here, and there are beſides many private Perſons who are Dealers in Money, and very frequently acquire as large Fortunes by lending at Reſpondentia as are raiſed by being concerned either in Shipping or in Trade. It is by ſome or by ſeveral of theſe Methods that the Britiſh Subjects in this Iſland accumulate gradually thoſe Eſtates which center at length in this Country, where the Enjoyment of their Friends and Families can alone compenſate for their long Labours in the Eaſt [b].

THERE are many of the little States on the Coaſts of Arabia and Malabar that have been from a long Series of Time as much addicted to Plunder and Piracy as thoſe of Barbary, which rendered the Navigation of theſe Seas equally hazardous and precarious. The Succeſs of theſe Freebooters ſometimes inſpired their Chiefs with ſuch Ambition, and at the ſame Time furniſhed them with ſuch Acceſſions of Power as rendered them formidable even to the Europeans, more eſpecially to the Portugueſe, and at length to the Dutch and Engliſh, till by the Aſſiſtance of a Squadron of his late Majeſty's Ships their principal Forts were taken and their Naval Force ruined, though not ſo entirely extirpated as not to be ſtill in ſome Degree troubleſome. This obliges the Company to keep up a regular Marine at Bombay, conſiſting of ſeveral Veſſels carrying from Six to Twenty Guns, conſtructed in a particular Manner to accommodate them for this Service. Theſe armed Veſſels are chiefly employed as Cruizers and Convoys, and ſometimes for carrying Military Stores and Goods to other Settlements, and bringing back proper Returns. This Marine Eſtabliſhment is of great Conſequence to the Settlement, as it not only gives Security to their Commerce, and keeps their turbulent Neighbours in awe, but alſo conciliates the Friendſhip and Eſ-

[b] The Cargoes uſually exported from Bombay conſiſt of Rice, Cocos, that is, Coco-nuts, which are a great Commodity, Cardamoms, Pepper, and other Goods collected from different Parts of the Malabar Coaſt. From Gambron or Buſſorah they bring Hing or Aſſafœtida, red Earth, Sulphur, Dates dry and wet, Almonds, Raiſins, and ſeveral rich Drugs. Mocha and Muſcat afford the ſame Kind of Goods, and frequently a Balance in Money. From Scindy they bring Putchuk, Rice, ſome Piece Goods and Leather. The Cargo of the China Ship conſiſts in Tea, raw and wrought Silks, China-ware, Sugar and Sugar-candy, the beſt Part of which is again re-exported to ſome or other of the Places before-mentioned.

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teem, as well as the Reſpect of other Nations, who very willingly accept of their Protection [i].

The unfair and injurious Conduct of the Portugueſe in reſpect to their Ceſſions to Charles the Second upon his Marriage with their Infanta Catherine hath been already explained. This Conduct of theirs, beſides innumerable other Inconveniencies involved the Eaſt India Company in continual Diſputes and Altercations with the Viceroys and Governors of the Portugueſe Settlements for near Threeſcore Years, as appears by numerous Memorials and other Papers ſtill preſerved among the Archives of the Board of Trade, many of which I have peruſed. They were at length determined by the Marattahs making themſelves Maſters of Salſet, Caranjar, and the other Iſles that in a Manner hem in that of Bombay. This however was only changing One troubleſome Neighbour for another, though the leſs vexatious of the Two, but beyond all Doubt we can never render this Settlement of that Conſequence which it ought to be, but by delivering ourſelves ſome Way or other from theſe Embarraſſments [k].

The Company ſeem indeed of late Years to have paid more Attention than formerly to Bombay, but by no Means more than it deſerves, or to ſpeak with greater Accuracy, than it requires. They have increaſed, as the Reader will ſee at the Bottom of the Page, the Military Eſtabliſh-

[i] One of the moſt famous of theſe Pirates in our Times was Angria, whoſe Anceſtors for a Century had exerciſed the ſame Profeſſion, being originally Subjects to Seva Rajah. This Man had gradually acquired not only a great naval Force, and ſeveral Iſlands ſtrongly fortified within Twenty or Thirty Miles of Bombay, but a Territory alſo on the Continent One hundred Miles long and Sixty broad. Governor Boon after an unſucceſsful Attempt concluded a Treaty with him A. D. 1715, which he broke. Admiral Mathews was not more happy in 1723. After this Angria took the Deptford Indiaman, ſeveral Dutch Ships, and ſome Places on the Coaſt from the Portugueſe. He was at length totally ruined by the worthy Admiral Watſon in February 1756, who took by Storm his Fortreſs of Geriah, and deſtroyed his naval Power, which conſiſted of Fifteen Grabs, which carried Six and Nine Pounders, Five Ketches, Two Ships of Forty Guns, and about Forty Gallivats and other ſmall Craft.

[k] This Iſland of Salſet, excluſive of the ſmaller Iſles that lie about it, is twice the Size of Bombay, ſeparated from it by a Gut of the Sea not a Gunſhot over, and extending northwards towards the Continent, from which it is ſeparated by another very narrow Strait. It is a very pleaſant fruitful Iſle, and if it was in the Hands of induſtrious Inhabitants the Produce of it would be very conſiderable. It is at preſent peopled chiefly by half-caſt Portugueſe Farmers, who remained there after it fell into the Hands of the Marattahs. They raiſe a ſmall Quantity of Rice, but what they chiefly depend upon for their Subſiſtence is rearing Poultry, Hogs, &c. and cultivating Greens and Roots with which they daily ſupply the Inhabitants of Bombay, who would be grievouſly diſtreſſed if deprived of theſe Proviſions, as they ſometimes were by the Portugueſe, who in the Time of Governor Phipps entered into an Alliance with Angria and gave Shelter to his Veſſels when chaced by thoſe of the Company.

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ment in such a Manner that when fully complete it will be very formidable, and must at all Events be very expensive. The Motives to this Conduct, if we may presume to develope them, were not only the Security of this Island, but providing also for that of Madrass, by keeping such a Force on the Back of the Marattahs, as might enable us to make a Diversion whenever these restless People were troublesome to either Settlement. This however can never be thoroughly effected without the Acquisition of the Islands before-mentioned. Some very judicious Persons, and well acquainted with the State of Things in this Part of the World, have thought that considering the whole Malabar Coast is possessed by many independant Princes, exceedingly jealous of each other, and often at open War, few of them having any better Title than Force or Fraud to their Dominions, and at all Times courting our Friendship, it might be possible for us by Means of Negotiation to obtain such Concessions as might be requisite for the Prosperity of this Presidency. Others again with at least equal Probability are inclined to believe that we have this Alternative only in our Power, to purchase the Places that we want or to conquer them, either of which will be attended with much Expence. If these Methods are declined another must be adopted, which is the reducing the present and proposed Establishments, which otherwise must prove a constant and heavy Burden upon the Company without producing any considerable Advantage. A Matter that certainly deserves great Consideration, more especially in the present State of Things, when the Face of our Affairs in India are so much changed from what they formerly were, and when from Principles of sound Policy it becomes requisite to pursue such Measures as may prevent their changing again [1].

[1] The most proper Method of explaining what is said in the Text will be to give the State of the Bombay Account from May 1769, to May 1770, which stood thus. The Number on the civil Establishment was Ninety-six, the Charges 124,428 l. the Military Establishment consisted of 1883 Europeans, and 6301 Seapoys: Total of the Military Charges 182,369 l. Fortifications and Buildings 78,827 l. Total of the Charges 385,624 l. Civil and Military Stores 133,625 l. Goods for Europe 295,429 l. Debts due to the Company 289,792 l. Balance in the Treasury 49,242 l. Investments 117,086 l. Annual net Receipts of the Revenue 66,566 l. (In 1767 it yielded near 80,000 l.) Value of the Ships 74,831 l. Of the Elephants, &c. 1098 l. of the Plate, Houshold Furniture 15,037 l. Of the Slaves 196 l. Of the Company's Plantations 29,058 l.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Presidency of Fort St. George on the Coast of Choromanael.

THE Eastern Part of the Peninsula on this Side the Ganges called the Coast of Choromandel or Cormandel, is a spacious noble Region watered by many fine Rivers, and beautifully diversified with Hills, Plains, and Woods producing all the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life in the greatest Plenty. The Sea Line of this excellent Country reaches about Two hundred Leagues, and the Fertility of the Soil corresponding with the Industry and Ingenuity of its Inhabitants, it was filled with Cities, Towns, and Villages well peopled, and abounding in the richest Commodities and most valuable Manufactures, which were the Objects of a most extensive Commerce long before the Europeans found a Passage into these Seas. The Kingdoms and Principalities into which so vast a Tract of Land was divided, maintained a mutual Correspondence with each other, and even with the remotest Parts of India. Trade being universally encouraged, and Merchants every where admitted and caressed. Hence it was, that when the Europeans came upon this Coast under this Pretence they met with a friendly Reception, and were permitted for the Conveniency of their Commerce to establish Factories, and afterwards to erect Forts for their Security, with the Licence of the Princes in whose Dominions they were allowed to reside. This affords a probable Account of the Disparity that hath been remarked in point of Situation amongst these Settlements, as they did not in many Cases depend so much on the Choice of those who made, as the Will of those who permitted them to settle where they did [a].

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[a] The only Way to understand this Subject thoroughly is to look back to and consider the former State of Things, when we shall find that the Sovereigns of India were not so weak, or the Europeans so potent as in succeeding Times, their Maritime Skill and Power being very much improved by their carrying on this Commerce. The Inhabitants of these Eastern Countries are on the other Hand in all Respects very much declined. The Portuguese when they first visited Mosambique found Pilots there so well acquainted with Astronomy and Navigation as to be able to conduct them through the Indian Seas. The Chinese before this Time carried on a Commerce, and settled Colonies in different Parts of the Indies. Nations still more remote visited the Peninsula of Malacca, but gave over that Trade as soon as they heard of the Europeans. The Ship Timber of these Countries is excellent, and though their Vessels are not so neat and elegant as ours, yet they are large and strong, and will last (or as the Sailors phrase it will reign) a Century. Their Boats are so commodious for landing Passengers and Goods, that at Madrass and Pondicherry the Europeans employ them in preference to their own. The Merchants in different Parts of India are, or at least were very extensive Traders; and many of them immensely rich. Their

Fort St. George which is our Capital Settlement on this Coaſt, lies in the Latitude of Thirteen Degrees Fifteen Minutes North, and in the Longitude of Eighty Degrees Seventeen Minutes Eaſt from London. The Town was anciently called by the Moors Jenna Patnam, or as it is commonly written China Patnam, that is, the little Town, but at the Time we ſettled there, it was ſtiled Madras Patnam. It lies Twenty-five Leagues North from Pondicherry, and near Fourſcore Leagues South from Maſulipatam. The Climate is very warm, but the Heat is tempered by the Land and Sea Breezes, and by the Contrivance of Verandas, a Kind of Piazzas to the Houſes, and ſhady Walks without Doors, is rendered very tolerable, ſo that it is eſteemed in point of Health equal to any Part of the Indies. The Soil immediately on the Sea Coaſt, and for ſome Space round it, is ſandy and of courſe barren, but within Land fertile and well cultivated, ſo that at no great Diſtance from the Town there are many pleaſant and agreeable Retreats, to which the wealthier Inhabitants retire in the Summer.

The old Fort of St. George was a regular Square, with Four Baſtions all of Stone, looking directly upon the Sea. In this Fort was the Governor's Houſe, a very ſtately Pile of Building, in which the junior Servants lodge, Councils are held, the public Records kept, and all other Buſineſs of Importance tranſacted, though the Governor no longer reſides therein. The White Town as it is called, and which is inhabited by the Engliſh, that is, thoſe in the Company's Service, their Families and Dependants, is very neat and compact, with good Houſes, ſeveral fair Streets, and ſome very handſome public Edifices. It forms a long Square in which Fort St. George is included, is well fortified, hath a numerous Artillery on the Baſtions, a deep Foſſe, and a ſpacious Eſplanade between it and the Black Town. The latter is what is properly called Madraſs, is much larger, though not ſo well built as the former, the Streets wide, the whole ſurrounded with a ſtrong Wall, and that by a broad and deep Ditch, on the other Side of which there is a Rampart and a very thick Fence or Quickſet, through which Apertures muſt be cut before an Enemy can approach the Ditch. The Whole makes a very beautiful Appearance at Sea, affords a fine Proſpect at Land, and hath many delightful and well cultivated Villages in its Neighbourhood. It muſt however be acknowledged, that

Abilities ſo conſpicuous that we conſtantly uſe them as Brokers in tranſacting our Buſineſs. But in reſpect to Policy, the Art of War, and civil Prudence we are certainly their Superiors. By the Firſt we have created ſome, and availed ourſelves of every Opportunity to increaſe our Strength. By the Help of the Second, that is by our Military Diſcipline, we have made Uſe of them to ſubdue themſelves, and in virtue of the laſt, by treating them with Juſtice and Lenity, paying them regularly, and affording them Protection, we have ſecured, and ſhall, while we purſue this Conduct, be always able to ſecure the Advantages we have gained.

through

through inclement Seaſons, and the Multitude of People in Madraſs who ſubſiſt by Manufactures and Trade, there is ſometimes a Scarcity of Proviſions, which are ſupplied from other Parts, and there have been Inſtances of Famines. But the Northern Parts of this Coaſt being now in the Company's Hands, and very plentiful Countries, they might, by erecting Granaries, provide effectually againſt theſe Calamities not only without any Expence, but with a certain and conſiderable Advantage to themſelves, beſides doing an Act of the greateſt Beneficence to the poor Inhabitants, who are immediately under their Protection. There is indeed no Port at Madraſs, but the Road is good, and though the Surf runs high the Country Boats, which are always ready, land both Goods and Paſſengers from the Ships with great Safety [b].

The Engliſh Company ſettled here and built their Fort ſomewhat more than a Century ago with the Permiſſion of the King of Golconda, in whoſe Dominions it then was. The moſt probable Reaſon for their fixing here was the Vicinity of St. Thomas or Meliapour, at that Time a Place of great Trade, in which they were willing to have a Share, and to which upon the Reduction of that Place by the Moors, who took it from the Portugueſe, they have happily ſucceeded. The Encouragement they gave to Manufacturers, their kind Treatment of the Natives, and other Circumſtances, rendered it in a few Years a very conſiderable Place. It was notwithſtanding expoſed to many Difficulties and Inconveniencies from the Troubles that happened in the Country from time to time, and from the Avarice of the Governors after the Country firſt became Tributary, and in Proceſs of Time was abſolutely ſubdued by the Mogul. In our own Days, ſince the Declenſion of that Empire, and the Governors of Provinces ſetting up for themſelves, it hath had a full Share of thoſe Diſturbances which this occaſioned, more eſpecially after the French began their Intrigues with the Country Powers and thereby put the Preſident of Fort St. George under the Neceſſity of entering alſo into Alliances with them for the Preſervation of the Company's Concerns. In conſequence of this in the War before the laſt

[b] If we reflect a little on the Deſcription given in the Text we ſhall find it a Kind of hiſtorical Type of the different Circumſtances of this Settlement. The old Square Fort, which from North to South meaſured One hundred and Eight Yards, and only One hundred from Eaſt to Weſt, points out the Condition we were in when this was ſufficient for the Reſidence of our Factory, the Reception of our Merchandize, and the Security of our Concerns. The White Town, which is ſometimes called The Outer Fort from the Strength and Diſpoſition of its Fortifications, exhibits an Idea of the Growth of our Power; as the Extent of the Black Town, and its numerous Inhabitants, very clearly demonſtrate the Confidence of the Natives in our Protection. Taken altogether we may juſtly ſay that this noble Eſtabliſhment, by its Splendour and Strength, reflects great Credit on the Company, and at the ſame Time does Honour to the Nation under whoſe Auſpice that Company is maintained in ſo flouriſhing a Condition.

between the Two Nations, this Place was taken by the French, and reſtored, as we have elſewhere mentioned, at the Peace. It was again beſieged in the laſt War, but ſo gallantly defended, that the Enemy were compelled to retire, ſince which it is become in all Reſpects more conſiderable and more reſpectable than any European Eſtabliſhment upon that Coaſt [c].

Affairs are adminiſtered here, as in the other Settlements of the Company, by a Governor and his Council, who have under their Direction a ſufficient Number of experienced Perſons in different Ranks of Service, and thereby in a Capacity of riſing gradually to the higheſt Poſts, and by theſe, as we have ſaid, the White Town is chiefly inhabited. The Company perceiving the Expediency, and conceiving their Charter veſted them with ſufficient Authority, inſtituted a Court of Mayor and Aldermen and other Magiſtrates for the Diſtribution of Juſtice, many Years before they had ſpecial Powers delegated to them for that Purpoſe by the Crown in the Letters Patent mentioned in the former Section. This wholeſome Inſtitution hath been productive of ſo many good Effects that the Town of Madraſs, as we have before obſerved, is filled with Inhabitants of all Nations, who are glad to reſide in a Place where their Perſons and Properties are ſecure, and where Induſtry and Ingenuity are encouraged and protected. Beſides the Buſineſs of the Company, their Servants reſiding here and the Armenian and other Merchants carry on a moſt extenſive Trade to moſt Parts of India on their own Accounts. As by this Commerce the Servants of the Company in Proceſs of Time acquire conſiderable Fortunes by Dint of their Vigilance and Experience, ſo in the End theſe center here, and the Nation is enriched by their Acquiſitions, independent of the great Profits the lucrative Commerce of the Company produces. This Commerce conſiſts in all the rich Goods and Manufactures for which this Country hath been ever famous, ſuch as long Cloths, Salampores, Beteelas, &c. On the other Hand they take from us Woollens, Copper, Lead, Iron, Steel, Coral, Cutlery Wares, Toys, &c. They export alſo from ſome Parts of the Coaſt

[c] The Situation of Fort St. George and its Dependencies will, if maturely conſidered, appear to be equally commodious and well choſen, inaſmuch as it is in the Centre of the Coaſt of Coromandel, which it may at preſent be ſaid to command. It was this very Circumſtance that made St. Thomas, which is little more than a Mile to the South of it, when in the Hands of the Portugueſe, the greateſt Mart in theſe Parts, and as ſuch choſen by the French before they ſettled at Pondicherry. Madraſs was taken, as we have mentioned above, on the Tenth of September 1747, Mr. Morſe being then Preſident. The Siege before it in the laſt War was raiſed the 16th of February 1759, after the French had continued Nine Weeks before the Place, by the wiſe Conduct and intrepid Behaviour of the preſent Lord Pigot, and Sir William Draper. In its preſent State it is found equally convenient for managing the Inland Trade, and maintaining the neceſſary Correſpondence with all the great manufacturing Cities in the Carnatic.

Salt

Salt and Cotton. Their Manufacturers are very induſtrious, ingenious, docile, and ready to imitate whatever is ſhewn them. Almoſt every Diſtrict is diſtinguiſhed for ſome particular Kind of Goods, not only on the Sea Coaſts but in the Inland Towns, from many of theſe they are tranſported to Madraſs, which is alſo ſuppoſed to be the greateſt Mart in the World for Diamonds, though the direct Road to the Mines is from Maſulipatam, which is well fortified, and in our Poſſeſſion [d].

Amongst the Factories ſubordinate to Fort St. George the moſt conſiderable was Fort St. David's, at the Diſtance from it of about Ninety Miles South. The Ground upon which this Fort was built, and a ſmall Territory round it, was fairly purchaſed from the Natives at a very high Price, and regularly fortified at a great Expence. But as it ſtood in the Neighbourhood of Pondicherry, and was in point of Trade as well as Strength a Place of great Conſequence, when they became Maſters of it by the Fortune of War, they levelled it with the Ground, and as they left it it ſtill lies in Ruins [e]. But the Company have a convenient Factory near it at Goudelore or Cuddelore, upon a very pretty River, which anſwers all the Purpoſes of Trade perfectly well. Farther to the South the Company as well as the Dutch have a Houſe at Porto Novo, which belonged to the Portugueſe, and when taken from them by the Moors was called Mohammed Bander. In the Kingdom of Tanjour, which is a pleaſant and fertile Country, they have Davecottee, which is the laſt Place they have to the South. To the North of Madraſs the Company have Maſulipatam and

[d] The Preſident of Madraſs and his Council having the Direction of all the Commerce carried on from thence, we may well conceive muſt require a great Number of Perſons in different Stations to aſſiſt them. The Oeconomy of the Company's Concerns in reſpect to Cuſtoms, Rents, &c. is a very conſiderable Department, to which we may add the Diſtribution of Juſtice and the internal Police of ſo large a Place and its Dependencies. Beſides all theſe the political Adminiſtration is now become of the higheſt Conſequence, for the Support of which a very reſpectable Military Eſtabliſhment is abſolutely neceſſary. This, if I am rightly informed, conſiſts of between Four and Five thouſand Europeans, and upwards of Sixteen thouſand black Infantry, regularly paid, and very exactly diſciplined. A great Part of theſe are employed in the Garriſons of the ſtrong Places, and in covering the Frontiers of the Carnatic, by which Means the Peace of the Country, the Authority of the Subahdar, and the Safety and Security of the Company's Affairs are very effectually provided for.

[e] It is generally allowed that Fort St. David was One of the faireſt and fineſt Fortifications ever erected by the Europeans in the Indies. It ſtood Five Leagues South from Pondicherry, and the Chief of the Factory reſiding there carried on a large Trade in Piece Goods, and in the Commodities of the Country. The French attacked it with great Vigour on the 19th of December 1747, but by the Aſſiſtance of the Subahdar of Arcott's Troops they were repulſed and forced to make a precipitate Retreat to Pondicherry. In the ſucceeding War we were not ſo fortunate, ſince after a Siege of Twelve Days it was taken on the 2d of June 1758, by reaſon, as it was ſaid, that the Works were not Bomb Proof, and that the Garriſon was in want of Freſh Water. Goudalore, a Place of no Strength, ſurrendered at the ſame Time, and the French deſtroyed both.

Nizampatnam

Nizampatnam, with the Diſtrict belonging to them, in Property. On the River Narſipore they have Madepollam, a little to the Northward Bandermalanka on the Narcapell Ingwam. They have alſo a Factory at Vizagapatnam, where are manufactured the fineſt Chintz in India, and dependent upon that One at Gonjam, very famous for ſpotted and and flowered Muſlins, which is the laſt Port upon this Coaſt. Beſides theſe they have the Five Northern Sircars granted them in Perpetuity by the Subahdar confirmed by the reigning Mogul. Theſe were formerly poſſeſſed by the French, and lying at a Diſtance from the Subahdar's Territories, and in the Neighbourhood of a mountainous Country in the Hands of Polligars, or little Indian Chiefs, were of ſmall Conſequence to him, though they yield a conſiderable Revenue to the Company, and are beſides of great Importance, as lying near the Confines of Oriſſa [f].

We may from this very ſuccinct Account form in ſome Meaſure a juſt Idea of the very great Value of this Preſidency from the preſent happy State of the Company's Affairs therein. The Situation of their Poſſeſſions in one of the fineſt Countries in India affords them the higheſt Advantages in point of Commerce, which is ſufficiently evident from the large and valuable Cargoes they receive from thence. It is of no leſs Conſequence in reſpect to Security from the judicious Arrangement of their Concerns with the Subahdar of the Carnatic; his Dominions being protected by the Company's Forces maintained at his Expence to the mutual Advantage of both. It is no leſs advantageous in point of Revenue, which is regularly collected, and amounts to a great Deal more than all the Charges that the Company is at, though theſe are very large. The Power and Influence ariſing from theſe Poſſeſſions render the Company highly reſpectable in the Eyes of their Neighbours. We may add, that when the Affairs of the Bombay Preſidency

[f] In conſequence of a Treaty between the Nizam of the Decan and Colonel Forde, dated 24th May 1759, a Grant was made to the Company of the whole Sircar of Maſulipatnam, with Eight Diſtricts, as well as the Sircar of Nizampatnam, and the Diſtricts of Condavir and Walcalmanner as an Iniam or free Gift in the ſame Manner they had been held by the French, and in Conſideration of the Aſſiſtance given by the Company's Troops to diſpoſſeſs them. The Nabob or Suba of Arcott, by his Sunnud, bearing Date the 16th of October 1763, confirmed to the Company all the ancient Grants of which they were poſſeſſed, adding to theſe many more as a Jaghire, and afterwards granted an Augmentation of theſe, amounting in the Whole to Twenty-four Diſtricts, comprehending 2201 Villages, by his Sunnud of the 29th of October 1763; which Grant was confirmed by the Firman of Shah Aalum, the preſent Mogul, dated the 12th of Auguſt 1765, for the invariable and never failing Friendſhip of the Engliſh Company to hold for ever and ever. The Five Northern Sircars, which as is mentioned in the Text, had been in the Poſſeſſion of the French, were granted by the Subahdar of the Decan, and his Grant confirmed by the Firman of the Mogul, dated the ſame Day with the former, as an Iniam or free Gift. The Company therefore have the cleareſt legal Title to theſe Lands, that is, the Rents and Cuſtoms iſſuing from them, ſpecifically mentioned in thoſe Grants.

ſhall

ſhall be as thoroughly and effectually eſtabliſhed, and a proper Correſpondence maintained for the Support of their mutual Intereſts, the Country Powers may be ſo balanced as that the Peace of the Peninſula may be effectually ſecured, which will equally redound to the Honour and Profit of the Company, and at the ſame Time procure a Degree of Happineſs to all its Inhabitants ſuperior to what they have hitherto enjoyed g.

g The following State of the Company's Concerns in this Preſidency from the Month of May, A. D. 1769, to the ſame Month, A. D. 1770, will it is hoped throw a ſufficient Light on the Particulars mentioned in the Text, and thereby fully explain to the Reader the very great Importance of this noble Settlement. The Number of Perſons on the Civil Eſtabliſhment were One hundred and Two. The Civil Charges 57,762 l. The Military Eſtabliſhment conſiſted of 4642 European Troops, and of 16,674 Seapoys; the Total of the Military Charges 367,652 l. The Expences of Fortifications and Buildings 26,215 l. the Total of both Civil and Military Charges 451,629 l. The Value of Civil and Military Stores 266,966 l. Goods for Europe 132,184 l. Debts due to the Company 879,227 l. Balance in the Treaſury 100,664 l. Inveſtment 199,326 l. Annual nett Receipt of Revenue 510,347 l. Value of their Ships 28,654 l. Of their Elephants, &c. 17,492 l. Of their Plate, Houſhold Furniture, &c. 9,019 l.

SECT. IV.

Of the Preſidency of Fort William at Calcutta in Bengal.

THE Object of this is very different from any of thoſe which have been the Subjects of the former Sections. We are here to conſider not merely a particular Settlement and Factories ſubordinate thereto, but a large, fertile, and pleaſant Country, great in its Dependencies, great in its preſent Productions, and ſtill more ſo in the Advantages that are and may be derived from it. Theſe however, that is to ſay the Revenues, the Modes of collecting and Means of improving them, having been already amply diſcuſſed by thoſe who were perſonally and intimately acquainted with all the Points as well Political as Commercial relating to them, there is no Neceſſity to repeat what they have ſaid, or to enter into the Diſputes which different Views and different Notions have excited amongſt them. It will be abundantly ſufficient for the Purpoſe of this Work to give a ſuccinct, and according to the beſt Lights we have been able to obtain, a true Account of the Situation and Extent, the Climate, Soil, and natural Productions of this extenſive Territory, to point out briefly thoſe Emoluments that have accrued, and thoſe that may probably and reaſonably

reaſonably be expected to ariſe to this Nation from theſe opulent Dominions being occupied by Britiſh Subjects.

The Provinces of Oriſſa, Bahar, and Bengal are the moſt Eaſtern of thoſe that compoſed the Mogul Empire. They extend from the Twentieth or Twenty-firſt to the Twenty-ſeventh Degree of North Latitude, and from the Eighty-fourth to the Ninety-ſecond Degree of Longitude Eaſt from London. They are bounded on the North by the Kingdom of Boutan; on the Weſt by ſeveral Provinces of the Mogul Empire, and by a Tract of Country in the Poſſeſſion of the Mahrattas; to the South by the Gulph of Bengal and the Kingdom of Arracan; and to the Eaſt by the Kingdoms of Aſſam and Tipra, ſome Part of which is in the Hands of the Company. Theſe Territories comprehend a Space that might be ſufficient to ſatisfy human Ambition, if human Ambition could be reſtrained within any Bounds; ſo furniſhed with neceſſary and valuable Commodities as to ſatiate all the Wiſhes of their Inhabitants, and in ſo happy a Situation as to put it in their Power by the exporting their own Superfluities to relieve the Wants, and by that Means to draw to themſelves immenſe Riches from the remoteſt Countries, as well as from their immediate Neighbours [a].

This Deſcription will naturally lead us to conceive, that in ſo diffuſed a Country there muſt be a great Diverſity of Climate, independent of the Accidents ariſing from the Circumſtances that attend particular Situations. This will be ſtill more evident if we reflect, that the Tropic of Cancer paſſes over the Middle of it, ſo that all on One Side is in the Torrid, and all on the other in the North temperate Zone. In the higher Countries therefore the Weather is temperate, and the Air pleaſant and wholeſome. In the lower the Heat is great, and the rainy Seaſons diſagreeable. But notwithſtanding this it is very certain, that even in theſe Temperance and Prudence ſo effectually defend both Natives and Europeans againſt their Inconveniencies, as to enable the former to reach to an advanced Age, and the latter, after

[a] Theſe Provinces ſpread from Weſt to Eaſt, that is, from the River Caramnaſſa to the Borders of the Kingdom of Aſſam Four hundred Miles at leaſt; and very little leſs from South to North, that is, from the Gulph of Bengal to the Frontiers of Boutan. This conſequently comprehends a Country no way inferior in point of Size to Spain or France, and in general much better watered and more fertile than either. The Bounds on almoſt every Side are defended by Mountains, and the Paſſes through them by which the Mahrattas enter might be eaſily fortified, and at a very moderate Expence; which, with the Army uſually maintained, would render it as defenſible as perhaps any Country in the World, more eſpecially if we conſider that there is little or no Concert between the Country Powers.

a long

a long Reſidence there, to return Home in ſo good a State of Health as to ſurvive many Years [b].

In ſo large a Tract of Country there muſt be a proportionable Diverſity in the Soil; but in general the Whole may be ſtiled exceedingly rich and fertile, and adapted by the Skill and Labour of the Inhabitants to a Variety of uſeful Purpoſes. Grain of different Sorts, but more eſpecially Rice, grows in almoſt incredible Abundance. Great Plenty and Variety of excellent Fruits. No Country produces more or better Vegetables of every Kind, either for Food or Phyſic. The Mountains, which are chiefly on the Confines, ſupply various Sorts of Timber, particularly what is called Shaal, no Way inferior to Oak. As to tame Animals for the Uſe of Food, for Draught, and for Carriage, this Country affords a ſufficient Stock, and the ſame may be with equal Truth affirmed in reſpect to Fowl and Fiſh, both excellent in their Kind, and in amazing Plenty. But at the ſame Time it cannot be denied that there are Abundance of wild Beaſts, Birds of Prey, and other noxious Creatures, more eſpecially in deſart or thinly inhabited Places [c]. Beſides the celebrated Rivers Ganga, Ganges, and Brimhaputre there are many ſmaller Streams, ſo that no Region in the Univerſe is either better watered, or hath an eaſier, cheaper, more conſtant or more regular Communication through all its Parts, and even from

[b] The Seaſons in theſe Provinces, though they may be ſaid in general to be regular, yet are nevertheleſs ſubject annually to ſome Variations. In that Part within the Torrid Zone the Rains are heavier, with leſs Intermiſſion, and laſt longer than in thoſe Parts that are in the Temperate, whence Patna the Capital of Bahar is eſteemed more healthy and pleaſant than Dacca, which was formerly the Capital of Bengal. Beſides ſome Places are incommoded from the particular Circumſtances of Situation, as is the Caſe of Calcutta, from a Lake at a ſmall Diſtance, which however it is ſaid might be drained at no great Expence, and which in the Firſt Settlement was probably overlooked in favour of other Conveniencies. However the Excellence of the Fruits, the Richneſs of the dyeing Woods brought from thence, and the great Fecundity of the Women ſpeak ſufficiently in Praiſe of the Climate, the Diverſity of which moſt certainly contributes not a little to the vaſt Variety of the Productions of this Country.

[c] In the Country about Patna, they grow very good Wheat, and might have a great Deal more if Rice was not generally preferred. Of this they raiſe ſuch vaſt Quantities that we find the Word Gunge added to the Name of many of their Towns, which implies that ſuch a Place is a Corn Market. About Fifteen Miles North from Muxadavad there is a Place called Bugwan Gola, that is, the Granary of Bugwan, allowed to be the greateſt Mart for Grain in Indoſtan, the Duties upon which, though very low, amounted annually to Three Lacks or upwards of Thirty-ſeven thouſand Pounds. Beſides Rice this Country produces a vaſt Abundance of Ghee which is Kind of boiled Butter, and is a great Ingredient in all Indian Cookery. To this we may add immenſe Quantities of Oil extracted from the Seeds or Grains of the Plant Seſamum uſed in Lamps, in Food, and in Phyſic. Of all theſe great Cargoes were ſent annually to the Coaſts of Coromandel, the Iſland of Ceylon, to the Maldives, and even into the Gulph of Perſia as well as into other Parts of the Indies, and though at preſent decayed, this Commerce might be eaſily revived whenever Peace and regular Government takes a Place in thoſe diſtracted and impoveriſhed Countries, and their Inhabitants ſhall be reſtored to a Capacity of Correſponding with other Nations

thoſe the moſt diſtant, quite down to the Sea, which is very commodious in reſpect to the Trade within Land, as well as exceedingly ſo in regard to foreign Commerce [d].

The natural Fertility of the Lands, the Benignity of the Climate, and the Toil of the Huſbandman produces almoſt incredible Quantities of Neceſſaries, ſo that their Markets are every-where full of Rice, Honey, Oil, Butter, Ginger, long Pepper, &c. Beſides theſe they abound with many rich Commodities ſuch as Lac, Civet, Opium, Salt Petre, Sugar, Indigo, Wax, Cocos, Salt, Beetle, Tobacco, and a great Variety of Materials for Dyeing, and other Kinds of Drugs. To theſe we may add their Two great Staples, Cotton and raw Silk. Very large Quantities of the latter are exported, but the former is manufactured into a vaſt Variety of what we ſtile Piece Goods, Muſlins, &c. and ſometimes their own falling ſhort they import, as we have hinted, Cotton from Surat. Their Manufactures of Silk are alſo very conſiderable, as the Natives are equally diſtinguiſhed by their Induſtry and Ingenuity, which with Plenty of Neceſſaries and their Sobriety renders Labour cheap, and the Country extremely populous (though leſs ſo than formerly) containing, as ſome have computed, Sixteen Millions; neither will this appear at all incredible, the great Extent of Territory, and the Advantages before recited being maturely conſidered, ſince in Proportion it is not ſo great as in the Province of Holland [e].

The

[d] In order to explain what is ſaid in the Text, it may be proper to mention that large Boats carrying Two hundred Tons of Salt Petre come many hundred Miles down the Stream from Patna at the proper Seaſon of the Year for loading the Ships. Beſides the many Rivers and Branches of Rivers that interſect the Country, there are large and deep Canals dug with infinite Labour to connect theſe Streams, and facilitate Water Carriage from One great Town to another, which ſhews how fully this Country was once inhabited, and by how induſtrious a People. In the great Rivers, and particularly in the Ganges there are many, and ſome large and beautiful Iſlands, which though now overgrown with Wood and Receptacles only for Rhinoceros's and Tygers were formerly well cultivated, and might be ſo again, if Peace with a mild and ſettled Government were once reſtored.

[e] What hath been ſaid in the Text will ſufficiently explain to the intelligent Reader the true Sources of the Opulence of this Country, which hath been deſervedly, as well as emphatically ſtiled The Paradise of Nations. A fine Climate, a rich Soil, and an induſtrious People made the whole World, comparatively ſpeaking, tributary to Bengal, and thereby furniſhed her without the Aſſiſtance of Mines, with immenſe Treaſures. Her Commerce with Europe alone produced from the Engliſh, Dutch, French, Portugueſe, and Danes upwards of a Million Sterling annually. Her Trade to the Gulphs of Perſia and Arabia, by which ſhe ſupplied not thoſe Countries only but Turky, Georgia, Armenia, and Leſſer Aſia brought in vaſt Sums. Her Exports to the Eaſtern Parts of the Indies, even as far as the Philippines, were continual Sources of Riches increaſed by the Coaſt Trade with Coromandel and Malabar as high as Scindi, and ſtill farther ſwelled by the Crowds of Merchants who came to purchaſe her Commodities and Manufactures from all Parts of Indoſtan, and from the Kingdom of Aſſam. Abounding in herſelf with all the Neceſ-

ſaries

THE Mogul Tartars under their Emperor Akbar made their Firſt Impreſſion upon theſe Provinces, within a ſhort Time after we found our Way into their Dominions. He and his Succeſſors conquered them gradually but not entirely, for large Territories were left in different Places under the Rajahs or Princes of the Natives, who became tributary to the Mogul, but otherwiſe retained their Sovereignty, and governed the Gentoos according to their own Laws and Cuſtoms. Theſe Conceſſions were very wiſe as they preſerved a conſtant and conſiderable Revenue to the Conqueror, though perhaps not quite ſo great as if the Conqueſt had been abſolute. The Subahdars or Governors had an Officer under them called the Duan, who collected the Emperor's Revenues, which in Time of Peace were annually ſent to Dehli. In the Declenſion of the Empire theſe Governors ſet up for themſelves, and very ſeldom paid their Tribute. Our Eaſt India Company formed ſeveral Settlements, the Principal of which was at Hughly, which for ſome Reaſons they transferred to Calcutta; towards the Cloſe of the laſt Century built a Fort there, and had a ſmall Territory aſſigned them by the Emperor's Firman. They had beſides this other Factories, as at Caſſimbuzar near the Court of the Subahdar, and at Patna, to which by Fleets of Boats they carry great Quantities of Goods, and from whence they brought great Quantities of Salt Petre. An headſtrong Youth, who ſucceeded to the Government, hurried on by the Violence of his own Paſſions, attacked our Factory at Caſſimbuzar, and afterwards deſtroyed Calcutta. This produced that War, which by a Variety of ſucceſſive Revolutions hath thrown the Whole of theſe Provinces into the Hands of our Eaſt India Company, who adminiſter them, and collect their Revenues as perpetual Duans to the preſent reigning Emperor in virtue of a ſolemn Treaty. Such is the preſent State of our Affairs here [f].

THE

ſaries and Conveniencies of Life, ſhe ſcarce took any Thing in Exchange but Gold and Silver, if we except ſometimes for the Supply of Manufactures to be again exported, Cotton from Surat. A clear Proof that this Account is not exaggerated is the yearly Tribute which theſe Provinces paid to the Mogul, and which in the Days of Aurengzebe amounted to 3,358,178 l. of which a large Sum was ſent in Silver, as Tavernier tells us, who was an Eye-witneſs of it. In the Decline of the Empire, the Sum actually carried out was fixed at 1,250,000 l. of which not a ſingle Rupee returned.

[f] The Emperor Akbar invaded Bengal about the Cloſe of the Sixteenth Century, and the Conqueſt was not difficult for ſeveral Reaſons. The Country was divided into many independent Sovereignties, none of their Princes of a martial Spirit, and the People in general, as they ſtill continue, of a mild and timid Diſpoſition. After the Subahdars ſet up for themſelves, Civil Wars and Confuſions followed, and the Country was likewiſe frequently harraſſed by the Maharattas who extorted great Sums. Surajah Dowla ſacked the Town of Calcutta on the 20th of June 1756, without any juſt Cauſe. It was retaken with the Aſſiſtance of his late Majeſty's Fleet. When a new War broke out with that Nabob, he was defeated in the Battle of Plaſſey June

The Adminiſtration in this as in the other Preſidencies, is by a Governor and Council, conſiſting generally of Fifteen Members, in whom the ſupreme Power is veſted, and who have the entire Management of the Company's Concerns. Several of the Members of this Council are ſent to reſide as Chiefs at the ſeveral Factories, or to preſide over thoſe Diſtricts the Company holds, each having a Council to aſſiſt him. Thoſe who remain at Calcutta, which may be regarded as the Capital, aſſiſt the Governor in tranſacting all Affairs, and the Minutes of their Deliberations are conſtantly taken and regularly tranſmitted to the Directors here. For the Security of the Place there is now a noble, ſpacious, and well conſtructed Citadel, and in the Town dependent on the Engliſh Government a Multitude of Inhabitants of all Nations to the Number of ſome hundred thouſand Souls g. The ſeveral Offices relative to the Commerce of the Company are likewiſe executed by the reſiding Members of the Council, who, as we may reaſonably apprehend, have a great Number of Perſons in the Company's Service ſubordinate to them, and who are employed to aſſiſt them in the Diſcharge of their reſpective Duties. The Mayor's Court erected by the ſame Letters Patent that have been mentioned in the former Sections diſtributes Juſtice. But an Appeal lies from them to the Governor and Council. To them alſo belong the political Arrangements requiſite for mantaining Peace and good Order through the whole Provinces. One of the Members of the Council is conſtantly Reſident at the Durbar or Court of the Subahdar at Muxadavad, who as well as the Mogul receives an Allowance out of the Revenues collected by the Company. This Reſident, in Conjunction with the Miniſter of the Subahdar, regulates the letting of Lands,

22d 1757, and Meer Jaffier elevated to the Subahdarry upon his Death. He was depoſed by his Son-in-law Coſſim Aly Cawn, 20 October 1760, who had more Vigour than his Predeceſſor, an inveterate Hatred to the Engliſh, and a fixed Purpoſe of rendering himſelf independant. His Violence and Cruelty induced the Company to reſtore Meer Jaffier, July 24, 1763, notwithſtanding which Coſſim, with the Aſſiſtance of Sujah al Dowla Suba of Oude, made a new Effort to recover his Authority, but was abſolutely defeated at the Battle of Buxar 23d October 1764. Meer Jaffier died the 5th of February following. The ſeveral Grants of the perpetual Dewannee of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, bear Date the 12th Auguſt 1765, and in virtue of theſe the Eaſt India Company have ever ſince retained them in their Poſſeſſion.

g It may afford ſome Information to conſider the progreſſive Growth of the Settlement of Calcutta, which at the Beginning of the current Century had by the Firman of the Mogul a Territory of Six Miles in Length and Three in Breadth. The Fort was then very ſmall, and the Company's Troops between Two and Three hundred Men, the Town not conſiderable, and containing about Ten thouſand Inhabitants. The preſent Fort, which is about Three Miles in Circumference, was erected or rather begun to be erected after the Place was recovered from Surajah Dowla, with a View to preſerve it from the like Misfortune either through the Malice of the Moors, or the Attempts of European Enemies, and from that Time to the Cloſe of A. D. 1770, this Fort hath coſt the Company 891,267 l. The Diſtricts granted in Property to the Company by Coſſim Aly Cawn, and which it was propoſed this Fort ſhould protect, produced an annual Income of 600,000 l.

and

and the Conduct of thoſe who are employed in collecting of the Rents, Duties, &c. which when received are paid into the Company's Treaſury. For the Security of the Province a numerous Army is maintained, compoſed of Three thouſand Eight hundred and Ninety Whites, and Twenty-Six thouſand One hundred and Thirty-two Seapoys, regularly diſciplined under European Officers, and with the Charge neceſſary for repairing Fortifications and other Contingencies require, independent of what is paid for the Support of the Civil Government, a very large annual Expence, and this being defrayed the Remainder of the whole public Revenue is the Property of the Eaſt India Company [h].

This ſuccinct Account of the State of theſe Provinces, with the Facts adduced to ſupport them will, it is hoped, be ſufficient in ſome Meaſure to ſhew their vaſt Importance to the Eaſt India Company, and in conſequence of their being ſo the Benefit they are likewiſe to the Nation. Inſtead of that incertain and precarious State in which our Commerce remained here for many Years, we enjoy now the moſt certain and ample Security from the Nature of our Fortifications, and particularly the extenſive and highly improved Fortreſs at Calcutta, the large Body of Troops that we maintain and pay, who from that Circumſtance it is hoped may be depended upon, as the Natives, to uſe their own Expreſſion, have been hitherto faithful to thoſe whoſe Salt they eat. This joined to the Experience of our Officers and their Knowledge of the Country, with the Reputation ariſing from our Succeſs, may in a great Degree warrant what hath been ſaid. This Security hath enabled and diſpoſed us to acquire a very large Property in theſe Parts, for ſuch our Fortifications, Magazines, and in general all our Effects there may be conſidered. The territorial Income ariſing from the Rents of Lands, Duties on Cattle, Inland Trade, Cuſtoms, &c. amount to an immenſe Sum, from whence all Deductions being made there may, or at leaſt ought to remain in the Company's Treaſury what is ſufficient for the Purchaſe of the Company's Inveſtments without ſending an Ounce of Silver from hence. To all this we may add the Capacity the Company is in to furniſh a comfortable Subſiſtence, and in a reaſonable Space of Time, without either Fraud or Oppreſſion, ample Fortunes to the Britiſh Subjects whom they employ in their ſeveral Eſtabliſh-

[h] In the Text we have ſpecified the Number of the Company's Troops as they ſtood A. D. 1770, and the total Expence of this Eſtabliſhment amounted to 1,093,006 l. The Number of Servants on the Civil Eſtabliſhment were One hundred Seventy-four, and the Expences incurred for their Support amounted to 265,984 l. The whole Revenues of the Dewannee in the ſame Year were 3,561,539 l. and the net Receipt, all Charges of Collection deducted, 2,027,232 l. out of this taking the Civil and Military Eſtabliſhments, and the Expences on Fortifications, which together amounted to 1,816,615 l. the Reſidue will appear to be no more than 207,617 l.

ments,

ments. The Profits accruing to the Nation ariſe from the Shipping and Seamen in the Service of the Company, the Price of Freight, the Proviſions they conſume, the Stores they carry with and are ſent to them, and the Commodities and Manufactures of this Country exported thither, and which will continually increaſe. The raw Goods, eſpecially Silk and Salt Petre, imported from thence, and that give Buſineſs and Bread to Multitudes here, the annual Produce of the Company's Sales, which bring in great Sums from foreign Countries, the Cuſtoms and other Emoluments that accrue to Government, and in that reſpect operate in Diminution of our National Expence [i].

These and many other Circumſtances that might be enumerated very fully demonſtrate how much this Dominion merits the Attention of the Public. It ought not, indeed it cannot be concealed, that the ſeveral Revolutions that gave us the Poſſeſſion, and certain Meaſures that either were or were ſuppoſed neceſſary to preſerve it ſince, have for the preſent brought ſome Diſtreſſes on this Country by diminiſhing the Quantity of Silver that circulated therein, diſcouraging Induſtry, and leſſening Commerce [k]. But the Wiſdom of the Nation to whom this properly belongs, ſupported

[i] At Firſt Sight it certainly appears ſtrange that we ſhould truſt the Natives themſelves to ſupport our Power, and it appears equally ſtrange that the Indian Potentates ſhould not be able to employ them with equal Efficacy againſt us. But beſides that Experience hath clearly evinced that it is really ſo, the Cauſes may without much Difficulty be explained. Our Seapoys owe their Conſequence to conſtant Diſcipline, regular Pay, and a Confidence in their Officers. The Forces of the Country Powers are haſtily raiſed, ill paid, and under no Diſcipline, and when they have attempted to imitate ours their Seapoys could never be brought to entertain any Opinion of the Military Skill of their Leaders, and as theſe Circumſtances have given, ſo there is great Reaſon to believe they will preſerve our Superiority. To this we may add, that when our Government is thoroughly and properly eſtabliſhed on Principles of Equity and Indulgence, the Natives will find it their Intereſt to ſupport thoſe who cheriſh and protect them. The being able to carry on this Trade without exporting Silver, obviates the ſtrongeſt Objection that hath been raiſed againſt it. The Inveſtments from Bengal in A. D. 1771 amounted to 986,279 l. which in our Sales produced Two Millions and a Half at leaſt. When our Government is thoroughly fixed we may very probably be able to extend our inland Trade Northward, which will certainly enlarge the Exports of our own Commodities and Manufactures, and augment thereby in many Reſpects our national Advantages.

[k] The Silver ſent to Madraſs and Bombay, though certainly detrimental to Bengal, was a Meaſure neceſſary to the Company's Affairs, and contributed to extricate thoſe Preſidencies from a troubleſome and deſtructive War, ſince which they are both, but eſpecially the former, brought into a State of Security and Proſperity, and thereby afford a Proſpect of what by a right Management may be done in Bengal. The Sums ſent to China were likewiſe a Loſs to theſe Provinces but not to the Company, as the Produce was found by them, from the Goods which theſe Sums purchaſed in their Sales. Others, and perhaps greater Drains have ariſen from the Treaſures carried away by Coſſim Aly, and what hath been withdrawn by Perſons retiring out of the Three Provinces during the Troubles, which it is to be hoped are now at an End. Several Branches of Commerce have been ſtopped by inevitable Misfortune, ſuch as the Confuſions in the

ſupported by its Authority, may eaſily reſtore Order by eſtabliſhing a mild and ſettled Government, under which all Europeans in general may enjoy the Protection of our Laws and the Natives be permitted to live according to their own Cuſtoms, free in all Reſpects from Conſtraint or Oppreſſion. This being once done, the natural Fertility of the Soil, the innate Diſpoſition of the People, and the proper Improvements that may be made with reſpect to both, will both ſpeedily and certainly lead to Proſperity, and bringing all Things back to their old Channels render the future flouriſhing State of theſe Provinces as much an Honour to the Councils of Britain as the Acquiſition of them hath been already to her Arms.

the Perſian and Turkiſh Dominions, and the Trade to Manilla hath likewiſe failed; but there is nothing improbable in ſuppoſing that by degrees theſe will be recovered, or that new Channels will be opened. Agriculture in Time of Peace will certainly revive, and conſidering the rude State it is in, may and undoubtedly will be improved, and the ſame may alſo be expected in regard to Silk and other Commodities. We are but lately become Maſters, and have not as yet had Leiſure or Opportunities to diſcover and turn to Advantage thoſe Reſources which in a Country like this may, and certainly will be found.

SECT. V.

Of the Preſidency of Fort Marlborough near Bencoolen in the Iſland of Sumatra.

THE noble and capacious Iſland of Sumatra, being divided nearly in the Middle by the Equator, extends beyond it on One Side to about Five Degrees Thirty Minutes North, and on the other to about Six Degrees of Latitude South, and reaches from Ninety-four to One hundred and Four Degrees of Longitude Eaſt from London [a]. It hath

[a] The Iſland of Sumatra lies open on the North to the Gulph of Bengal. On the Weſt lie a Range of Iſlands of different Sizes at the Diſtance of Eight, Ten, and Twelve Leagues, which break the Waves of the Ocean, and yet have large and deep Openings between them which afford convenient Paſſages for Ships of any Size. On the South it is divided from the Iſland of Java by the Streights of Sunda; as on the Eaſt it is from the Peninſula of Malacca by the Streights of that Name, which are in ſome Places not above Eight Leagues broad; to the South Eaſt lies the Iſle of Banca with the Streights of the ſame Appellation, and on the ſame Side, though at a much larger Diſtance lies the great Iſland of Borneo. Sumatra ſtretches from North Eaſt to South Weſt. Mr. de Liſle makes it larger than both the Britiſh Iſles, but as its greateſt Length is Seven hundred, its greateſt Breadth at the South Weſt End ſcarce Two hundred Miles, and narrowing all the Way from thence to the Point of Achen in the North Eaſt, we may venture to affirm that it is leſs than Great Britain.

been

been deſervedly famous from very high Antiquity on many Accounts, for in point of Extent it hath been aſſerted by various Authors to be the Third Iſland in the World, which however, from the Knowledge we now have of it, ſeems to be exaggerated; more truly renowned for its rich and valuable Products and ſtill more juſtly celebrated for its happy and commodious Situation, which rendered it the Center of Commerce in reſpect to all the trading Countries of the Eaſt, before the Europeans found a Paſſage into thoſe Parts by the Cape of Good-Hope [b].

The Climate, as may be eaſily conceived from the Situation of the Iſland, cannot be either very agreeable or wholeſome. The Power of the Sun is great, the Country in general very marſhy from the Overflowing of Rivers, ſo that the Air is generally hot and humid. The rainy Seaſon is particularly dangerous from ſudden Storms attended with Thunder and Lightening, which are however but of ſhort Continuance, ſucceeded by as ſudden Calms, which alternate Variations have pernicious Effects, eſpecially upon European Conſtitutions. Beſides there being large Tracts of Fenny Ground, the Exhalations from them which the Land Winds bring down to the Coaſt, are equally noxious and noiſome. But notwithſtanding all this, Temperance, proper Precautions, and Cuſtom reconcile People to theſe Inconveniences, and beſides there are ſeveral Places on the South Weſt Coaſt, particularly Sillebar, which from their high Situation are equally healthy and pleaſant. The Iſland in general is frequently ſubject to Earthquakes.

The Appearance of the Country from the Sea is exceedingly pleaſing, being finely diverſified with lofty Hills, covered with Trees, craggy Rocks, wide ſpreading Plains, verdant Groves, many large beautiful Rivers, and the Coaſt frequently indented by fine Bays. The Soil is deep, rich, and fruitful, and would be more ſo, if inhabited by an induſtrious People, producing Grain and more eſpecially Rice, with all Kind of Herbs, moſt of the rich Fruits peculiar to the Indies, Foreſts of good Timber, abounding

[b] This ſpacious Iſle many conceive to have been the Ophir of Solomon, the Taprobana of the Greeks, and the Serendib of the Oriental Writers, while others contend that all theſe Appellations belong to the Iſland of Ceylon. The Caſe ſeems to be this, the Nations of the remoter Indies brought their Spices and other rich Commodities to Sumatra. Thither reſorted the Merchants of the exterior Indies from Ceylon, where having acquired thoſe Commodities by the Exchange of their own, they returned Home, and diſpoſed of them to the Traders from Tyre, afterwards to the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, who from thence confounded theſe Iſlands. Sumatra continued the Center of Eaſtern Commerce, when the Portugueſe firſt diſcovered it, and the City of Achen retained the Remains of it even in the Beginning of this Century. When therefore we maturely conſider the Deſcription of this Iſland, conſider alſo what in paſt Times it hath been, and diſcern from thence by Reflection what it may again be, it will ſurely appear a Matter of great Conſequence to this Nation that we have a conſiderable Settlement thereon.

with

with Buffaloes and other Cattle, with a Breed of ſmall but ſerviceable Horſes, tame, wild, and water Fowl in the utmoſt Plenty, and a great Variety of River and Sea Fiſh, many of them excellent in their reſpective Kinds. There are alſo in the Mountains and Deſarts Elephants, Rhinoceros's, Tygers, and Bears, which laſt are not found in any other Parts of the Indies. Crocodiles, Serpents of ſeveral Kinds, and other venomous Creatures are but too common.

We may be however aſſured, that it is not from Curioſity, or the Deſire of ſeeing ſtrange or rare Things that Europeans viſit, and much leſs reſide in this Country. Their Motive is Trade, and thoſe numerous rich and valuable Commodities which this Iſland produces. Amongſt theſe the Firſt Place is uſually given to Gold, which is waſhed down in Duſt and ſmall Pieces from the Mountains, eſpecially after Storms, which in this Country are very frequent. This was formerly a great Article in Commerce, though we hear little of it now, and yet the Dutch as well as the King of Achen are ſaid to have a Mine there. The Camphire found here is equal to that of Borneo, and much ſuperior to what is brought from China. Sapan and other dyeing and ſweet-ſcented Woods, which are much eſteemed and ſold at a high Price in the Indies. Benjamin, and a great Variety of valuable Drugs, are and many more likewiſe might be brought from hence. But after all the chief Staple is Pepper, which grows in ſmall Bunches on a Kind of Vine that creeps up great Trees, or twiſts round Stakes ſet for that Purpoſe. Of this immenſe Quantities are exported, and it happens very fortunately that the leaſt Grains, which have the mildeſt Flavour, are in moſt Eſteem in ſome Parts of the Indies and in China, to which great Quantities are annually ſent, as there might be alſo of thoſe odoriferous Woods that have been before-mentioned [c].

[c] Beſides Gold this Country hath alſo Mines of Copper, Lead, Tin, Iron, and Sulphur. The Tree that produces Camphire is called by the Natives Caphura, and is a Kind of Laurel, when it is Six Years old they cut it down, as finding by Experience the Reſin then becomes leſs odoriferous. In Borneo, the Tree which produces Camphire is called Sladi, and is a differnt Kind of Laurel. The Tree which produces it in Japan is called by the Inhabitants Kus no ki, and it is from this that the Camphire is made which is brought to Europe. Yet the Japoneſe eſteem One hundred Weight of the Sumatra Camphire worth Five or Six hundred of their own. The Dutch carry it thither, and when mixed bring it Home. The Venetians poſſeſſed for a long Time the Art of refining Camphire, which is now practiſed with great Profit in Holland, and there is no Doubt it might as well be done here. If we may truſt to the Oriental and Portugueſe Writers, Sandal or White Sanders of the very beſt Kind grow here, as alſo Aloes, the moſt valuable of all Woods, and which bears a great Price in China. The beſt Gum Benjamin or Benzoin grows about Barros, and is brought to Europe by the Dutch. Ambergris is frequently found upon the Coaſts of Sumatra, and there is no Reaſon to doubt that many other valuable Drugs might by a diligent Search be diſcovered in this Country.

Our Correſpondence with the Natives of this Iſland began very early, and with Circumſtances of great Eclat. Queen Elizabeth wrote a Letter to the King of Achen in favour of her Subjects trading in his Dominions, ſo did her Succeſſor King James the Firſt, who is alſo ſaid to have made a Preſent of ſome Pieces of Cannon to the then reigning Monarch. We continued our Commerce there and in other Parts of the Iſland for many Years without making any Settlement thereon. But when the Dutch made themſelves Maſters of the Kingdom of Bantam, to which, though ſituated in Java, a great Part of the Southern and Eaſtern Provinces of this Iſland belonged; it became neceſſary for us to take proper Meaſures to prevent our being entirely beat out of the Pepper, as we had already been out of all the other Spice Trade. At the ſame Time ſome of the little Princes of Sumatra being with good Reaſon jealous of the growing Power of the Dutch addreſſed themſelves to the Preſident of Fort St. George and offered him a Settlement in their Territories. This was accepted, and the Engliſh accordingly fixed themſelves at Bencoolen, where the then Eaſt India Company built a Fort at a very great Expence. In Proceſs of Time ſome Diſputes aroſe between our People and the Natives, which made it requiſite to ſend a Naval Force thither, and to conſtruct a new Fort, which was called Fort Marlborough, of which with ſome other Places we were diſpoſſeſſed by the French in the laſt War. On our regaining Poſſeſſion, that Fort hath been rebuilt, and Things brought into a much better Condition than they were before, but till this could be done our Settlement proved leſs beneficial than formerly to the Eaſt India Company [d].

[d] An Account of the early Tranſactions of the Engliſh at Achen may be found in the Firſt Volume of Purchas's Pilgrims, from whence a tolerable Idea may be formed of the Riches of that Country. In A. D. 1685 we, together with the French and Danes, were expelled from Bantam, and very ſoon after we formed our Firſt Eſtabliſhment at Bencoolen, and erected York Fort to protect the Settlement. When the Conduct of the then Eaſt India Company was enquired into they were highly commended for the vaſt Expence they beſtowed in fortifying there, but at the ſame time cenſured for not taking the like Precautions at Poleron, where there were but Twelve Perſons when the Dutch diſpoſſeſſed them of that valuable Spice Iſland. Fort Marlborough was built Four Miles to the South of Bencoolen, and from the Cauſes before aſſigned proved very unwholeſome, but upon cutting down and entirely grubbing the Woods about it, the Place, as I am informed by Perſons who have reſided there, is become much more healthy. It ſtands Two Miles South Weſt from the old Factory at York Fort in the Latitude of 4°. S. but the Longitude was not aſcertained till the Tranſit of Venus was obſerved by ſeveral Gentlemen there 6th June, A. D. 1769, when it was determined to be 6 h. 46′. 51″. or 101°. 42′. 45″. E. from London. It remained a peculiar Subordinate to Fort St. George to the 30th June, A. D. 1760, when it was erected into a Preſidency. The Southern Subordinates extend to 5°. 30′. S. Latitude, and the Northern in like manner to Manduta River in 2°. 45′. Fort Marlborough was taken from us by the French in February, A. D. 1760, and was recovered in the Spring of 1762. By the Eleventh Article of the Treaty of Paris, in A. D. 1763, Nattal and Tappanooly, which they had likewiſe taken, were reſtored.

The Adminiſtration is veſted in the Governor and Council, compoſed of Eight Members, who have the entire Direction of Civil and Military, as well as Commercial Affairs. The Extent of the Company's Juriſdiction is very conſiderable which they hold by the free Conſent of the Natives, who invited them to prevent their being oppreſſed by the Dutch. The principal Perſons in each Diſtrict contract in Writing to furniſh the Company, and them only with Pepper at a certain Price, and for the Reception of this Pepper we have ſeveral ſubordinate Reſidencies. To the Northward Tappanooly, Nattal, Mocomago, Bantal, Ippoe, Cattowan, Laye, and to the Southward Sillebar, Saloomah, Manna, Cawoor, and Croee. About Fort Marlborough they let their Lands to Farmers who are bound to raiſe a certain Number of Pepper Vines, and are paid at a certain Rate for every Bahar or Five hundred Weight. They likewiſe raiſe a conſiderable Quantity of Rice, of which Arrack hath been made. They have likewiſe a conſiderable Number of Camphire Trees, ſome of the Produce of which was ſent home, but did not turn to account. However large Quantities are annually ſent to China, where it is manufactured in the ſame Manner with what the Dutch carry to Japan. The Company alſo ſent Home Caſſia and Benjamin, but the Freight proved ſo heavy as to prevent their turning to Profit. They receive here annually a Ship laden with Stores of different Kinds, ſome of which, more eſpecially Iron and Steel, are ſold for the Company's Account. There are beſides uſually Three, ſometimes Four Ships ſent thither to take in Pepper, and as the Produce of this Commodity is daily increaſing, it is expected the Settlement will very ſoon furniſh a greater Number of Cargoes. The Chineſe formerly drove a great Trade here, and carried Home conſiderable Quantities of this Spice. But at preſent they get little, except it may be a few Junks laden by Stealth from the Dutch, which does not in any Degree anſwer to the Conſumption of the numerous Inhabitants of that extenſive Empire, where it is in general Uſe. We ſupply them commonly with about Twelve hundred Tons, which amounts to about Sixty thouſand Pounds, and is the only Commodity, except Cardamoms and Sandal Wood, furniſhed by any of our Settlements, though it is not at all improbable that Aloes and other odoriferous Woods highly valued by the Chineſe, might be raiſed in this Country, and exported thither [e].

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[e] The following Facts may contribute to give us ſome Idea of the Expences attending, and the Advantages accruing from this important Settlement. The Number of civil Servants which the Company had there, A. D. 1769, was Fifty-ſeven, and their Appointments and other Expences on account of the Civil Eſtabliſhment amounted to 24,843 l. The Military Force conſiſted at the ſame Time of Two hundred Forty-ſeven Europeans, and One hundred Thirty-three Seapoys, their Pay amounting to 14,921 l. the Charge of Fortifications 3,262 l. the Whole of the ſtanding

The original Deſign of this Settlement, as we have already obſerved, was to preſerve Pepper from being monopolized by the Dutch as well as all other Spices, and we may form a Judgment of the Importance of the Object at that Time from the large Sum that the then Eaſt India Company ſpent on York Fort, in order to ſecure their Infant Eſtabliſhment at Bencoolen. This End it had anſwered and promiſed farther Advantages before it was conſtituted a Preſidency. In this Light it is and ought to be conſidered as a Place of great Conſequence. But aſſuredly there are many Commodities beſides this in the Iſland, which though hitherto they have not, may hereafter be turned to advantage. The Soil and Climate conſidered, there is certainly nothing unreaſonable in ſuppoſing that ſeveral Trees and Plants of ſingular Utility in Phyſic and Manufactures may with due Care and Attention be raiſed here, eſpecially if we reflect that it is in the ſame Latitude with the Moluccas, and that the Dutch have practiſed this very Method with Succeſs in One of their Iſlands [f]. To this we may add, that in the Vicinity of this Settlement there are various Iſles of different Sizes well inhabited, which may probably be found to produce Commodities that are not, or at leaſt have not been obſerved in Sumatra. At all Events the very happy and commodious Situation of this Place for carrying on a Commerce with the richeſt Countries of the Indies may without Difficulty be improved. The Dutch at Malacca as well as in Java, are continually traverſing theſe Seas with great and ſmall Veſſels, and we are undoubtedly

annual Charges, 43,026 l. The whole Charge of Fortifications from the Time we recovered it to A. D. 1770 amounted to 29,277 l. On the other Hand the annual nett Receipt of Revenue in 1770 was 2,680 l. the Inveſtment 8,918 l. The Civil and Military Stores valued at 50,216 l. Goods for Europe 8,394 l. Balance in the Treaſury 43,350 l. Debts due to the Company 30,608 l. Value of their Ships, A. D. 1771, 12,363 l. of their Elephants, &c. 252 l. of their Plate, Houſhold Furniture 1,219 l. of their Slaves 14,197 l. The ſame Year the Company exported to this Settlement in Bullion 9,773 l. 13 s. 4 d.

[f] The old Eaſt India Company made a great Merit of eſtabliſhing this Settlement, which they aſſerted coſt them in Ten Years no leſs than Two hundred and Fifty thouſand Pounds. They ſuggeſted, that if the Pepper had fallen into the Hands of the Dutch they would have advanced the Price of it to what they vend their other Spices at, which on a Conſumption of Six thouſand Tons in different Countries would have amounted to an immenſe Sum, and have given them an inſuperable Advantage over all other European Nations trading to India. We may add to the Number of the Commodities already ſpecified in different Parts of this Section, Swallow, that is, Canes, Rattans, Cardamoms, Ginger, Arek, or Beetle Nut, Dragon's Blood, &c. It is ſaid that Spices have been brought hither, but that the Plants died; yet ſurely the Object is of Importance enough to have the Experiment repeated. There are ſeveral Sorts of Trees highly valuable in producing Materials for Varniſh and Dyeing, which might be eaſily introduced from the adjacent Countries, and even from China and cultivated in the Company's Plantations in the ſame Manner as Pepper Vines and Camphire. Beſides in a Country like this abounding with all Kind of Metals, there might poſſibly be diſcovered ſome valuable Minerals with the Natures and Properties of which the Inhabitants are not acquainted, and might therefore be obtained and ſent to Europe upon very eaſy Terms.

not

not inferior to them in Maritime Skill, or in our preſent Circumſtances leſs likely to ſucceed in Undertakings of this Nature with any of the oriental Nations. Commerce is the great, the proper Buſineſs of the Company and of its Servants, and whatever they acquire in this Channel muſt in the Iſſue turn to the Benefit of this Nation g.

The preſent as well as the old Eaſt India Company have at Times ſhewn a due Senſe of the Rectitude and Utility of theſe Principles, as evidently appeared from their eſtabliſhing Factories and even Settlements in different Parts of the remoter Indies which however were afterwards withdrawn. But as the Motives on which they were eſtabliſhed ſtill ſubſiſt, and as very many, if not all the Obſtacles which heretofore hindered their Succeſs in theſe Enterprizes are removed, and the preſent Circumſtances of the Company ſuch as may afford them juſt Room to expect better Fortune in their future Endeavours, we have a probable Ground of Hope, that theſe Deſigns will be reſumed, ſo that all the different Commodities and Manufactures of the Eaſt may be brought into this Nation through their Channel only. An Event which would be in various Reſpects beneficial to the Public as ſuch an Extenſion of their Commerce might enlarge their Exports, and would certainly increaſe their Shipping, augment the Number of Seamen in their Service, and very probably by a new Supply of Raw Materials contribute to the Employment of our induſtrious Poor at Home, at the ſame Time that it would prevent our Wealth from going out, and poſſibly add to the Number of foreign Purchaſers at their Sales h.

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g The Iſlands to the North Weſt are at leaſt many of them ſubject to the King of Achen, but thoſe to the South Weſt are ſuppoſed to be inhabited by the original Natives of Sumatra, who retired into them when expelled the larger Iſland by the Malays, who have continued Maſters of it ever ſince. The People in theſe Iſles are generally repreſented as the moſt brutal and intractable of all Savages, with whom there can be no dealing, as they are ſaid to murder without Mercy all Strangers who come to or happen to be wrecked upon their Coaſts. But notwithſtanding theſe Stories, if I have been rightly informed, a late Governor found Means to enter into a Correſpondence with ſome of them, and even prevailed ſo far as to engage them to come and make him a Viſit at Fort Marlborough. It is not at all unlikely that if this Intercourſe could be improved, we ſhould be able from theſe new Countries to derive ſome Advantages that might very well compenſate our Trouble in viſiting them. The Commodities they may afford, though not Objects to the Company might be ſo to their Servants; and it is very well known that the private Trade in the Eaſt Indies turns not only highly to the Benefit of thoſe concerned in it, but alſo to this Nation, on which Account it has been very wiſely permitted, and is the Means of carrying no ſmall Quantity of different Kinds of Goods from hence, that would not otherwiſe find a Paſſage to the Eaſt.

h The Cauſes of our not extending our Trade in theſe Parts ſo far as might have been rationally expected may be reduced to Three. The Firſt, our Factories in diſtant Parts being often expoſed

As we have no Eſtabliſhment in China our Commerce with that Empire does not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, belong to this Chapter; but as we before made a ſmall Treſpaſs on Geography in ſpeaking therein of the Iſland of St. Helena, though belonging to another Quarter of the Globe, ſo for the ſame Reaſon, that is, to bring this Subject into one View, we will now treſpaſs a little upon Method in order to treat briefly of this Matter. Our Company ſends now many more Ships thither than formerly and brings Home large Cargoes, the moſt valuable Parts of which conſiſt in raw and wrought Silk, ſome Cotton Manufactures, Tea, China, and in the private Trade, Variety of Drugs and much lacquered Ware. On the other Hand the Chineſe take from us ſome Broad Cloth and other Woollen Goods by which we get little; Lead, on which there is no great Profit, Sandal Wood, Cardamoms, and Pepper. The Balance, which is much in their Favour, being paid in Silver. It manifeſtly appears from hence of how great Conſequence it would be to diminiſh this Balance by introducing Commodities from Europe, or other Parts of India, as the Dutch do Spices, and which is certainly a Thing that is or may be at leaſt in ſome Degree practicable. As for the raw Silk we import, as it is manufactured here, and as the wrought Silks are again exported, this Part of their Cargoes is of Benefit to the Nation, which is the great Point to be attained, and ought therefore to be kept conſtantly in View [i].

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expoſed to Ruin by Invaſions, intéſtine Confuſions, and Revolutions in the Countries where they were ſettled. In the Second Place, they were not a little hurt by the embarraſſed and incertain State of Things at Home, whence there were at the ſame Time and in the ſame Ports Ships of the Company, Permiſſion Ships, and ſeparate Traders or Interlopers all carrying on their Commerce under Engliſh Colours. Laſtly, (of which many Inſtances might be given) the ſuperior Power and ſiniſter Arts of the Dutch. To ſome One or more of theſe Cauſes were owing the Loſs of thoſe Factories we formerly had in the Kingdoms of Pegu and Siam, as well as at Hean the Capital of the Kingdom of Tonquin. A Settlement was alſo eſtabliſhed on Pulo Condore over againſt the Coaſt of Cambodia, where our Governor and moſt of the People were cut off by their Macaſſar Soldiers A. D. 1705. We had a Factory at Succadana in the Iſland of Borneo in the Vicinity of a Diamond Mine; and another at Banjar Maſſeen in the ſame Iſland. The former was withdrawn, and from the latter we were driven by the Natives. However A. D. 1714 Sir Gregory Page being then at the Head of the Direction, a large Ship was ſent under Captain David Beekman, who made a proſperous Voyage to the ſame Place, though it is ſaid that a Factory might be much more conveniently ſeated oppoſite to the ſmall Iſland of Pulo Lout, where there is high Ground, a healthy Air, and a good Port. It muſt be acknowledged in favour of the ſeparate Traders and Interlopers, that they carried on their Commerce very ſucceſsfully in moſt of the oriental Iſlands with which we have little or none at preſent.

[i] The old Eaſt India Companies carried on the Trade to China at their Port Amoy or Emoy, where they were very indifferently treated by the Chineſe. They endeavoured therefore to procure leave to erect a Factory at Ning-po, in which they did not ſucceed. But with ſome Difficulty they were allowed to ſettle on the Iſland of Chuſan, according to the Chineſe Orthography Tcheou-chan, about Three Leagues from the Continent, and from thence they had a free Trade

to

This very ſuccinct Deſcription and Detail of our Poſſeſſions in the Eaſt, and of the Advantages ariſing from them, demonſtrates clearly of how great Conſequence they are to Great Britain. The Manner in which they have been attained hath been alſo plainly ſtated; but without deſcanting upon that, it is a Point of much more Importance to conſider how they may be retained, for this beyond all doubt is become a very important national Object. Their Diſtance and their Extent may ſeem to render this exceedingly difficult, but if requiſite to national Safety and Proſperity, it ought by no Means to be looked on as impoſſible. The Firſt Step ſeems to be ſo to connect the ſeveral Preſidencies, as that by a Concurrence of Councils and of Forces when neceſſary they may reciprocally aſſiſt each other, for then all their ſeparate and diſtinct Intereſts would in every Inſtance receive the Support of the Whole. A mild, uniform, and permanent Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed in every Preſidency, allowing the Natives to live according to their own Manners and Cuſtoms, which are ſuited to the Soil and Climate to which they are enured by Habit, and the altering of which in the End might prove as contrary to our Intereſts, as in the Beginning it would be to their Inclinations. The Laws of this Country ſteadily and ſtrictly enforced by reſpectable Courts of Judicature, would controul the Conduct of Europeans. The abſolute Protection from every Species of Oppreſſion in either their Perſons or Properties would reſtore Induſtry and Manufactures amongſt the Inhabitants, as well as conciliate their Affections, increaſe their Numbers, and induce them from a Senſe of their being perfectly ſecure to bring to Light their hidden and now uſeleſs Treaſures. Foreign Commerce properly encouraged would ſoon return, and extending through new Channels augment the Conſumption of our Commodities, enlarge the Circle of Correſpondence through the Indies, furniſh new Articles for our Sales, and bring many of the old Ones hither on eaſier Terms. The Whole of this Arrangement once thoroughly digeſted and fully carried into Execution would, under the conſtant Inſpection and Protection of the Legiſlature, preſerve in perfect Harmony every Branch of this political and commercial Syſtem.

to Ning-po. This Iſland they deſerted a little too haſtily in the Year 1702. The Iſland was indeed thinly inhabited, and in a very indifferent Condition, but it had been one of the faireſt and moſt flouriſhing Iſles dependent upon that Empire till ruined by the Tartars, and had been re-ſettled but a few Years. The Port was very good, and the Factory conveniently ſituated. The great Point the Company had in view was to preſerve a Correſpondence with the Japoneſe Junks that reſorted annually to Ning-po. This alſo led them to transfer this Colony to Pulo Condore in Hopes of getting the Chineſe and Japon Junks to touch there in their Way to Tonquin, when, as we mentioned in the former Note, they were cut off. The Company ſince then have reſumed their China Trade, and fixed at Canton, at which Port their Servants from Fort St. George had traded for many Years, and at this Port and this Port only the Trade ſtill continues.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Britiſh Forts and Settlements for the Protection of Commerce in Africa.

THE preſent Chapter will reach to no great Extent, though the Intercourſe with this Part of the World is and hath been highly beneficial, and in Proceſs of Time will probably become much more advantageous to this Nation. Africa is a Peninſula, and the largeſt Peninſula on the terraqueous Globe. It is bounded on the North by the Mediterranean, on the Weſt by the Ocean, on the Eaſt by the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, and joined to Aſia by the narrow Iſthmus of Suez, which is between Twenty and Thirty Leagues in Breadth. In Longitude it extends from Eighteen Degrees Weſt to about Fifty Degrees Eaſt from the Meridian of London, and from Thirty-four Degrees of North to ſomewhat more than Thirty-four Degrees of South Latitude. It is diſtinguiſhed by Four remarkable Promontories; Cape Bona to the North, Cape de Verd to the Weſt, the Cape of Good Hope to the South, and Cape Gardefuy to the Eaſt. In Extent it meaſures from Weſt to Eaſt One thouſand Five hundred and Fifty, and in Breadth from North to South about Fourteen hundred Leagues. It is divided into Two not very unequal Parts by the Equator, and lying almoſt altogether in the Torrid Zone, the Climate is very hot, and the Soil in many Places parched and barren. This however is chiefly to be underſtood of the interior Parts of the Country. In many other Places, more eſpecially on the Coaſt, the Climate is more tolerable, and the Soil very rich and fertile, producing Wheat, Barley, Rice, and other Kinds of Grain in great Plenty and Perfection; the Woods abound in ſeveral Kinds of valuable Timber, and other Trees that produce rich Fruits or precious Gums; it abounds in Cattle, Camels, Horſes, and with Elephants and almoſt all Sorts of wild Beaſts. The Bowels of the Earth and Mountains afford alſo Quarries of fine Stones, and moſt Kinds of Metals, but in particular Gold and Copper in large Quantities. In regard therefore to Commodities, as well as Situation, it is evident that few Countries are fitter than this for foreign Commerce [a].

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[a] The inquiſitive Reader, who ſhall be inclined to go deeper into this Subject, which indeed deſerves great Conſideration, may conſult J. Leonis Africani de totius Africæ deſcriptione libri novem, 8vo. Deſcription de l'Afrique, par O. Dapper. fol. Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale, par le Pere Labat, 12mo. 5 tom. Atlas Maritimus, fol. p. 236—276. Wood's Survey of

The whole Continent of Africa was not always what it is at preſent, the Seat of unlearned and unpoliſhed Nations. For the Egyptians in the earlieſt Ages were famous for Arts and Arms, for planting Colonies in diſtant Countries, and for their Maritime Expeditions. In ſucceeding Times the Carthaginians were no leſs diſtinguiſhed for their Turn to Improvements of every Kind. They penetrated into and built Cities in the interior Part of this great Continent, their Commerce was extenſive, and ſo were their Diſcoveries, the Records of which Time however hath in a great Meaſure buried in Oblivion. The Romans who ſupplanted them, held the Inhabitants in a State of ſevere Subjection, and were chiefly intent on ſupporting their Power and raiſing a Revenue. The Goths and Vandals over-run what the Romans had poſſeſſed, without taking much Pains to improve what they had acquired. The Arabs who followed them were as rude Conquerors as their Predeceſſors, and have defaced and demoliſhed thoſe Remains of Grandeur, which even the Teeth of Time had ſpared. After Barbariſm had long prevailed, when Science revived in Europe, an Inclination quickly aroſe of exploring foreign Lands, and the Situation of this immenſe Country naturally attracted Notice. But who firſt adventured hither admits of ſome Doubt. The French ſay that the Inhabitants of Dieppe ſailed along a great Part of the Weſt Coaſt in the Fourteenth Century, and made ſome Eſtabliſhments there, which on account of their Civil Wars were abandoned. It is more certain that the Portugueſe in the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century undertook this Taſk, in which they proceeded ſlowly, and with great Difficulty, and were many Years before they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and made themſelves acquainted with the Eaſt Side of this Continent. As theſe Expeditions coſt them much Trouble and Expence, they arrogated to themſelves the Sovereignty of theſe Seas in Excluſion of all other Nations. The Engliſh were the next who attempted this Commerce; after them the Dutch, who conquered ſeveral Places from the Portugueſe. The French interfered with them, and when the Nature and Advantages of this Commerce became known, the Brandenburghers and the Danes became alſo Adventurers therein [b].

The

of Trade, 8vo. p. 179—193. Barbot's Account of the Weſt Coaſt of Africa in Six Books, in the Fifth Volume of Churchhill's Collection of Voyages. Boſman, Snelgrave, Atkins, Smith's Voyages. Caſe of the Royal African Company and Supplement, 4to. National and private Advantages of the African Trade, 8vo. A Treatiſe upon the Trade from Great Britain to Africa, by an African Merchant, 4to.

[b] The French Writers aſſert that the Normans ſettled on the Weſt Coaſt of Africa in A. D. 1364. The Portugueſe began their Diſcoveries under the Auſpice of the Infant Don Henry, and doubled the Cape Bojedor A. D. 1415. Vaſquez de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope A. D. 1497. The Engliſh are allowed to have traded on the Coaſt of Guinea A. D. 1553. The The Dutch began their Commerce thither about A. D. 1609, but their Weſt India Company to

The Views of the Engliſh Nation with reſpect to this Commerce were earlier than is commonly mentioned. But there is no Certainty that any Veſſels were actually ſent thither till under the Reign of Edward the Sixth. In that of Queen Mary, and at the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's, it was ſtill proſecuted by private Adventurers only. That great Princeſs was the Firſt who interpoſed Royal Authority in favour of an excluſive Company for a certain Term of Years. Under King James the Firſt and King Charles the Firſt Merchants were encouraged to trade thither, and for the Protection of their Ships Sir Nicholas Criſpe built at his own Expence a Fort at Cormantin. Another ſmall Fort was alſo erected in the River of Gambia. The Dutch during this Period had eſtabliſhed their Weſt India Company, inveſting them with an excluſive Right to the Trade of Africa, and this Company having overpowered the Portugueſe, aſſumed the ſame Prerogatives they had exerciſed. Soon after the Reſtoration Charles the Second erected a Royal African Company, notwithſtanding which the Dutch confiſcated our Ships, and this brought on the Firſt War in that Reign againſt that Republic. This Company being quite exhauſted made over their Rights and Effects to another erected by the ſame Monarch with excluſive Powers for the Term of One Thouſand Years. After the Revolution this Trade was in a great Meaſure laid open and the Company declining received annual Grants from Parliament for the Support of their Fortifications, till their Affairs falling into Confuſion, the Public gave them a Compenſation for what they poſſeſſed and transferred this Commerce to an open Company under the Direction of a Committee choſen by the Merchants trading to Africa on their own Account, from the Ports of London, Briſtol, and Liverpool, in which State, though not without ſome Alterations, it ſtill remains [c].

From

which they granted this Trade excluſively, with great Privileges and Advantages, was not eſtabliſhed till 1621. The French had an Eſtabliſhment in the River of Senegal A. D. 1626. But their Firſt Company was not eſtabliſhed till A. D. 1664.

[c] It is generally ſuppoſed that we did not trade to Africa till the Reign of Edward the Sixth. But it clearly appears that in the Twenty-ſecond of Edward the Fourth, A. D. 1481, Application was made to that Monarch by the King of Portugal, John II. to ſtay Sir John Tintam and Pierce Fabian, who were fitting out Ships for the Coaſt of Africa, and ſome ſay they actually made ſuch a Voyage, and were immenſe Gainers thereby. The Firſt excluſive Company was eſtabliſhed by Queen Elizabeth in 1588 for a Term of Years. King James the Firſt, A. D. 1618, erected another Company under the Title of the Company of Adventurers of London trading to Africa. King Charles the Firſt, A. D. 1632, eſtabliſhed a new Company. Something of the ſame Kind was done in 1651 by the Powers then ſubſiſting. King Charles the Second, A. D. 1662, ſettled this Trade in the Company of Royal Adventurers of England, the Term of Years granted by his Father to the former Company being expired. This Company of Royal Adventurers having obtained a Compenſation for their Rights, the ſame King erected, A. D. 1672, the Royal African Company, as is ſaid in the Text, for the Term of One thouſand Years. In 1673 the Sum of Fifty thouſand Guineas were coined out of Gold brought from Africa. This

Company

FROM Port Sallee where the Limits of the Company began to Cape Blanco, ſuppoſed by many to be the moſt Weſtern Point of Africa, comprehending a Space of Six hundred Leagues, it was generally believed there was no Port. However near Ten Years ago, Captain George Glas, being furniſhed with a Veſſel of Two hundred and Fifty Tons, with a ſuitable Cargoe by private Merchants, proved this Notion to be falſe by entering into a good Harbour, which he called Port Hillſborough. It was ſituated in a wholeſome Climate, the adjacent Country plentiful as well as pleaſant, where he traded with the Inhabitants for ſeveral valuable Commodities, and procured from them a Ceſſion of this Port, and a ſmall Diſtrict round it to the Crown of Great Britain. But this Gentleman, after ſuffering a long Impriſonment in the Canary Iſlands, being murdered on Board the Ship in which he was returning Home, this Diſcovery hath been no further proſecuted, though it may poſſible be thought hereafter a Matter of more Importance [d].

THE next Place of any Note is an indifferent Port called by the Portugueſe who diſcovered it, Rio de Ouro, or the River of Gold, becauſe there they met with this precious Metal, where an Engliſh Ship once entered, but no ſucceeding Attempt hath been made. To the South of

Company was determined April the Tenth 1752, by an Act paſſed in the Twenty-fifth of his late Majeſty's Reign, the new open Company to whom all their Rights were transferred being previouſly eſtabliſhed. In the Year 1764 the Fort of Senegal and all its Dependencies were by Act of Parliament granted to this new Company. But the Traders to Africa conceiving this to be prejudicial to their Intereſts, this Act was repealed by another in the ſucceeding Year, and the Forts in Senegal, and all the Forts and Settlements to the North of Cape Rouge, or the Red Cape, were abſolutely veſted in his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, in which State they remain at preſent.

[d] This Diſcovery of Captain Glas, when firſt propoſed, was thought of ſuch Importance that by the Statute laſt mentioned his Majeſty was authorized by the Advice of his Privy Council to make to that Gentleman, his Aſſociates or Aſſigns, a Grant by Letters Patent, not exceeding Twenty-one Years, of the ſole Right to the carrying on Trade to a Port by him diſcovered on the Coaſt of Africa called Regeala or Gueder, ſubject to be redeemed at any Time, for ſuch a Compenſation as ſhould be judged reaſonable by Parliament. This Port, to which he gave the Name of Port Hillſborough, lies in the Latitude of Thirty Degrees Thirty Minutes North, almoſt oppoſite to the Canary Iſles, and the Ceſſion thereof with a Diſtrict of Land by the Natives, together with a Draft of the Harbour, was by him or his Aſſociates depoſited with the Board of Trade. When he went from thence with ſome Goods there unſaleable, to the Canary Iſlands, his People traded with the Natives till upon ſome Quarrel between them they were driven from the Coaſt, and loſt much the greateſt Part of their Property; however they brought away about One hundred Ounces of Gold, a Tun of Orchilla, as much Bees Wax, Six Tons of excellent Wool, Two hundred Weight of Oſtrich Feathers, Twelve hundred Deer and Four thouſand Goat Skins. Captain Glas wrote and intended to have publiſhed an Hiſtory of this Part of the Coaſt of Africa, which would have been both curious and uſeful, but his unfortunate Death prevented that valuable Work from appearing. It is however to be wiſhed that the Effects of his Diſcovery ſhould not be loſt to the Nation for many Reaſons which we have not Room to mention here.

this lies Argouin, firſt in the Hands of the Portugueſe, who built a good Fort there, taken from them by the Dutch, reduced while in their Hands by the French, who demoliſhed it. The Brandenburghers reſettled it, the French reclaimed it at the Congreſs at Ryſwick, but it was adjudged as a Derelict to the former, who ſold it afterwards to the Dutch. Twenty Leagues to the South of Argouin, where the Fort now lies in Ruins, we meet with Port Andric, where formerly there was a conſiderable Trade for Gum. But the Sea running very high, the Shore being dangerous, and all the Goods brought on Board in Boats, it is now but little frequented [e].

We come next to the River of Senegal, which makes the North as the River of Gambia does the South Boundary of the Province of Senegambia, now in the Hands of the Britiſh Government. In the Firſt of theſe Rivers there is an Iſland of the ſame Name, which while in the Poſſeſſion of the French was called St. Louis. In this the Governor reſides, with a competent Garriſon, and from thence by Factories on the Continent is carried on the Gum Trade which is of ſo great Conſequence to this Country. In the River Gambia there is another Iſle upon which ſtands Fort James, formerly belonging to the African Company, now in the Hands of Government. In this there is a Lieutenant Governor ſubordinate to the Governor of Senegal. Between the Mouths of theſe Two Rivers, and in the Vicinity of Cape Verd, lies the Iſland of Goree, where the Dutch had formerly a ſtrong Fort taken from them by the French, and from the French in the laſt War by a Britiſh Squadron, but reſtored by the Treaty of Paris, by which Treaty Senegal and all its Dependencies were in the cleareſt and moſt explicit Terms given up to Great Britain. The River of Gambia is navigable by Veſſels of Two hundred Tons Burden for Six hundred Miles, and the Commerce here and in the Province of Senegambia is certainly capable of very great Improvements. In order to this it hath been ſuggeſted as the moſt proper Expedient, that as the interior Country is very unhealthy in reſpect to Europeans, to breed up ſome of the Children of the Natives in ſuch a Manner as to enable them to tranſact Buſineſs with

[e] Cape Blanco lies in Twenty Degrees Thirty Minutes North Latitude, from thence the Coaſt turns Eaſtward, making a deep Bay, in the Bottom of which lies the Iſland of Argouin, about Three Miles long and Two broad, and at the Diſtance of Two Miles from the Continent. Rio de Ouro lies to the South almoſt under the Tropic of Cancer. Port Andric, or as the French ſpell it Portendric, is, as we have ſaid in the Text, a very poor Place in a rocky Bay, of which they took Poſſeſſion, and built a miſerable Fort, which they abandoned as uſeleſs after the Ceſſion of Senegal. The Gum Coaſt begins at Cape Blanco, and is ſupplied from Three Foreſts, Sahal, Lebiar, and Afatek, belonging to Three Arab Tribes, who draw from them a conſiderable Revenue. Theſe Foreſts are about Ten Leagues from each other, and about the ſame Diſtance from Port Andric, much nearer to the Factories belonging to Senegal, by which Means that valuable Trade centers there.

their

their Countrymen at the Poſts within Land, and from thence alſo other Advantages might ariſe [f].

At Cape Roxo, Cape Rouge or the Red Cape, the Windward Coaſt begins, upon which the Portugueſe have a few Settlements, ſome of them within Land, though we have none. Yet our Veſſels trade there, though with great Caution, from the Perfidy as well as Ferocity of the Natives. In the River of Sierra Leon, the only Place that we now hold, is Bance Iſland, in which the old African Company had a ſtrong Fort, which they abandoned when their Affairs declined, and being occupied and repaired by ſome Merchants, it is now become private Property. In Cerbera, or as we uſually call it Sherbro River there are the Ruins of an Engliſh Fort, and we ſtill ſend Ships thither, and carry on a conſiderable Commerce with the Inhabitants. The Grain, Malaguetta, or Pepper Coaſt begins at Cape Monte, and ends at Cape Palmas, comprehending about Sixty Leagues, along which we drive a conſiderable Trade with the People, who are of a quiet Diſpoſition, though we have no Forts in any of the Rivers. The Ivory or Teeth Coaſt ſucceeds next, in which our Commerce is carried on in the ſame Manner without Settlements, and the Number of our Ships that reſort thither, together with the Intereſt that the Natives have in preſerving our Correſpondence, enable us to deal largely in Elephant's Teeth,

[f] The Iſle on which our Fort ſtands in the River of Senegal, is in the Latitude of Sixteen Degrees or thereabout, the Iſle of Gorce in 14°. 40′. North Latitude. James Fort in the River of Gambia in Thirteen Degrees Twenty Minutes nearly. The Gum from whence this Coaſt derives its Denomination, is ſometimes called Gum Arabic, and ſometimes Gum Senega. The Reaſon of the Firſt Name was its being imported from Arabia and Egypt into Europe, and is generally eſteemed to be the Produce of the Acacia vera. But from the great Quantities brought from the Foreſts before-mentioned, it acquired the Name of Gum Senega. There are Two Sorts of it, which ſeem to differ only in Colour, the One being White, the other Red. We will give the Reader a more ſatisfactory Account than hath hitherto appeared from a Perſon perfectly well acquainted with theſe Foreſts. "The Woods where the Gum Senega grows begin about Ten "Leagues E. S. E. from Portendaric, and from thence ſtretch a great Way to the Eaſtward. "The Tree or rather large Buſh that produces this Gum is an Evergreen Thorn, the Seaſon "when it is gathered is in the Months of December, January, February, and March, according "as the Seaſon is early or late. The Quantity produced depends upon the Seaſon. The Years "when they have the greateſt Crops are when it rains plentifully, and when the Locuſts come "immediately after, and devour all the Leaves of the Gum Trees. This it ſeems prevents "thoſe Juices of which the Gum is compoſed from being drawn out of the Trunk and Branches "into the Leaves; when it is ripe for gathering it burſts the Bark of the Tree and forms into "clear Balls about the Size of a Pigeon's Egg. But the Azanaga in order to procure a greater "Quantity help it out by making an Inciſion in the Bark with their long Knives." Immenſe Quantities of this Gum, which the Natives frequently uſe for Food, are conſumed in Europe in Medicine, in ſeveral Trades, and in ſome Manufactures, to which it is abſolutely neceſſary. A. D. 1771 there were Forty-three Engliſh Ships on this Coaſt, who beſides Three thouſand Three hundred and Ten Slaves, brought from thence Four hundred Tons of Gum Senega.

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in Cam Wood, and Drugs, but chiefly in Negroes for the Service of our Plantations in the Weſt Indies [g].

At Cape Appolonia the Gold Coaſt begins, and ends at the River Lagos. This hath been always conſidered as of great Conſequence to Britain. The Two laſt African Companies built at different Times the following Forts, Appolonia, Dixcove, Succondee, Commenda, Cape Coaſt Caſtle, Annamaboe, Tantumquerry, Winnebah, Accra, Prampram, and Whidah, which ſtill ſubſiſt, and are under the Direction of the African Committee; who receive annually from Parliament not leſs than Ten thouſand, ſometimes Thirteen thouſand, and even Fifteen thouſand Pounds for their Support. Theſe were formerly, and may be now of ſingular Utility in maintaining the Credit and Honour of the Nation, in protecting our Veſſels that trade upon the Coaſt, and in affording them Shelter and Protection in their Dealings with the Natives, which is the more neceſſary as there are ſeveral Dutch and Daniſh Forts upon this Coaſt, and at Whidah the Engliſh, French, and Portugueſe have Forts within Gunſhot of each other. Great Care therefore ſhould be taken to inſpect our Forts from time to time to ſee that they are in good Condition, and if any of them are of little Uſe it would be prudent to demoliſh theſe in order to preſerve the Reſt in a more reſpectable State at the ſame Expence [h].

At the River Lagos commences what is called the Bite or the Bite of Benin, which ends at Cape Lopez. In this long Tract of Coaſt there

[g] This Tract of Coaſt from Cape Rouge made formerly a greater Figure in our Accounts than it does at preſent. The conſtant Demand, the great Profits produced, and the quick Returns from the Slave Trade ſeem to have leſſened the Attention to any other, at leaſt in this Part of Africa. What is yet carried on, is chiefly by private Traders ſettled on the great Rivers, who purchaſe Ivory, dyeing Woods, and other Things from the Natives, and ſell them to the Ships that repair annually to the Coaſt. The Property of the Merchants who ſettled Banſe Iſland is ſecured to them by that Act of Parliament which eſtabliſhes the New Company. It might perhaps be adviſeable to bring the private Traders under ſome Regulation, and by granting them certain Advantages, to ſecure their Correſpondence with Britiſh Ships only. In A. D. 1771 the Number of Ships that viſited this Coaſt was Fifty-ſix, and they carried away Eleven thouſand Nine hundred and and Sixty Slaves.

[h] The principal Fortreſs we have is Cape Coaſt Caſtle, which with the Reſt ought certainly to be maintained in a proper State of Defence to ſupport the Honour of the Nation in the Eye of the Natives and Foreigners. They ought alſo to be made conſtantly ſerviceable to the Purpoſes for which they were erected, and are maintained at the Expence in a long Courſe of Years of immenſe Sums to the Nation upon a Truſt and Confidence that they would be ſo employed. The Parliament upon the Petition of the African Traders have, more eſpecially in the preſent Reign, done much, and have ſhewn great Readineſs upon proper Information to do more. A. D. 1771 there were ſent to this Coaſt Twenty-nine Ships, who carried away Seven thouſand Five hundred Twenty-five Slaves.

are the Rivers of Benin, New Callabar, Bonny, old Callabar, and ſeveral others, and notwithſtanding that in theſe we have not either Fort or Settlement, yet our African Traders ſend thither more Ships, and purchaſe more Negroes thereon, than in any of the ſeveral Coaſts we have mentioned. This is the more extraordinary, as the Shore is dangerous, the Navigation of the Rivers difficult, and moſt of the Inhabitants, who are very numerous, equally perfidious and barbarous [i]. To the South Eaſt of Cape Lopez lies Majumba, where ſome Ivory and much Cam Wood is purchaſed. Loanga lies next, then Malemba about Thirty Leagues South. About Seven Leagues farther lies Cabenda, where the African Company had a Fort, which hath been deſtroyed by the Portugueſe. The River Congo lies Ten Degrees from hence, beyond which we have no Trade. The Portugueſe are Maſters here, having on the Coaſt of Angola the City of Loanda St. Paul's, from whence they carry on a great Inland Trade by Caravans to their Colony at Mozambique on the Eaſt Side of Africa. The Coaſt from the River Congo to the Cape of Good Hope is Seven hundred Leagues in Extent, and poſſibly ſome commodious Ports may be diſcovered thereon, though ſeldom or never viſited at preſent [k].

AFTER this ſhort Detail of the State of the Britiſh Commerce on the Coaſt of Africa, from Port Sallee to the Cape of Good Hope, containing an Extent of about Three thouſand Leagues of Coaſt, it is natural to conclude with ſhewing the national Advantages ariſing from this Trade. To repreſent theſe fully would be a Work of extreme Difficulty, to trace them

[i] The numerous Difficulties and perpetual Hazards to which Ships trading on this Coaſt are continually expoſed, and their having no Aſſiſtance or Protection but what ariſes from their own Force, makes the Reſort hither a Thing almoſt incredible. The Ships however being properly equipped, well manned, under the Command of Officers of great Caution and long Experience, brave thoſe Dangers annually for the Sake of Profit. They are however ſometimes cut off, and Mutinies attended with much Bloodſhed are more frequent. Yet in the Midſt of theſe Embarraſſments the Trade to this Coaſt is conſtantly increaſing; ſo that in 1771 the Number of Ships employed thereon were Sixty-three, and the Number of Slaves purchaſed by them Twenty-three thouſand Three hundred and One.

[k] The Ivory bought upon this and upon the other Coaſts, for in ſmaller or greater Quantities it is bought on all of them, conſiſts of larger and leſſer Teeth. But where they come from is hardly known, except that they are brought from the interior Part of the Country. The former are ſuppoſed to be the Teeth of old Elephants, the latter of young, or ſometimes the Sea-horſe, which are remarkably white and fine, but brittle. The red Wood is excellent in its Kind, and other Drugs for Dyeing might be eaſily had, ſince the Uſe of many of them is known even to the Natives. The Gold is either wrought for the Ornaments both of Men and Women in ſmall Pieces. Lump or Rock Gold, which they pretend is brought from the Mines of a larger Size, but from its being frequently mixed there is great Reaſon to doubt that it has been melted and caſt. The greateſt Part however is in Duſt, in the falſifying of which they are very dextrous, which villainous Art they have been taught by the Europeans. On the Whole of this Coaſt, A. D. 1771, there came but Four Ships, and theſe carried away a Thouſand and Fifty-one Slaves.

minutely

minutely, would employ a conſiderable Volume, and in any Degree to ſtate their true Value requires ſuch a Meaſure of Information as very few poſſeſs. It may ſuffice for the preſent Purpoſe to make the candid and judicious Reader fully ſenſible that theſe Aſſertions are well founded. In the Firſt Place then this Trade is carried on for the moſt Part by the Export of our own Commodities and Manufactures, and theſe ariſing from their Labour rewards the Induſtry of our own People. In the next it is entirely carried on in our own Shipping, which is another great Advantage, and this too in many Reſpects. What is wanting to compleat the Aſſortments for the Ships thus employed, excluſive of our Home Produce, is made up from Manufactures brought by our own Subjects from the Eaſt Indies. Add to all this that we import no Articles of Luxury, but on the contrary ſuch as are abſolutely neceſſary to our own Manufactures, or which being wrought up here are for the moſt Part re-exported. Hence it appears that the Amount of this Trade, which viewed in this Light only is very conſiderable, muſt be eſteemed ſo much clear Profit to the Nation, which is more than can be ſaid of many others [1].

All this however is but a Part, and not the moſt conſiderable Part of the Benefit ariſing to Great Britain from the African Commerce. For it is to this that we owe the greateſt Part of the Advantages derived from our Plantations in America, in which the Labour is chiefly performed by Negroes. To be convinced of this we need only conſider that the clearing of Woods, the Cultivation of Sugar, Rice, and Tobacco, can in thoſe ſultry Climates be performed only by them. If any Thing farther be neceſſary we may compare the State of theſe Colonies and the Returns made by them to the Mother Country before and ſince the Introduction of Negroes, which will very clearly demonſtrate that both their Subſiſtence and

[1] The conſtant, regular, and increaſing Demands of this Trade have had wonderful Effects upon our Manufactures, and have kept Multitudes employed in them, which will be more eaſily conceived, if we conſider in a few Inſtances only what go to make up their Cargoes, which are compoſed of Woollen, Silk, Linnen, Cotton Goods of many Sorts, Leather, Braſs, Steel, Iron, Glaſs, Earthen Ware, Fire Arms, Gunpowder, &c. In A. D. 1771 there were employed in this Trade One hundred and Seven Ships from Liverpool, Fifty-eight from London, Twenty-five from Briſtol, Five from Lancaſter, beſides ſeveral ſmall Veſſels, in the Whole One hundred and Ninety-five Ships, of the Burden altogether of Fifty thouſand Tons, excluſive of Veſſels employed in the ſame Trade from the Plantations. The Quantity of Eaſt India Manufactures exported is alſo very great, and for their more effectual Supply in them, ſpecial Powers have been granted to the Eaſt India Company within theſe few Years. To the Articles already mentioned of their Imports, we may add Rice, Hides, Wax, different Kinds of rich Gums, Ebony, and other fine Woods, and a Variety of valuable Drugs, which ſufficiently juſtify what hath been ſaid on this Subject in the Text.

their

their Extenſion depends and muſt depend upon this Commerce, of how great Importance this is will be ſhewn in the next Chapter [m].

THERE is ſtill another Point that merits Notice, which is, that even theſe great and numerous Emoluments ariſing from the African Commerce are capable of being very much augmented. In the Firſt Place by adopting proper Regulations and granting neceſſary Encouragements for the more effectually carrying it on. By cauſing judicious Enquiries to be made as to new and valuable Commodities that may be brought from that vaſt Country, which hitherto from our ſlight Acquaintance only with its Coaſts have eſcaped all Knowledge, or are but imperfectly or incertainly known. By attempting to make further Diſcoveries on what is called the Coaſt of the Deſart, and of that long Tract from the River Congo to the Cape of Good Hope, which could hardly fail of producing farther Advantages. To this we may add, that if ſome at leaſt of our Forts were put in a more reſpectable Condition, and the Natives properly encouraged to ſettle about them, the Soil and Climate might induce us with great Probability to hope that ſome very rich and valuable Commodities we now take from Foreigners might be raiſed there, which would come to us ſooner and of courſe in greater Perfection than we can have them at preſent. Theſe Settlements would have alſo this peculiar Circumſtance to recommend them, that nothing which could be cultivated there could poſſibly interfere with the Produce of Britain [n].

[m] In order to form ſome Idea of what is above-mentioned, it will not be amiſs to remark, that in the Year 1771 the whole Number of Negroes exported was 47,146, and of theſe the Liverpool Merchants carried 29,250. The Produce of theſe, to ſay nothing in this Place of the numerous Advantages derived from them, which will however, as hath been already mentioned, appear in the next Chapter, according to a moderate Computation amounts to One Million and a Half Sterling, and the Produce of the other Branches of this Commerce have been computed at Half a Million more, that is, Two Millions in the Whole.

[n] It is ſomewhat more than Threeſcore Years ago that the Merchants of Liverpool entered into this Trade, which they began by ſending only a ſingle Ship. In A. D. 1752, the whole Number of Ships employed in this Commerce were but Eighty-eight, and of theſe Fifty-eight were from Liverpool. As an Inſtance of what might be expected from One or more Colonies that might be eſtabliſhed in ſome Part of this Country it may be remarked, that the French brought from thence Indigo ſuperior to any of their own from the Weſt Indies, and affirm that growing there almoſt every-where it might be had in any Quantities. Guineas were firſt coined A. D. 1663, and to give Credit to the new Company by ſhewing whence the Gold was brought, were marked with an Elephant. Formerly it was computed that we brought annually from One hundred to One hundred and Fifty thouſand Ounces of Gold from Africa, what we now bring is not known.

CHAP. V.

The Britiſh Colonies and Settlements in America.

THE Spirit of Diſcovery we may ſafely affirm, appeared as early in this as in any Part of Europe; and in reſpect to the Continent of America our actual Diſcovery was the earlieſt of all. For Sir John Cabot viſited ſo much of that Continent as we now poſſeſs in the very ſame Year that Vaſquez de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and a Year before the Great Columbus ſaw any Part of the Main Land of that extenſive Country. We never from that Time loſt Sight of this Object, though from the Situation of our Affairs it was proſecuted at firſt but ſlowly, yet being in the Hands of Perſons of Rank and Property, it kept up an enterprizing Diſpoſition which gradually rendered the Eſtabliſhment of Colonies practicable, and even theſe were at firſt ſettled, and for a conſiderable Space of Time ſupported at ſeveral great Men's Expence. Things are now indeed exceedingly changed, and in leſs than Three hundred Years we ſee a great Part of the Wilds and Waſtes of America become rich and well cultivated Countries, ſettled and improved, as well as poſſeſſed by Multitudes of Britiſh Subjects [a].

IT muſt however be acknowledged, that the ſignal and ſolid Advantages that have ariſen from our Colonies, are by no Means ſuch as occupied our primary Expectations. Theſe were excited by ſanguine Hopes of finding Regions full of rich Mines, or abounding with valuable Spices. The Expedition of Cabot was undertaken to diſcover a North-Weſt Paſſage to the Indies, and very many ſubſequent Voyages were made with

[a] We have already in a former Chapter ſaid ſo much of the Genius and Character of Henry the Seventh, that it may ſuffice to ſay here, that he granted his Letters Patent to John Cabot and his Three Sons for the making Diſcoveries in Parts unknown, which bear Date the Fifth of March in the Eleventh Year of his Reign, A. D. 1495. They did not however ſail from Briſtol till Two Years after, and on the 24th of June 1497 firſt ſaw the Continent of America, as we learn from Fabian in his Chronicle, who lived at the Time. Vaſquez de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 19th of November in the ſame Year. Columbus ſailing from the Iſland of Trinidada firſt diſcovered the Continent of America in the Month of Auguſt 1498. The curious Reader, who is deſirous of ſeeing the Hiſtory of theſe early Diſcoveries, may peruſe Eden, Hakluyt, and Purchas's Collections.

a View

a View of reaping the ſame Golden Harveſts with the Spaniards [b]. But by the kindly Interpoſition of Heaven theſe Aims were diſappointed, and we were led as it were by the Hand to Schemes of more Utility, and much more Emolument. The Countries we found furniſhed no valuable Metals, but they furniſhed plentiful Employment for Induſtry, and this in due Time hath been followed by laſting and increaſing Profits. This gradually reconciled us to that Lot which had been aſſigned us, and we have long continued to proſecute with indefatigable Prudence that Plan which an All-wiſe Providence pointed out.

At the Firſt Forming of theſe Settlements, they were, as hath been already obſerved, ſupported by Perſons of Figure and Fortune, and though no immediate Benefits might accrue to them, yet what was thus expended was very advantageous to the Public. As the Numbers reſorting thither increaſed by Perſons wanting Employment, through Difference in religious Sentiments, and civil Diſſenſions, the Mother Country continued to gain. Theſe People would have left Home had there been no Plantations, and would have been abſolutely loſt to this Iſland, whereas in going to our Colonies, though they changed their Abode they remained ſtill a Part of the Nation. They had their Supplies from hence, and as ſoon as they were able they made their Returns hither. As their Circumſtances improved their Demands grew larger, which by giving Employment to Multitudes at Home, not only prevented detrimental Emigrations, but afforded Encouragement to Foreigners to reſort hither. By theſe Means our Lands improved, our Rents were raiſed, new Manufactures and Trades were introduced, Navigation encouraged, Shipping increaſed, our Seamen augmented, and the Power and Wealth of the State was continually promoted. That theſe are not plauſible Conjectures, but certain and inconteſtable Facts, will appear from hence, that the Proſperity of Britain and of her Colonies have regularly and uniformly grown up and kept

[b] To how great a Degree theſe golden Dreams poſſeſſed the Minds of the Nation in thoſe Days will appear from what Fabian ſays of John Cabot, that he promiſed the King to diſcover a certain rich Iſland, which ſo able a Man would never have done, and which the Tenor of the Letters Patents before-mentioned clearly ſhew he never did. Sir Martin Frobiſher in Queen Elizabeth's Time raiſed great Expectations of a Gold Mine in an Iſland near the Straits to which he gave his Name, and in his Third Voyage thither he brought over a great Quantity of yellow ſhining Spar, in which however not a ſingle Grain of Gold was to be found. Sir Humphry Gilbert, who periſhed in returning from Newfoundland, believed that he had found a Silver Mine there, of which nothing hath been heard ſince. The great Sir Walter Raleigh fell into the ſame Notion with reſpect to Guiana, but in all Probability was deceived The State of our Colonies compared with thoſe of the Spaniards clearly demonſtrate a Truth, upon which from its great Importance and Utility we have often inſiſted, that it is Induſtry alone which conſtitutes National Wealth.

Pace with each other[c]. In order to treat this very important Subject with that Propriety and Perſpicuity it requires, the eaſieſt and the moſt natural Method will be to conſider firſt the Provinces on the Northern; then thoſe on the Southern Part of the Continent of America; after theſe the noble Iſland of Jamaica; Barbadoes, and the Leeward Iſlands next; and laſtly the ceded Iſles.

[c] It will be eaſy for thoſe who will take the Trouble of enquiring into the Riſe and Progreſs of our Settlements, to diſcover the true Cauſes why they were ſo long before they ſhewed any Signs of that great Conſequence to which they have ſince attained. They will ſee that this was at firſt owing to our Want of Skill in the Art of Colonization; that afterwards their inteſtine Diviſions had very ſiniſter Effects, which were heightened and increaſed by Diſappointments amongſt thoſe who ſhould have ſupported them at home, and, which was no inconſiderable Cauſe, our undertaking too many at once. But when Neceſſity urged, and the Practice of other Nations, as well as their own Experience, had taught them the Means of overcoming theſe Difficulties, and put them on a ſtrict Attention to the Staples which ſuited reſpectively the different Soils and Climates in which they were placed, they gradually emerged from their Obſcurity; and when they began to make a rapid Progreſs, the Benefits reſulting from their Labours were ſecured to the Mother-country by the Act of Navigation.

SECT. I.

Containing an Account of our Colonies on the Northern Part of the Continent of America, viz. Hudſon's Bay, Labrador, Newfoundland, the Importance of the Fiſhery there, and upon the Banks; Canada or the Province of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New England, New York, the Jerſeys, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

THE moſt Northern Part of America, on which there are at preſent any Britiſh Subjects ſettled, is the Coaſt of Hudſon's Bay, which derives its Name from a bold and able Seaman who diſcovered the Straits that enter into this great Body of Water, and after Two Voyages thither in Hopes of diſcovering a North Weſt Paſſage periſhed in the Third by the Treachery of his own People. It lies from Fifty to near Seventy Degrees North Latitude, and from Seventy-ſeven to Ninety-ſeven Degrees of Longitude Weſt from London. The Boundaries on the North are not well defined, on the Eaſt by a broken Coaſt eſteemed Part of Labrador; on the South, by the ſame Country; on the Weſt, by New North and South Wales. It extends in Length about Five hundred Leagues, and ſome ſay Four hundred in Breadth. The Climate is exceedingly cold, as the Bay is not free from Ice above Two Months in the Year. The Land is generally barren

barren except at the Bottom of the Bay, where there is ſome Herbage and Trees. There are many fine Rivers that fall into the Bay, at the Mouths of ſome of which ſtand our Forts. The Property of the Soil and an excluſive Right to the Trade was granted by a Charter from King Charles the Second, in which it is declared a Colony by the Name of Rupert's Land, and under this Charter is ſtill held. As inhoſpitable as this Country may appear, there is none better ſupplied with Fiſh, Fleſh, and Fowl; Flour, Biſcuit, and other Neceſſaries, ſuch as remain here in the Company's Service receive annually from England. The Trade is generally ſuppoſed to be very lucrative, and is carried on with little Trouble, the Savages reſorting thither with Furs, Caſtor, and other Goods in their own Canoes to the Number of about Twelve hundred every Year, and theſe Commodities being ſent Home in the Company's Ships produce very large Sums at their public Sales [a].

LABRADOR, Laborador, or New Britain, is a Country of great Extent, and thought to be inhabited by the Eſquimaux. As it is now indiſputably ours, it hath a Claim to be remembered, that in Time it may be better known. It lies from the Latitude of Fifty to Sixty-three Degrees North, and in the Longitude of from Fifty to Seventy-five Degrees Weſt from London. It is bounded on the North Eaſt by Hudſon's Straits, on the Eaſt by the Atlantic Ocean, on the South Eaſt by the Straits of Belleiſle; it is divided from Newfoundland on the South by the Gulph and Bay of St. Lawrence and Part of Canada, on the Weſt by Hudſon's Bay. It hath been aſſerted by thoſe who have viſited the Coaſts, that the

[a] This vaſt inland Sea was entered by Captain Hudſon on the 24th of June A. D. 1610. The Mouth of the Streight lies in 61° N. Lat. and in Lon. 64° W. The oppoſite Mouth is in 62° 42′ N. Lat. and in 77° 45′ W. Lon. They are about Forty Miles broad, and Four hundred and Twenty long. The Coaſts of this Sea are about Three thouſand Miles. The Charter bears Date the 22d May, in the 22d Year of the Reign of Charles II. A. D. 1669, it was granted to Prince Rupert, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven, &c. expreſly for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage. The Settlements by the Company are, the Prince of Wales's Fort on Churchill River, in 59° N. Lat. a ſtrong well-built Fort, and their chief Factory: York Fort, in Nelſon River, 57° N. Lat. At the River Albany, 52° N. Lat. At Mooſe River, 51° N. Lat. and a ſmall Houſe at Slude River, in 52° N. Lat. The Number of Perſons maintained in theſe Poſts is about One hundred and Twenty, moſt of them hired from Orkney, from Five to Twenty Pounds a-year, according to the Length of Time for which they indent. The like Number of Men they employ on board their Ships, of which they ſend Two, Three, or Four annually. They paſs the Straits in the Beginning of Auguſt, and return in September. The Navigation is very ſafe, not a Ship being loſt in Twenty Years. Their Exports are ſaid to be between Three and Four Thouſand Pounds; and their Two Half-yearly Sales amount, if we can depend on Mr. Dobbs, to near Fifty Thouſand Pounds. Theſe conſiſt in Beaver, Deer Skins, Whalebone, Caſtor, Quills, and Feathers. If the Trade was laid open, it is ſaid our Exports thither might be exceedingly enlarged, a very extenſive and lucrative Fiſhery carried on, much greater Quantities of Furs and Peltry imported, and that many other Benefits might acrue.

Climate

Climate is ſomewhat milder, and the Soil rather better than in the Country we have before deſcribed. It is alſo ſaid to produce moſt of the Neceſſaries of Life, if we except Corn, in great Abundance, and though no Settlements have been hitherto made, yet the Fiſheries upon its Coaſts have been very plentiful as well as profitable, and it hath been alſo ſuggeſted, that if it ſhould be found practicable to ſettle thereon, Whale Oil, Whale-bone and other Things might be prepared there, which would ſave a great Expence, and enable us thereby to import ſuch Commodities much cheaper [b].

The Iſland of Newfoundland was ſo called by John Cabot, which the French have adopted, and in their Language ſtile it Terre Neuve. The Spaniards call it Terra de Baccalloes, or the Land of Cods. It lies from Forty-ſix Degrees Fifty Minutes to Fifty-one Degrees Thirty Minutes North Latitude, and in Longitude from Fifty-three Degrees Thirty Minutes to Fifty-eight Degrees Twenty Minutes Weſt from London. The Form is that of an irregular Triangle, the Baſe or South Side being Eighty Leagues in Extent, the Eaſt Side is the longeſt, and the whole Circumference about Two hundred and Fifty Leagues. It is bounded on the North by the Straits of Belleiſle, which ſeparate it from Labrador; on the Eaſt and South, it hath the Atlantic Ocean; and on the Weſt the Gulph of St. Lawrence. The Climate, though ſevere enough, is more temperate than in either of the Countries hitherto mentioned. The Soil, at leaſt on the Sea Coaſt, which is all that we know of it, is poor and barren. A few Kitchen Vegetables with Strawberries and Raſberries are all its Produce. The Country within Land is mountainous, and abounds with Timber; there are ſeveral Rivers which are plentifully ſtored with ſeveral Sorts of Fiſh, Abundance of deep Bays, and many good Ports. St. John's and Placentia are the Two principal Settlements, and at each of theſe there is a Fort, the Number of People who remain here in the Winter hath been computed at Four thouſand. The French by the Treaty of Utrecht were permitted to fiſh from Cape

[b] We know ſo little of this Country of New Britain, that we cannot ſo much as tell whether it is a Continent, or compoſed of ſeveral Iſlands, the latter being at leaſt as probable as the former. It is not always the Beauty or the Fertility of a diſtant Country that ſhould recommend it to a trading Nation; and of this we may aſſert New Britain to be a Proof; for, without exporting any Thing thither, without having any Settlement, there hath been brought from thence to the Value of Fifty thouſand Pounds in one Summer. The Eſkimaux, who ſometimes viſit Newfoundland, have their Habitations in this Country: They live in the open Air during the Summer, and in Caverns during the Winter. It is worth Obſervation, that theſe People are completely cloathed. They have Shirts made from Fiſh-guts, Breeches of Skins with the Hair turned inwards, a Kind of Coat or Cloak of Bears Skin, and their Shoes or Boots of Seal Skins, whence their Skin is of the ſame Colour with ours. If theſe People were civilized, might they not wear our coarſe Cloths, Hoſe, and Linnen? and might they not pay us in Furs and Peltry, in Whalebone, Whale and Seal Oil and Seal Skins? and would not this be a profitable Trade?

Bonaviſta

Bonaviſta on the Eaſt Side round the North of the Iſland to Point Rich on the Weſt, and by the Treaty of Paris, they are allowed the Iſles of St. Pierre and Miquelon, upon which they are to dry their Fiſh, but not to erect Fortifications of any Kind [c].

The great Importance of this Place ariſes from its Fiſhery, which is in Part carried on by the Inhabitants at the ſeveral Harbours, which are about Twenty in Number, who take vaſt Quantities of Cod near the Coaſt, which they bring in and cure at their Leiſure in order to have it ready for the Ships when they arrive. But the great and extenſive Fiſhery is on the Banks at ſome Diſtance from the Iſland. The great Bank lies Twenty Leagues from the neareſt Point of Land from the Latitude of Forty-one to Forty-nine, ſtretching Three hundred Miles in Length and Seventy-five in Breadth. To the Eaſt of this lies the Falſe Bank, the next is ſtiled Vert or the Green Bank, about Two hundred and Forty Miles long, and One hundred and Twenty over, then Banquero about the ſame Size. The Shoals of Sand Iſland, Whale Bank, and the Bank of St. Peter's, with ſeveral others of leſs Note, all abounding with Fiſh.

The Cod are caught only by a Hook, and an expert Fiſher will take from One hundred and Fifty to Three hundred and upwards in a Day, for the Fiſh never bite in the Night, and the Labour is very great. The Seaſon is from May to October, in the Height of which there are from Five to Seven hundred Sail upon the Banks at a Time. The Fiſh caught in the Spring Months are beſt; they are cured in very different Ways. Some are ſtiled White Fiſh, others Mud Fiſh, which are ſtowed and ſalted in the Hold, and will not keep long, but the beſt and moſt valuable are the dried Cod. The Quantity taken is prodigious, yet in ſome Seaſons and in different Places varies conſiderably, as the Fiſh frequently

[c] This Iſland of Newfoundland is generally ſuppoſed to be as large, if not larger than Ireland; and the Firſt Accounts of it were ſo flattering, that many Attempts were made to ſettle thereon. Lord Baltimore obtained a Grant of the South-eaſt Corner of the Iſle, built a good Houſe there, and went over thither with his Family, but removed afterwards to the Continent. The Truth is, thoſe Accounts were falſe, for though the Summers are ſometimes hot, no Grain comes, or at leaſt very rarely comes to Perfection. Sir Joſiah Child hath ſhewn, that planting that Iſland is not the Intereſt of this Country. The Commodore of the King's Squadron for the Protection of the Fiſhery is, during the Time of his Reſidence, Governor of Newfoundland. Diſputes among the Fiſhermen are ſettled by the Maſter who arrives firſt in the Seaſon in each of their numerous Havens, and who for that Year is ſtiled Lord of the Harbour. A Gentleman upon whoſe Knowledge, Accuracy, and Veracity I can depend, informs me, that in A. D. 1769 the Total of the Imports amounted to 3710 l. and of the Exports to 1,011,085 l. In the ſucceeding Year, A. D. 1770, the Number of Topſail Veſſels entered inwards amounted to 146, and of Sloops and Schooners 50; and there were cleared outwards 127 Topſails, and 31 Sloops and Schooners.

change

change their Stations. The Fiſhing Ships, as they are called, lie upon the Banks, with the Help of their Boats take and cure their own Fiſh, and as ſoon as they are full ſail for a Market. The Sack Ships proceed directly to the Iſland, where they purchaſe Fiſh from the Inhabitants either by Barter or Bills of Exchange. The principal Markets for Cod are Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Weſt Indies. The Value of this Fiſhery is computed at ſome hundred thouſand Pounds annually, employing beſides ſeveral hundred Ships, ſome Thouſands of Seamen, and affording a Maintenance to a Number of Tradeſmen of different Occupations, by which many large Towns on the Weſt Side of England accumulate Wealth, and at the ſame Time contribute in many reſpects to the Benefit of the Public [d].

The Countries or at leaſt the greateſt Part of thoſe Countries which the French called New France and Louiſiana, ſince they came into the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of Great Britain are ſtiled Canada or the Province of Quebec. The Firſt of theſe is an Indian Name, derived from Kannata, which in the Language of the Iroquois ſignifies a Village or a Number of Cabins. This great Country lies from Thirty-nine to Fifty-nine Degrees of North Latitude, and from Sixty-ſeven to Ninety-ſeven Degrees of Longitude Weſt from London. Its length from Weſt to Eaſt is about Eighteen hundred Miles, in Breadth from South to North it is about Twelve hundred Miles. On the North it is bounded by Hudſon's Bay and Lands unknown, on the Eaſt by Hudſon's Bay and Labrador, by ſeveral Britiſh Colonies on the South, and on the Weſt by the River Miſſiſſippi and Lands unknown. The Climate in ſo vaſt a Country muſt be very different, but even the beſt inhabited Part of it is certainly exceedingly cold, the River of St. Lawrence being uſually frozen Eight Months in the Year, notwithſtanding which it is on all Hands allowed that even in this long Winter the Weather is both wholeſome and pleaſant. In the Weſtern and Southern Parts the Cli-

[d] The great Utility of this Fiſhery was very early ſeen, and very vigorouſly purſued; for One hundred and Seventy Years ago, that is, in the Beginning of the Reign of King James I. we had Two hundred and Fifty Sail employed therein. It is computed, that Three Quintals of wet Fiſh make One Quintal of dried Cod. Beſides, the Livers of every Hundred Quintals make a Hogſhead of Oil; and excluſive of theſe, there are many leſſer Advantages that go in Diminution of the Expence. The Fiſhery, as we have ſaid in the Text, produces differently in different Seaſons, but it is judged to be a very good One when it produces Three-hundred-thouſand Quintals of Fiſh, and Three thouſand Barrels of Oil, both equally ſaleable and valuable Commodities. As every Ship carries Twelve, and each of their Boats Eight Men, and as theſe return home in Six Months, there cannot be a more noble Nurſery for Seamen. The Artificers and Traders employed in building, victualling, and repairing theſe Veſſels are very numerous in the reſpective Ports from which they ſail. Theſe Circumſtances juſtify the particular Attention paid by Government to this Branch of the public Service, in reſpect to which, that they may be well informed, an annual and very diſtinct Account, by which the Whole is ſeen at One View, is delivered by the proper Officer to the Governor of Newfoundland, that is, to the Commodore of his Majeſty's Squadron.

mate

mate is milder. The Soil in general is fruitful, and when duly cultivated produces every Thing requiſite to Subſiſtence, Corn in great Plenty, a great Variety of Vegetables, and thoſe excellent in their Kind, ſome Fruit Trees, as Apples, Pears, Plums, and Cherries, an immenſe Quantity of excellent Timber, and many Trees and Shrubs of great Uſe in Dyeing, and in Medicine. There are alſo very rich Mines of Iron and Copper. There is no Country in the World happier than this in Water Carriage, for beſides Lake Superior, the Lake of the Illinois, Lake Huron, and Lake Erie, which communicate one with another, Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain, which both diſcharge their Waters into the River of St. Lawrence, there are many other Lakes and Rivers that water all Parts of the Country. The City of Quebec, the Seat of Government, ſtands about One hundred and Ten Leagues from the Mouth of the River of St. Lawrence, Montreal Sixty Leagues higher, and Trois Rivieres between them. There are ſeveral large Villages, fortified Poſts, and Settlements along the River, and in different Parts of the Country. The preſent Staples of Canada are, Furs, Fiſh, Oil, and Lumber; but as every Thing is now in a thriving Way, the Number of Inhabitants increaſing, and their Commerce much more conſiderable than it was, there is no Doubt that Canada will become daily of greater Conſequence to Britain [e].

NOVA SCOTIA received that Name from its Proprietor Sir William Alexander, afterwards created Earl of Stirling, but the French when they ob-

[e] The Immenſity of this Country is ſuch, that though ſo long known to and in part poſſeſſed by Europeans, we have ſtill but very imperfect Notions of the interior Parts. This will be eaſily comprehended, if we reflect that upwards of One hundred Millions of Inhabitants would not render it ſo populous as Great Britain. Yet it muſt be allowed that it hath come into our Hands with great Advantage. We found in it many thouſand People, Natives well accuſtomed to and ſettled in the Country, and now tolerably reconciled to our Government, the Benefits of which they feel and acknowledge. There is Room enough for the different Nations of Indians, who with proper Care and Management may be rendered of great Utility. The Lakes and Water Communications of all Kinds ought to be diligently explored, as they ſeem intended by Nature to facilitate an Intercourſe between the People ſituated in the different Parts of this vaſt Continent. The Indians report that the Lake of Aſſiniboils in the moſt northern Part of this Country is Six hundred Leagues in Circumference, that the Soil about it is fertile, and the Air temperate. If they are to be credited it is the Source of all the great Rivers and Lakes, viz. the River of Bourbon, or as we ſtile it Nelſon's River, falling into Hudſon's Bay, the River of St. Lawrence, which falls into the Ocean, the Miſſiſſippi, which diſcharges itſelf into the Bay of Mexico, the Miſſouri, a very great River which falls into the former, and another large River running directly Weſt. At preſent the Fiſhery is a very great Object, as in the Gulph of St. Lawrence and on the Coaſt of Labrador they take vaſt Numbers of Whales, Porpoiſes, Seals, Sturgeon, ſeveral Sorts of Cod, Salmon, and other Fiſh. Agriculture alſo makes a great Progreſs, and the Peltry and Fur Trades daily increaſe. The Total of the Exports in the Year 1769 amounted to One hundred Seven thouſand Nine hundred Seventy-ſix Pounds. The Number of Topſail Veſſels entered inwards were Twenty-eight, and Nineteen Sloops; cleared outwards Twenty eight Ships, and Twenty-two Sloops in A. D. 1770.

truded themſelves into this Country called it Acadia. It lies from Forty-three to Forty-nine Degrees of North Latitude, and from Sixty-two to Seventy-two Degrees of Longitude Weſt from London. The Extent of it from South to North is about Three hundred and Sixty, and from Eaſt to Weſt upwards of Five hundred Miles. It is bounded on the North by the River, on the Eaſt by the Gulph or Bay of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, on the South by that Ocean and the Province of New England, and on the Weſt by the River of St. Lawrence. The Form of this Country is very irregular. The greateſt Part of it lies on the Continent, the Remainder, which may be about One Third, is a Peninſula, ſeparated from the Main by an Arm of the Sea called the Bay of Fundy, and joined to it at the North End by a narrow Iſthmus. It was to this Peninſula that the French would have confined their Ceſſion of Acadia by the Treaty of Utrecht, contrary both to the Letter and Spirit of it. By this Means being well ſettled on the Continent, having the Indians in their Intereſt, and being in Poſſeſſion of the adjacent Iſlands, our Colonies muſt ever have been in a very precarious State; but now theſe Diſputes are at an End, and we are in full Poſſeſſion of the Whole. The Climate is rather ſevere in point of Cold, and the Country much infeſted by Fogs, which are however not unwholeſome, though unpleaſant. The Soil where it is cleared, if we may credit both Engliſh and French Authorities, is very fertile, yielding Corn, Graſs, and Vegetables of every Kind. The Continent eſpecially is mountainous; and the far greateſt Part of it remains ſtill a Foreſt. There are many Lakes, ſeveral beautiful Rivers abounding with a Variety of Fiſh, and nothing wanting to encourage the Induſtry, and of courſe to increaſe the Number of its Inhabitants. The principal Places therein are Annapolis, which the French called Port Royal, ſeated on One of the fineſt Havens in the World, capable of receiving any Number of the largeſt Ships, and which is very remarkable, the Tide riſing there Twenty-eight or Thirty Feet. On the oppoſite Side of the Peninſula ſtands Halifax, the Seat of Government, where a noble Eſtabliſhment hath been made at the Expence of Great Britain, and all the Diſpoſitions requiſite for the Service of his Majeſty's Ships when a Squadron is ſent into theſe Seas. Minnes, Chenigto, Lunenburgh, and Canſo on the Strait that divides Nova Scotia from the Iſland of Cape Breton. The preſent Exports of this Country are Peltry, Lumber, Fiſh, Oil, and in Proceſs of Time, Maſts, Pitch, Tar, Hemp, and all other naval Stores may be ſupplied from hence. The Iſles of Cape Breton and St. John, though the latter is now a ſeparate Government, ſeem dependent on this Province,

and

and till they are better ſettled ſtand in no need of a particular Deſcription [f].

New England received its Name from Charles the Firſt when Prince of Wales. It conſiſts of ſeveral Parts, and ſome of theſe are under different Forms of Government. It is in Point of Strength, Improvements, and Independency the moſt conſiderable of all our Colonies. It extends from Forty-one to Forty-ſix Degrees of Latitude North, and lies from Sixty-nine to Seventy-three Degrees of Longitude Weſt from London. On the North it is bounded by Nova Scotia and Canada, on the South and Eaſt by the Atlantic, and on the Weſt by the Province of New York. In length it is near Three hundred Miles, hardly any where Two hundred in breadth. The Climate is not much to be commended. The Winter is long and ſometimes very ſevere; the Summer ſhort and ſultry, heavy Rains, but of no Continuance. With all this the Weather is frequently clear and ſerene for a long Continuance, and in general wholeſome. The Soil very different, in ſome Places coarſe, rocky, or ſandy, in others deep and fertile. European Corn of every Kind hath hitherto ſucceeded but indifferently, but of Maize or Indian Corn they have Abundance, and apply it to all Sorts of Uſes, even that of Malting; Peas they have likewiſe in Plenty. The Paſtures there are extenſive, and produce great Quantities of Graſs and Hay. Black Cattle and Hogs are large and very fine, but Sheep are indifferent; there are great Variety of Vegetables, and all Sorts of edible Roots are excellent. Fruit Trees abound, and bear luxuriantly, ſo that ſeveral Hogſheads of Cyder are ſometimes made from the Apples of a ſingle Tree. Timber of all Sorts, more eſpecially Oak, Pine, and Fir, there is no where better or in greater Plenty. We need not wonder that with theſe Advantages the Country ſhould be well peopled, and much improved. Beſides Boſton, which is the Capital, and the largeſt

[f] Sir William Alexander's Grant bears Date the Tenth of September 1621. The Conteſt for this Country between us and the French continued about a Century and a Half. We may aſcribe to this, at leaſt in ſome Degree, the fine Deſcriptions given of it both by Engliſh and French Writers. The latter ſet a great Value on the Furs and Peltry furniſhed to them by the Indians, they eſteemed the Maſts and Ship Timber to be the beſt in the World, and they ſpoke in very high Terms of the rich Meadows and Paſtures, and of their fine arable Land, which on both Sides of the Bay of Fundy may be very true. But from the Accidents of War and ſome other Cauſes the Britiſh Inhabitants have not been hitherto ſo ſucceſsful as very probably they will be in Time, for in Countries like this Plantations do not ſucceed the worſe from their being made ſlowly, and with due Conſideration, as appears from the Want of Wood at Halifax. The total Exports, A. D. 1769, were 14,012 l. of which 730 l. only to Great Britain. In the ſucceeding Year there were entered inwards 27 Topſails, and 131 Sloops; cleared outwards 31 Ships, and 161 Sloops.

Town in America, they have many others very conſiderable; ſo that the Whole is laid out into Counties as in England. Their principal Exports are Maſts, Yards, Naval Stores, Pot Aſhes, Whale Oil, Proviſions of all Kinds, and Lumber. But their Riches principally ariſe from their different and extenſive Fiſheries, from Ship-building, and above all from their Commerce, for which they have been ſtiled, not at all improperly, the Dutch of America. The Number of Inhabitants have been computed at about Half a Million [s].

New York received that Appellation from the Duke of York, to whom, after it was recovered from the Dutch, it was granted by his Brother King Charles the Second. It lies between Forty-one and Forty-four Degrees of North Latitude; and from Seventy-two to Seventy-ſix Degrees of Longitude Weſt from London. In length about Two hundred Miles, in breadth ſcarce One, indeed the beſt Maps make it much narrower. It is bounded on the North by Canada, on the Eaſt by New England, on the South by the Sea, and on the Weſt by the River Delawar, which divides it from Penſylvania. The Climate is very fine, though the Winters in compariſon of ours are very ſevere, with large Falls of Snow, but the Summers are very warm, and of Six Months Continuance, which with the Fertility of the Soil renders this both a rich and beautiful Country. Not only Maize but all Kinds of European Grain come here to full Perfection, their Meadows are very luxuriant, their Fruits in great Variety, and excellent in their reſpective Kinds, all Sorts of Vegetables, Pulſe, and Roots in the utmoſt Plenty. The Two principal Towns amongſt many others are Albany in the North, and New York in the South at the Mouth of Hudſon's River, admirably ſituated, ſo that the whole Pro-

[s] The moſt Eaſtern of the New England Provinces and neareſt to Nova Scotia is that of Main. To the South of this lies Maſſachuſet's Bay, South from that Connecticut, adjoining to which is Rhode Iſland. New Hampſhire lies on the Weſt and alſo the North of Maſſachuſet's Bay, improved of late and become very populous. Theſe Provinces by their original Charters had very extenſive Powers. But a Quo Warranto being brought, Judgment was given againſt thoſe of New Hampſhire and Maſſachuſet's Bay. After the Revolution they had a new Charter, by which the Appointment of the Governor and ſuperior Officers is in the Crown. The People chooſe the Aſſembly, and the Aſſembly nominate the Council, on which however the Governor hath a Negative. Connecticut and Rhode Iſland ſubmitting there was no Judgment againſt their Charters, in conſequence of which they chooſe their Governors as well as their Aſſemblies. The principal Place in the Province of Main is York. In New Hampſhire the Port is Piſcataqua in Maſſachuſet's Bay, Falmouth, Salem, and Boſton. In Rhode Iſland the principal Place is Newport, in the Province of Connecticut; the Ports are New Haven and New London. In all of theſe, A. D. 1769, the Total of the Exports amounted to 531,162 l. and in the ſucceeding Year there were entered inwards 504 Ships, and 2288 Sloops and Schooners; cleared outwards 577 Ships, and 2450 Sloops and Schooners.

duce-

duce of the Colony arrives there, even from the moſt diſtant Parts, in Three Days by Water Carriage. The Inhabitants procured formerly much Fur and Peltry from the Indians, have great Quantities of good Timber of every Kind, Iron Ore in Abundance, very happily ſituated in all Reſpects, and it is thought a Sturgeon Fiſhery might be carried on here to great Advantage. The Merchants of New York carry on a moſt extenſive Commerce, not ſimply in the Produce of their own Colony, but alſo from Connecticut and the Jerſeys. Long Iſland and ſome others to the South are annexed to New York, and are wonderfully fine and fertile, and in the firſt-mentioned they have an excellent Breed of Horſes. The Number of Inhabitants is ſaid to be about One hundred and Twenty thouſand [h].

New Jersey, or as they are commonly called The Jerſeys, being Two Provinces united into One Government. They lie from Thirty-nine to Forty-one Degrees of North Latitude, and from Seventy-four to Seventy-five Degrees Thirty Minutes Longitude Weſt from London. In length One hundred and Fifty Miles, in breadth in ſome Places about One hundred. Bounded on the North by New York, on the Eaſt by the Atlantic, on the South by Delawar Bay, on the Weſt by Penſylvania. This Situation, and their having on all Sides either the Sea or cultivated

[h] In the diſturbed State of our Affairs during the latter Part of James the Firſt, and the Whole of his Son Charles the Firſt's Reign, the Swedes intruded themſelves into a Part of this Country, and were ſoon followed by the Dutch, with whom they united. The Civil War in England gave the latter an Opportunity of eſtabliſhing a regular Colony under the Direction and at the Expence of the Weſt India Company, to whom the States General granted what they were pleaſed to ſtile the New Netherlands. The Engliſh always kept up their Claim, and the Inhabitants of Connecticut ſettled a Part of Long Iſland. After the Reſtoration, King Charles granted this Country to James Duke of York, and a Squadron with a ſmall Body of Land Forces was ſent to reduce it. The Dutch Governor Stuyveſant would have defended himſelf, but the Inhabitants finding that they were not to be deprived of their Properties, ſubmitted and forced him to ſurrender. The Articles of Capitulation were ſigned Aug. 27, 1664. In the Second War the Dutch recovered this Country as eaſily as they loſt it, but by the Treaty of Weſtminſter it was exchanged for Surinam. The City of New York is ſeated in 41°. 42′. North Lat. The Road before it, though incommoded with Ice in very hard Winters, is notwithſtanding always open. This with other Circumſtances, ſome of which are mentioned in the Text, renders it a Place of great Reſort and very extenſive Commerce. They export to the Weſt Indies, Bread, Peas, Rye, Meal, Indian Corn, Horſes, Sheep, Beef, Pork, and at leaſt Eighty thouſand Barrels of Flour; their Returns are Rum, Sugar, and Melaſſes. They ſend Proviſions to the Spaniſh Main. They have a conſiderable Share in the Logwood Trade, Wheat, Flour, Indian Corn, and Lumber they ſend to Liſbon and Madeira. They have alſo a Correſpondence with Hamburgh and Holland, and ſend large Quantities of Flax Seed to Ireland. The Total of their Exports, A. D. 1769, amounted to 246,522 l. In the ſucceeding Year the Ships entered inwards were 196, Sloops 431; cleared outwards Ships 188, Sloops 424.

Countries,

Countries, accounts for the Mildneſs of the Climate, which is equally ſerene and pleaſant. The Soil is almoſt every-where deep and fertile, producing vaſt Quantities of excellent Wheat and all other Kinds of Grain in Abundance, a Variety of rich Fruits, fine Timber Trees fit for building, prodigious Quantities of Cattle of all Sorts. Abounding alſo in Copper and Iron Ores, which are very rich. The Inhabitants live here much at their Eaſe, and with little Labour, enjoying not only all the Neceſſaries but moſt of the Conveniences of Life, from whence this Country hath been not improperly ſtiled the Garden of America. It is a Royal Government, the Governor being aſſiſted by a Council of Twelve which compoſe the Upper Houſe, as the Repreſentatives of the People do the Lower Houſe of Aſſembly, and are in Number Twenty-four. In Eaſt Jerſey the Capital is Perth Amboy, which hath a fine Port, notwithſtanding which Elizabeth Town is much larger. In Weſt Jerſey they have Two Ports, Burlington and Salem. The Commodities of the Jerſeys are the ſame with thoſe of New York, and the Number of the Inhabitants is ſaid to be Sixty thouſand[i].

Pensylvania is a Province granted by King Charles the Second with an additional Grant from the Duke of York to William Penn the Son of Sir William Penn a famous Admiral, and in great Credit with them both. William Penn was in Principle a Quaker, a Gentleman of a moſt amiable and benevolent Diſpoſition, as appears from the Conſtitutions he gave to this Colony which became very flouriſhing in his own Time, and chiefly through his judicious Regulations. He derived his Authority from the

[i] The Duke of York as Proprietor of the Province laſt mentioned, by a Deed, dated the 24th of June 1664, granted the Southern Part of it to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley of Stratton, which Part was called New Jerſey. Ten Years after this the Two Lords Proprietors, with the Conſent of the Duke, divided this Country into Eaſt Jerſey under Sir George Carteret, and Weſt Jerſey under Lord Berkeley. The Duke of York notwithſtanding this reſumed for a ſhort Space the Government of Weſt Jerſey, but by a new Deed in the Year 1680, revived and confirmed the former Diviſion, by which Weſt Jerſey was reſtored to Lord Berkeley. Theſe Proprietors afterwards aſſigned their Rights to others, and the Inhabitants frequently falling out with the Governors they ſent over, and the Aſſignees of the original Proprietors diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, the latter by a ſolemn Act, April 17th 1702, reſigned both Provinces to the Queen, reſerving however the Property in the Soil, &c. Since this Period it hath been a Royal Government, though ſometimes the ſame Perſon hath been Governor of New York and the Jerſeys. It hath been already obſerved, that a great Part of their Trade is carried on by the Way of New York, to which we muſt alſo add, that Part of it is now carried through the Channel of Philadelphia, which will account for what we have to ſay farther. The Exports, A. D. 1769, amounted to no more than 2531 l. all for the Britiſh or foreign Weſt Indies. In A. D 1770, there were entered inwards Two Ships and 41 Sloops; cleared outwards Two Ships and 47 Sloops.

Crown;

Crown; the Soil he purchaſed fairly from the Natives, cheriſhing and protecting the Indians, who in return lived peaceably and traded with his People. In regard to Religion he eſtabliſhed a moſt comprehenſive Toleration, and in reference to civil Liberty, left as much of it with the People as was conſiſtent with their Peace and Safety. The Whole of the Country extends from Thirty-nine to Forty-two Degrees North Latitude, and from Seventy-four to Seventy-eight Degrees Longitude Weſt from London. In length about Three hundred Miles, very different in point of breadth, in ſome Places One hundred, in others not more than Forty. Bounded on the North by the Territory of the Five Nations, on the Eaſt by Delawar River; on the South and Weſt by Maryland. The Climate, like that of New York, colder than ours in the Winter, and hotter in the Summer. The Soil deep and rich, differing from the adjacent Countries in this, that it abounds in Lime-ſtone and Gravel. The Produce is much the ſame with New York, Grain and Pulſe of all Sorts and in great Perfection, Variety of fine Fruits, great Plenty of Timber, with much Iron and Copper Ore. The Capital is Philadelphia, a noble, regular, well-built pleaſant Place, ſituated between Two navigable Rivers, Schoolkill and Delawar, Ships of conſiderable Burden coming to the Quays by both. The Country is full of large Towns, and well cultivated to a great Extent. The Proprietor when Reſident is Governor; if he appoints a Deputy, that Deputy muſt be approved by the Crown. He is aſſiſted by a Council, and the People are repreſented in their Aſſemblies. For the Three lower Counties, Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, lying along the River Delawar, which were added by the Duke of York's Grant, have an Aſſembly of their own. They extend from North to South One hundred and Twenty Miles, from Eaſt to Weſt about Forty. The Commerce of the Inhabitants is very extenſive throughout America and to Europe; the People frugal and induſtrious, and their Numbers in the whole Colony, if we may depend upon ſome late Calculations, between Two and Three hundred thouſand [k].

MARYLAND.

[k] The Grant from King Charles II. of Penſylvania, for ſo it is ſtiled in that Grant, bears Date the 4th March 1680. The Duke of York by a Deed of Sale dated the 24th Auguſt, A. D. 1683, diſpoſes to him the Town and County of Newcaſtle, which as Part of the New Netherlands was in the Duke's Grant; and by another Deed bearing the ſame Date he yields to him the Counties of Kent and Suſſex, the Three upper Counties which compoſe Penſylvania proper, viz. Philadelphia, Buckingham, and Cheſter. Theſe produce immenſe Quantities of Grain, Hemp, Flax, &c. The lower Counties abound in Black Cattle, Sheep, and Hogs. This enables them to export prodigious Quantities of Proviſions of all Kinds to the Britiſh, French, and Dutch Iſlands in America, they likewiſe trade in other Articles to Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina. They carry Corn, Beef, Pork, Strong Beer, and Spirits to Newfoundland. They have likewiſe an annual Intercourſe with the Canaries, Madeira, and Azores Iſlands; and carry Corn and Fiſh from Newfoundland to Spain and Portugal, and bring Furs, Peltry, Naval Stores, Hemp, and Flax to Great Britain and Ireland. They deal alſo in Ship-building for Sale to the Amount of ſeveral Thouſand

MARYLAND received that Name in Honour of Henrietta Maria the Conſort of King Charles the Firſt, who made a Grant of this Country, with very extraordinary Powers, to Lord Baltimore. It lies between Thirty-eight and Forty Degrees of North Latitude, and in Longitude from Seventy-four to Seventy-eight Degrees Weſt from London. It is in Length about One hundred and Forty Miles, but not quite ſo much in Breadth. It is bounded on the North by Penſylvania; on the Eaſt by the lower Counties of the ſame Colony, and by the Atlantic; on the South by Cheſapeak Bay; on the Weſt by the River Potowmack, and the Province of Virginia. The Climate may well be ſtiled mild and pleaſant, for though the Winters are cold they are ſhort, and the Heat of their Summers is tempered by cool Breezes from the Bay before-mentioned, which is One of the fineſt in the World. The Country, except towards the North, is in general a flat open Plain of a deep rich Soil and very fertile. It produces Grain of all Sorts, rich Fruits of different Kinds, Timber, Hemp, Flax, and in the Bowels of the Earth there is great Plenty of Iron Ore. The Staple of this Country is Tobacco, of which hitherto they have raiſed immenſe Quantities, though ſome ſay their Lands begin to wear out, which obliges them to keep great Numbers of Cattle for the Sake of Manure. They likewiſe export Lumber, Naval Stores, &c. The Situation of this Country and the Nature of its Staple prevent the Building of Towns; for the Plantations lying on the Banks of their numerous navigable Rivers, their Veſſels come up to the Planters Doors, and their Tobacco's are conſequently laden without Trouble. Their Cuſtomhouſes are on the Rivers Pocomocke, Cheſter, Patuxint, and the North Side of Potomack. They have however One Town, Annapolis, which is the Seat of Government, and though ſmall is one of the faireſt and beſt built in America. The Number of Inhabitants exceeds One hundred Thouſand, of which however Three Fifths are Negro Slaves, the Remainder Whites, who live in general much at their Eaſe[1].

VIRGINIA

Thouſand Tons yearly. Their Exports, A. D. 1769, amounted to 453,419 l. In order to ſhew the amazing Increaſe of this Colony, it may be not amiſs to obſerve that in A. D. 1748 there entered inwards in the Port of Philadelphia 62 Ships, 291 Sloops; cleared outwards 64 Ships, 227 Sloops. Whereas A. D. 1770 there entered inwards 398 Ships, 408 Sloops; cleared outwards 413 Ships, Sloops 407.

[1] The Patent which had been promiſed to Sir George Calvert of this Part of what was then ſtiled Virginia was granted to his Son Cæcilius, created Lord Baltimore, and bears date 20th of June 1632. He ſent over his Brother Leonard Calvert, Eſq; with Two hundred Gentlemen and Perſons of ſome Property to ſettle there. His Son Charles Calvert was afterwards Governor for near 20 Years, and under their Adminiſtration the Colony flouriſhed exceedingly. They made themſelves ſo acceptable to the Indians at their firſt Coming, that they yielded to them half, and as ſoon as their Harveſt was over, their whole Town, and this good Underſtanding conſtantly ſubſiſted. By Means of a general Toleration of all Chriſtians, the Number of Inhabitants was much

VIRGINIA received its Name from Queen Elizabeth, and hath been conſidered as the Mother of all our Colonies on the Continent. It lies from the Latitude of Thirty-ſix Degrees to ſomewhat more than Forty North; in Longitude from Seventy-four to Eighty or Eighty-one Degrees Weſt from London. Its length is incertain, but in breadth Two hundred Miles. On the North it is bounded by Maryland; on the Eaſt by the River Potowmack, Cheſapeak Bay, and the Atlantic Ocean; on the South by Carolina, and on the Weſt by ſeveral Ridges of Mountains, between which many Plantations and back Settlements have been made. The Climate may be eſteemed temperate. The Spring begins early in the Month of April, the Weather continues moderately warm to the End of June, July and Auguſt are very hot, with terrible Claps of Thunder, which however ſeldom do any Miſchief, the Rains come on in September, and they have Four Months of Winter, but hardly One Month of very cold Weather. The Face of the Country is for about One hundred Miles from the Sea very flat, but farther up there are many pleaſant Hills and rich Vallies. The Soil is as various as in Britain, but almoſt every where fertile, and a great Part of it luxuriant. In its Bowels are found Iron, Lead, and Copper Ores, and ſome ſay richer Metals; Pig and Bar Iron and ſome Copper are brought hither. There is alſo Antimony, many fine Clays and Ochres. The natural Productions are many and valuable in their Kinds, Maize, Silk Graſs as fine as Flax and tougher than Hemp, Peaches, Nectarines, and other fine Fruits, Timber of different Kinds and of the beſt Sorts very large, Abundance of valuable Drugs, and Materials for Dyeing. Beſides theſe all Kinds of European Grain grow in the higheſt Perfection, as alſo Roots and Vegetables of every Sort; Cattle, Sheep, Deer, and Hogs, the latter in ſuch Plenty that they are never mentioned in Inventories, as if their Numbers rendered them of no Value. The great Staple is Tobacco, chiefly the ſweet-ſcented, the fineſt and moſt valuable in the World. There is no Country better watered, as may appear from the Four great Rivers which fall into the Weſt Side of Cheſapeak Bay. The moſt Northern of theſe is Potowmack, navigable Two hundred Miles, in moſt Places Seven, in ſome Places Nine Miles

much increaſed. The Government is now on much the ſame Plan with the Reſt, for the Deputy Governor, though appointed by the Proprietor, muſt be approved of by the Crown. He hath a Council and an Aſſembly, but the Laws made therein are not tranſmitted to England. The Culture of Tobacco made Negroes neceſſary; this is of a particular Kind called Oroonoko, or as ſome write it Aranokoe, which is hotter than what is made in Virginia, and leſs acceptable here, but ſells better in the Eaſtern and Northern Parts of Europe. The Inhabitants carry on a conſiderable Trade to Great Britain, as well as to the Southern Parts of Europe, the French and Britiſh Weſt Indies, and the Continent of America. They have alſo ſome Intercourſe with the Coaſts of Africa. The Total of their Exports, A. D. 1769, amounted to 350,097 l. In A. D. 1770, there were entered inwards Ships 205, Sloops 197; cleared outwards, Ships 228, Sloops 172.

in breadth. Rapahannock is the next, and a very fine River. York River, called by the Indians Pomonky, and the moſt Southern. James River, which is Two Miles wide, and navigable for about Fourſcore Miles. Beſides theſe there are many ſmaller Streams, which afford ſuch Conveniencies for ſhipping their Tobacco's, that Plantations are formed upon moſt of them, and there is ſcarce any Town in this fine Province, except Williamſburg, which is not very large, though the Governor reſides there, and a College hath been erected for the Inſtruction of Youth. This Colony is divided into between Twenty and Thirty Counties, the largeſt containing Two hundred Thouſand, the ſmalleſt Thirty thouſand Acres. The Number of Inhabitants, Negroes and Slaves included, are upwards of One hundred and Fifty thouſand [m].

THESE Countries conſidered in the Light of Colonies, contain in them ſuch Numbers of People, as renders it of great Importance to Britain to direct their Application to ſuch Objects, as may be equally beneficial to

[m] The making a Settlement on the Continent of North America, was a Project of the great Sir Walter Raleigh, for the carrying of which into Execution himſelf and ſome other Perſons of Diſtinction were aſſociated in a Charter, dated the 25th of March 1584. The Queen gave the Country the Name of Virginia, but the Firſt Settlement was made or rather attempted in a Part of the Country which is now called Carolina. The Firſt Entrance into what is now called Virginia, was A. D. 1606, and the Firſt Settlement made in James's River. For the Support of this Colony a Company was erected, the neceſſary Expence being too great to be ſupported by private Perſons. But Miſunderſtandings happening and the Planters complaining of great Hardſhips, King Charles the Firſt diſſolved the Company in 1626, and directed the public Concerns to be managed by a Governor, Council, and Aſſembly. The Entrance into Cheſapeak Bay is between Cape Henry and Cape Charles, through a Strait of about Seven Leagues in Breadth, but the Bay is wider within. It runs Northward upwards of Two hundred Miles, and is navigable for large Veſſels almoſt to its Head, being One of the largeſt, moſt beautiful, and ſafeſt Harbours in the World. The Rivers that fall into it have been mentioned in the Text, and the Tracts of Land between them are ſtiled Necks. That between Potowmack, and Rapahannock, is called the Northern Neck, and is the Property of Lord Fairfax, who reſides there at preſent. There is no doubt that this Colony might furniſh many uſeful Commodities to the Mother Country, ſuch as Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, and other naval Stores, if the Inhabitants were not more inclined to Tobacco, for which the Soil of this and its Siſter Province is by far the fitteſt in America. The Fear that it will be worn out ſeems not to be well founded, for the very fineſt Tobacco is not produced from the richeſt Land, but owes the Excellence of its Flavour to a proper Choice in the Seed and ſkilful Management. Beſides this the Notion entertained by ſome, as if the Exportation of late Years of conſiderable Cargoes of Wheat from Virginia amounted to a Proof that their Lands will no longer bear Tobacco, is at leaſt, if I am rightly informed, a manifeſt Miſtake; the Caſe being in fact no more than this; when they find their Ground begins to fail, they take a Crop of Wheat, perhaps another of Oats, they then fallow it, next by Cowpenning manure it, and by this Method render it fit to produce Tobacco again. The Trade therein hath been for about Forty Years paſt under the moſt excellent Regulation with reſpect to the Public as well as the Planters. It is computed that they export from Virginia and Maryland from Seventy to Ninety thouſand Hogſheads annually, which is a prodigious Benefit to the Revenue and the Nation. Their Exports A. D. 1769 amounted to 728,928 l. In A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards 296 Ships; Sloops 317; cleared outwards Ships 298, Sloops 306.

themſelves,

themſelves, and to their Mother Country. With this View the Staples they have ſhould be encouraged conſtantly, attentively, and vigorouſly. Thoſe that have not been hitherto attempted, but which have a viſible Probability of Succeſs if they were, ſhould be likewiſe brought forward by every Means poſſible. New Staples ſuitable to their different Soils and Climates ſhould, if practicable, be gradually introduced. Theſe Meaſures ſteadily and ſkilfully purſued muſt have Conſequences exceedingly favourable to the public Proſperity, as they could not fail of exciting, and of courſe extending Cultivation Abroad, and promoting by a Supply of a great Variety of raw Materials, Manufactures at Home. With theſe few and ſhort but weighty and ſalutary Obſervations, we will cloſe the preſent Section, and proceed to the Conſideration of thoſe Colonies on the ſame Continent that lie to the South [n].

[n] The Propoſitions inſiſted on in the Text are by no means either new or ſingular. They were long ſince advanced by very judicious Perſons, and which is more to the Purpoſe they were, though in ſome meaſure ſelf-evident, long canvaſſed in Speculation, before any Attempt was made to carry them into Execution, when this was done they were found in ſome Inſtances to anſwer, and the good Effects of Bounties being confirmed by Experience, their Utility was confeſſed. If in ſubſequent Caſes they have not been ſo ſucceſsful, this is no Proof they will never become ſo. Accidents may intervene to prevent their Operation for a Time, and yet not deſtroy their Force. This however is undoubtedly a good Argument for Enquiry, that if ſuch Impediments can be diſcovered they may be removed. But the principal Points to be conſidered are the Importance of the Object to the Public, and the Poſſibility of its being attained, for if theſe are certain, all Obſtacles are to be overcome. Caution and Oeconomy in reſpect to great Enterprizes are requiſite to private Men, but Parſimony may be detrimental to a Nation, more eſpecially where the Expences paid by One, are received by another Part of its Subjects, and where the End propoſed will viſibly redound to the Profit of both.

SECT. II.

Containing an Account of the Southern Colonies on the Continent of North America, viz. North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Eaſt Florida, and Weſt Florida, as alſo of the Bahama and of the Bermudas Iſlands.

THE Province of Carolina was taken out of what in our old Writers is called South Virginia, by a Charter granted by King Charles the Second, from whom it received its Name, to certain Lords Proprietors. It is ſince the Surrender of this Charter divided into Two Governments. The Firſt of theſe is North Carolina, in the Latitude from Thirty-four to

Thirty-ſix Degrees Thirty-three Minutes North, its Longitude Seventy-ſix Degrees Weſt from London. It is bounded on the North by Virginia; on the Eaſt by the Atlantic; on the South by South Carolina; and on the Weſt its Boundaries cannot well be aſſigned. In length there is upwards of Three hundred Miles ſettled, in breadth about One hundred and Fifty. The Climate is temperate, the Air pure, thin, and ſerene, the Summers warm, the Winters ſhort, in which the Weather is ſometimes very cold, but this laſts only a few Days. The greateſt Inconvenience to which the Inhabitants are expoſed is Thunder, which however rarely does any Miſchief. The Soil is various, and the Face of the Country finely diverſified with pleaſant Hills, large Vales, fine Rivers, and the different Sorts of Ground render it fit for all Kinds of Uſes. Corn of all Sorts, the richeſt Fruits, a vaſt Variety of Vegetables, wide Paſtures abounding with Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Deer, Horſes, &c. render it very rich and pleaſant, though with very indifferent Culture. As it lies in the Midſt of the temperate Zone, we may ſafely credit theſe Accounts, and perhaps ſee no juſt Grounds to queſtion the Truth, or at leaſt the Probability of their Conjectures, who ſuggeſt that Almonds, Dates, and Olives, might be planted here with juſt Hopes of their thriving as well as any where. At all Events the Experiment might be very eaſily made, and at a ſmall Expence. There are no great Towns, and except the River Fear or Clarendon River they have none navigable for Veſſels of above Fourſcore Tons, but there are many fine Sounds and fair Inlets, the moſt remarkable of which are Currituk, Roanoake, Bath Town, Beaufort, and Brunſwick. Their principal Exports are Peltry, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Timber, and to the Weſt India Iſlands Lumber and Proviſions. They likewiſe grow ſome Rice and Tobacco, which is ſent through Virginia. This Province, though long neglected, is now in a very thriving Condition, and the Number of People, as to which we can ſay nothing with Certainty, is daily increaſing by frequent Emigrations from Europe [a].

SOUTH

[a] The Firſt Charter granted by King Charles the Second to Edward Earl of Clarendon and others, was dated 27th March 1663. The Second Charter was in 1665. The Form of Government was in many Reſpects different from that of other Colonies. The Lords Proprietors had a Power of conferring Honours, though not with the ſame Titles as in England, and they accordingly made Landgraves and Caſſiques. But through internal Diſturbances, and the external Preſſure of an Indian War, the Heirs and Aſſigns of the original Proprietors found it expedient to ſurrender their Charter, A. D. 1728. (the late Earl of Granville excepted) ſince which it hath been divided into Two Provinces, each of which is a Royal Government. The Firſt Engliſh Settlement on the Continent was at Roanoake now in this Province, which being deſerted there is a Tradition in reſpect to the poor People left there, that they intermarried with the Indians, ſome of whom even to this Time are proud of their Deſcent. The different Sorts of Land in this Country, and the Excellence of its Climate render it fit for a great Variety of Improvements, many of which already have, and others certainly will take Place.

Amongſt

SOUTH CAROLINA is one of the fineſt and moſt fruitful Countries in America. It lies from the Latitude of Thirty-two to Thirty-five Degrees North, and in Longitude from Seventy-nine to Eighty-ſeven Degrees Weſt from London, including the moſt diſtant Plantations. The Length is very incertain, the Breadth about Two hundred Miles. The Climate is temperate or rather warm. The Air in general pure and ſerene, but the Weather ſtrangely inconſtant, the Extremes of Heat and Cold being felt not only in different Seaſons, but varying ſometimes, and that very conſiderably in the Space of a Day. The Country from the Sea Coaſt for upwards of an Hundred Miles is a vaſt Plain interſperſed with Woods, and interſected by many fine Rivers. The Soil towards the Sea Coaſt is ſandy and light, Northwards the Country riſes, and the Weather is more ſettled. There are many natural Lawns, or as they call them Savannahs; their Swamps have commonly a Clay Bottom, this renders them exceedingly fit for Rice, as their light ſandy Soil is well adapted to Indigo. The Firſt Plantations being made near the Sea the worſt Land is already well improved, what lies behind is fit for any and every Thing. They have Grain of all Kinds, and Vegetables in the higheſt Perfection. Oranges, Lemons, and other rich Fruits, uſeful Timber of various Kinds, and in their Paſtures immenſe Quantities of Cattle of all Sorts. On the Sides of the Rivers there are very rich, deep, and ſtrong Lands, producing as fine and good Hemp as any in the World; and which might be certainly by proper Encouragement brought hither in large Quantities. There are beſides large Tracts of hilly Ground in the interior Part of the Province, which in the Opinion of competent Judges are perfectly adapted to the Culture of Vines, in which, if undertaken with Vigour, and proſecuted with Skill and Perſeverance, there is little Reaſon to doubt of Succeſs. Their Exports conſiſt of Rice, Indigo, Naval Stores, Lumber, and Proviſions. The Sea Coaſt is about Seventy Leagues in Extent, the River of Winyaw hath a Channel Twelve Feet deep. Charles Town, which is the Capital, and the Seat of Government, is one of the pleaſanteſt and beſt built Places in America. Port Royal is as fine a Harbour as any that Nature hath made, exceedingly well ſituated and capable of receiving Ships of any Size in any Number. The Inhabitants are amazingly increaſed of late Years, inſomuch that there are reckoned upwards of Thirty thouſand Whites, and Eighty thouſand Negroes. The latter are ſo well treated by the Planters that they had little or no Occaſion for any new Supplies,

Amongſt theſe we may reckon Silk, for which in all Reſpects there cannot be a more favourable Situation. Their Exports A. D. 1769 amounted to 68,117 l. In A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards 94 Ships, 379 Sloops; cleared outwards Ships 99, Sloops 386.

thoſe born in the Country, being ſufficient for all the Purpoſes of the Colony. But their Plantations being much enlarged, they have lately been conſtrained to admit freſh Importations of Negroes[b].

Georgia is a Colony of about Forty Years ſtanding. It lies from Thirty Degrees Thirty Minutes to Thirty-three Degrees of North Latitude, and from the Longitude of Eighty to Eighty-three Degrees Weſt from London. It was taken out of South Carolina, and the original Bounds were the River Savannah on the North, and the River Alatamaha on the South; extending about Fifty Miles between the Mouths of theſe Two Rivers on the Sea Side, but gradually widening within Land. As this Province was taken out of Carolina the Boundaries were not very accurately ſettled, an Inconvenience not peculiar to this Colony. But after the laſt Peace his preſent Majeſty, by his Royal Proclamation, ſettled this Point effectually, by annexing to Georgia all the Country between the River Alatamaha and that of St. Mary, which laſt is declared to be the Northern Limit of the New Province of Eaſt Florida. On the North it is bounded by Carolina; on the Eaſt by the Atlantic; on the South by the River of St. Mary, and Weſt by ſeveral Indian Nations. The Climate is very warm, the Air pure and ſerene, but ſometimes expoſed to violent Thunder. The Lands towards the Coaſt are ſhallow and ſandy, but higher up exceedingly rich and fertile. The narrow Limits of this Colony have been conſiderably extended, not by Incroachments, much leſs by Violence, but by fair Purchaſes from the Indians, with whom the Inhabitants live upon the beſt Terms. The Improvements here were at firſt very ſlow, but have been ſurprizingly great within theſe few Years, as is evident from the increaſed Value of Land, notwithſtanding the Bounds of the Colony being ſo much enlarged. There are Two Ports, Savannah on the River of the ſame Name, which is the Seat of Government, and Sunbury. The Exports from hence are Peltry, Rice, Indigo,

[b] The Advantages that might be derived from this Country were foreſeen, and ſome of them pointed out long before they actually took Place, which ought to render us leſs diffident in reſpect to the Benefits promiſed from our new Colonies. Rice was introduced here a little before the Beginning of the preſent Century by mere Accident. Indigo is of a much later Date, though the Plant now moſt cultivated is a Native of the Country. Both theſe Improvements have been very wiſely encouraged from Home. The Firſt by relaxing the Act of Navigation, and the Second by granting a Bounty. Theſe Staples ſuit very well together, which is a Matter of great Conſequence. We may however juſtly entertain farther Expectations from the great Extent of Territory, the Nature of the Climate, the Variety of Soils, and the Conveniency of Water Carriage through all Parts of the Colony. To ſhew the great Progreſs the Inhabitants have made in the Space of Twenty Years paſt we ſhall obſerve, that the total Amount of their Exports A. D. 1747 was 161,365 l. In A. D. 1769, 410,270 l. In A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards 186 Ships, Sloops 306; cleared outwards Ships 190, Sloops 302. The Tonnage of the Veſſels employed A. D. 1747 under 9,000, in A. D. 1770 about 30,000.

Silk,

Silk, Naval Stores, Lumber, Proviſions, &c. The Number of People Seventeen thouſand Whites and Thirteen thouſand Negroes [c].

EAST FLORIDA is a large and beautiful Peninſula, lying from the Latitude of Twenty-five to near Thirty-one Degrees North, and in Longitude from Eighty-two to Eighty-four Degrees Weſt from London. In Length from South to North Three hundred and Sixty Miles, in Breadth from Eaſt to Weſt about Two hundred at the Northern Boundary, leſſening to about One Half of that Space to the South. It is bounded by the River of St. Mary on the North; on the Eaſt by the Atlantic; on the South and Weſt by the Straits of Florida and the Gulph of Mexico. The Climate is very temperate and healthy, which is attributed to its Situation between Two Seas, and the Land and Sea Breezes that (except about Two Hours in the Morning) blow alternately. The Face of the Country, except towards the North, is generally flat, the Soil near the Sea Side ſhallow and ſandy, but within there are Swamps, Pine Barrens, and ſome very rich Land on the Sides of the Rivers. The Whole is finely interſected by Rivers running ſome into the Atlantic, and others into the Gulph of Mexico. It abounds with very fine Timber, fit for all Uſes ſuch as Oak, Mahogany, White and Red Pines, Cedar of different Kinds, Pine Trees of a great Size, Mulberries, &c. Theſe Trees grow moſtly at conſiderable Diſtances, and not in thick Woods as in moſt Parts of America, ſo that any Part of the Country may be eaſily cleared. The natural Produce is Maiz or Indian Corn, which they reap Twice annually. Oranges, Lemons, and other rich Fruits fairer and finer than thoſe of the ſame Sort in Europe. There are alſo Abundance of Cattle, wild and tame Fowls, Sea and River Fiſh in great Plenty, the Produce expected from it Rice, Cotton, Indigo, Cochineal, and Barilla, to which we may add,

[c] The ſettling of Georgia was originally a Plan for providing an Aſylum for the diſtreſſed, to facilitate which the Crown granted a Charter to ſeveral reſpectable Perſons as Truſtees, who undertook this laudable Deſign with great Vigour and public Spirit, and were generouſly ſupported by private Donations and Parliamentary Grants. Yet after Twenty Years Endeavours the Truſtees found it expedient to ſurrender their Charter to the Crown before it expired. This was A. D. 1752, ſince which it hath been a Royal Government. The good Effects of this Change were very quickly felt, and have become much more conſpicuous ſince the Acceſſion of Governor Wright who ſtill preſides there. In 1760 the Colony conſiſted of 1,152,000 Acres. There is now within the Indian Line 4,579,000 Acres, and a ſtill greater Augmentation with many concurrent Advantages will be made by a freſh Purchaſe from the Indians. In 1760 there were exported 65,765 Pounds of Deer Skins, and A. D. 1770, 284,840 Pounds. In A. D. 1760, 3,283 Barrels of Rice. In A. D. 1770, 221,029 Barrels. In A. D. 1760, 11,746 Pounds of Indigo. In A. D. 1770, 22,336 Pounds. The Total of the Exports amounted A. D. 1760 to 20,852 l. in A. D. 1770 to 99,383 l. In A. D. 1760 there were 7 Ships and 30 Sloops. In A. D. 1770 entered inwards, Ships 28, Sloops 71; cleared outwards Ships 68, Sloops 119.

many

many valuable Drugs and rich Dyes. As to the Third of theſe Commodities we not only know from Experience that it may be raiſed, but alſo that it is ſo, and with very peculiar Advantages. In the Firſt Place as there are no Froſts to the South of St. Auguſtine capable of chilling the Roots, the Plant grows for Three or Four Years, whereas in our other Colonies it is ſown annually. In the next Place the Climate is ſo favourable that it may be cut Three or Four Times in a Seaſon; and laſtly it is very perfect in its Kind, and at leaſt equal if not ſuperior to the French. In reſpect to the Reſt Time alone can juſtify or extinguiſh our Expectations. It muſt however be obſerved that the interior of this Country is but little known, and that on the Weſt Coaſt there are many ſmall Iſlands, or as they are uſually called Keys, ſome abſolutely barren, others producing Mahogany, Braziletta, and other hard Woods which have been brought hither from the Iſland of Providence. The Capital is St. Auguſtine, but as to the Number of Inhabitants we can ſay nothing with Certainty, except that the Greeks carried thither live very comfortably, and there is no doubt that Proteſtants from the South of France, and from different Parts of Germany might here find a Country very agreeable and capable of rewarding their Induſtry. But excluſive of the Commodities this Province may produce, it is of the utmoſt Importance to Great Britain that it ſhould be ſpeedily and effectually ſettled from the Nature of its Situation, which in Time of Peace will facilitate a Trade with the Spaniards from its Vicinity to Cuba, and in Time of War, as there is a good Port at the Extremity of the Peninſula, it will be an effectual Check to the Paſſage of the Homeward bound Fleets, by our keeping a Squadron there, which the Country being once tolerably ſettled might be done with great Convenience [d].

[d] This Peninſula, with all the reſt of Florida, was ceded in Perpetuity to the Crown of Great Britain by Spain, in the 20th Article of the Treaty of Paris A. D. 1763. As to the Wholeſomneſs of the Country the Spaniſh Writers ancient and modern equally agree. Several of the Inhabitants of St. Auguſtine when it ſurrendered were from 90 to 99 Years of Age. The Ninth Regiment of his Majeſty's Forces remained there Twenty Months without loſing a Man. As to the Temperature of the Air we have been aſſured by Perſons who have reſided in this Province ſeveral Years, that white People work without Inconvenience in the Field in the hotteſt Weather. The Extent of the Country hath been aſcertained by a Survey to be about Twelve Millions of Acres. Eaſt Florida hath ſhared the Fate of all new Settlements, being magnified by ſome beyond Meaſure, and decried beyond Meaſure by others. By Degrees as the Nature of the Soil in different Parts comes to be known, we cannot doubt that moſt of the Articles mentioned in the Text will be produced; the very worſt Lands being fitteſt for Barilla, of which we import great Quantities for the Soap and Glaſs Manufactures. We have as yet no Cuſtom-houſe Accounts, but it is well known that conſiderable Quantities of Indigo, excellent in its Kind, and which ſold at a high Rate, have been already brought from thence to the Amount A. D. 1772 of upwards of Thirty thouſand Pounds Weight as I am credibly informed. In A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards, Ships 3, Sloops 47, and cleared outwards, Ships 4, Sloops 48.

WEST FLORIDA comprehends the Reſt of the Country ceded to the Crown of Great Britain by that of Spain. It lies from Twenty-nine Degrees Forty Minutes to Thirty-one Degrees North Latitude, and in Longitude from Eighty-five to Ninety Weſt from London. The Length may be about Two hundred and Eighty, and the Breadth about Eighty Miles. It is bounded on the South by the Gulph of Mexico; to the Weſtward by the Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas and the River Miſſiſſippi which the Indians call Metchaſippi, or the Father of Rivers; to the Northward, by a Line drawn due Eaſt from the River Miſſiſſippi in the Latitude of Thirty-one Degrees North to the River Apalachicola; which River is alſo its Eaſtern Boundary. The Climate is very warm and moiſt, more eſpecially on the Sea Coaſt, and from thence eſteemed unhealthy, but within Land the Climate is better. Immediately on the Coaſt, and at ſome Diſtance from it the Country is all white Sand, but advancing inward the Soil is found to be rich and fertile, affording Two Crops of Indian Corn annually, with very good Paſtures well ſtocked with Cattle. Timber of all Sorts and fit for all Uſes, excellent Saſſafras and other valuable Drugs, many Materials for Dyeing, and is very capable of producing Cotton, Indigo, and Cochineal. As to the Two Firſt they were actually raiſed by the French, and conſequently there can be no Doubt about them. In reſpect to the Cotton it was very fine and beautifully white, but ſhort, which leſſened its Value. In reference to the Indigo, it was generally acknowledged to be brighter than that of St. Domingo, and therefore it is certainly our Intereſt to cheriſh this Cultivation. If by any Means the laſt, which it is far from being improbable, could be brought to Perfection, it would prove of infinite Advantage to the Province. Hitherto Peltry, which they obtain from the Indians, Logwood, Lumber, and the Balance of their Trade with their Neighbours for European Commodities is their principal Support, and if our laſt Advices may be depended upon, the Coloniſts begin to thrive. The neighbouring Indians, who from their Hatred to the Spaniards are well diſpoſed towards us, furniſh the Inhabitants with conſiderable Quantities of Peltry, and may be made very uſeful in other Reſpects. There are Two Ports in Weſt Florida, Penſecola and Mobille, which carry on ſome Trade directly with London, and as we have before hinted, have alſo ſome Commerce with their Neighbours, which may gradually turn to account. This Province is likewiſe of great Importance, conſidered as a Frontier, and deſerves great Attention in that Light.

THERE lies behind our Settlements on the Atlantic, that is, between them and the Province of Quebec, an immenſe Tract of Country, which in point of Climate and Soil is by no means inferior to any in America,

which not being hitherto ſettled, does not at preſent fall within the Plan of this Work. There are however Two very numerous Ranges of ſmall Iſlands, which having been always looked upon as dependant upon North America; it is therefore become requiſite to ſpeak of them, before we conclude this Section [e].

The Bahamas, ſo ſtiled from the Indian Name of the largeſt Iſland of this Cluſter, which the Spaniards call Los Lucayos, may be eſteemed the Firſt Fruits of the New World, as Columbus touched at One of theſe after a Voyage of near One thouſand Leagues when he diſcovered America. They lie from Twenty-one to Twenty-eight Degrees of North Latitude, and from Seventy to Seventy-nine of Longitude Weſt from London, ſtretching from Hiſpaniola towards Florida. They are many, indeed we know not how many in Number; but there are Three only inhabited, which are Providence, Eleuthera, and Harbour Iſland. The Climate is very temperate, the Soil rich and fertile, but they lie among Shoals and Rocks, ſo as to be inacceſſible to large Ships, and Wrecks being common the Inhabitants are ſaid to make no Scruple of turning them to their Advantage. There are many Reaſons why they have not been better ſettled than they are, though they have at preſent a regular Government, and ſome tolerable Fortifications, and without Doubt in the Hands of honeſt and induſtrious People might be rendered of conſiderable Value. They produce very fine Oranges, Timber of ſeveral Sorts, more eſpecially a Kind of Red Wood valuable in Dyeing, and very good Sugar hath been raiſed upon them. If it be remembered that the Iſle of Providence is very little leſs than Barbadoes, that of Abaco, which is yet unſettled, much larger, and ſeveral others of the Size of our Leeward Iſlands, and, alſo conſidering their Vicinity to Florida, and the Certainty there is that Sugar may be raiſed upon them, it may be worth enquiring

[e] The Limits of the Two laſt Colonies are ſettled in the Text, according to the Royal Proclamation dated the 7th of October 1763. The Troops ſent to take Poſſeſſion arrived in the very worſt Seaſon of the Year, and were miſerably accommodated, the Spaniſh Forts being in the moſt deſpicable Condition. This was attended with a Mortality that threw a Diſcredit on the Province; but General Haldimand when he came to Penſecola made ſuch Alterations in the Fort as by letting in the Sea Breezes, and giving a free Communication to the Air, removed in ſome Meaſure the Prejudices that had been entertained. We have not as yet ſufficiently explored the different Parts of this Country, or acquired a thorough Knowledge of its natural Production, which is an Inattention not peculiar to this Place. We have not had Time to introduce any of thoſe valuable Improvements of which the Soil and Climate are capable, and of which a very curious and accurate Account hath been publiſhed by the judicious and public ſpirited Mr. John Ellis, Agent for the Province, which when properly conſidered cannot but have very beneficial Effects. The total Exports from thence A. D. 1768 amounted to 10,495 l. In the ſucceeding Year to 10,806 l. In A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards in the Two Ports of this Province, Ships 9, Sloops 27. Cleared outwards, Ships 10, Sloops 31.

whether

whether it might not be expedient to remove any Difficulties that may lie in the way of their being regularly planted. We have not Room to treat this Matter more at large, but poſſibly theſe Hints may prove ſufficient from the great Changes that have been made in the Poſſeſſions of Princes in this Part of the World, to draw ſuch an Attention to theſe Iſles, as may render them a Benefit rather than a Diſgrace to Great Britain, as they hitherto have been and are like to continue, ſo long as they remain in their preſent Condition. They have ſome, though no great Commerce with their Mother Country, and ſome alſo with the Britiſh and foreign Weſt Indies [f].

The Bermudas Iſlands received their Name from John Bermudas a Spaniard who diſcovered them. Sir George Somers was wrecked here in the Beginning of the laſt Century, from whence they were ſtiled the Summer Iſlands, becauſe on his Report and his Recommendation they were planted. There are ſome hundreds of them including Rocks and Sands that appear above Water; but there are Seven only that are inhabited, and theſe but very ſmall. They lie between Thirty-two and Thirty-three Degrees of North Latitude, and in Longitude Sixty-five Degrees Weſt from London. The Climate is very temperate, the Air pure and wholeſome, but much expoſed to Thunder. The Soil, though ſhallow, exceedingly fertile, yielding Abundance of rich Fruits, and excellent Vegetables of all Kinds, which we the rather mention, becauſe the Inhabitants not only cultivate but export them, tho' they are Three-hundred Leagues from the Continent neareſt them, which is that of Virginia. They have alſo Trees of different Sorts, and all Kinds of tame Animals in Abundance, and more eſpecially Hogs, Fiſh, and Fowl alſo in the greateſt Plenty. The principal Iſland is that of St. George, with Two very fine Harbours, but both inacceſſible without the Aſſiſtance of Pilots, of whom

[f] The Place at which Columbus touched A. D. 1492 was called by the Indians Guanahani, named by him St. Salvador, and is now diſtinguiſhed by the Name of Cat Iſland. There are Ten or Twelve of theſe Iſlands as large, and ſome of them larger than thoſe that are ſettled. In A. D. 1667 they were granted by King Charles II. to ſome of the Proprietors of Carolina, who ſent ſome People from thence thither, and keep up a Claim to them ſtill. Some Years after in a Time of full Peace, they were barbarouſly ravaged and deſtroyed by the Spaniards then reſettled, Twice or Thrice ruined by the French at the Beginning of the preſent Century. About Half a Century ſince they became a Receptacle for Pirates, which induced the Parliament to addreſs the Crown to ſend a Force thither, from which Time they have been a Royal Government. Theſe Cauſes ſufficiently explain their not having been hitherto effectually planted, but as they already produce many valuable Commodities, and might produce many more, there ſeems, as we have mentioned in the Text, to be no Reaſon againſt their being thoroughly inquired into, in conſequence of which there is little Room to doubt that they would be more conſidered. Their Exports A. D. 1769 were 5919 l. A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards, Ships 6, Sloops 75. Cleared outwards, Ships 9, Sloops 75.

they have many who are equally ſober and ſkilful. The Town of the ſame Name contains upwards of a thouſand Houſes, well built and inhabited, and with a fine Church. It is the Seat of Government, and there are ſaid to be in theſe Iſlands between Six and Seven thouſand Whites, beſides Negroes g.

If we ſeriouſly reflect on the Soil and Situation of the ſeveral Countries which have been the Subject of this Chapter, we cannot entertain the leaſt Doubt of their enjoying as great natural Advantages as any upon the Globe; and we may from thence diſcern, that the richeſt and moſt valuable Commodities may be juſtly hoped for from them. If we at the ſame time advert to their Extent, in which they are at leaſt equal to any Kingdom in Europe, we ſhall ſee no Cauſe to fear, that even by the utmoſt Induſtry of their Inhabitants they ſhould be exhauſted. Beſides all this, as hath been incidentally ſhewn, there is none of them but what are very capable of other Staples, no leſs profitable than thoſe which they at preſent poſſeſs; ſo that there can be no Danger of our finding at all Times Markets for their Produce. Theſe Circumſtances ought certainly to entitle them to the Affection, as well as to the Attention and Protection of their Mother-country, as to the frequent and ſeaſonable Exertion of theſe, thoſe Colonies ought always to remember that their preſent Security and Happineſs are due.

g There are ſeveral Hundred Iſles, Iſlets, and Rocks, but only Seven Iſlands that are ſettled, and thoſe but ſmall. The Cedars that grow here are much finer and tougher Timber than in any other Part of America, which has thrown the Inhabitants into Ship-building, or rather Sloop-building, in which they are exceedingly expert. But this having occaſioned the cutting down a great Deal of Wood, hath had a very bad Effect upon their Climate, by rendering the Weather more unſettled, ſo that they now begin to plant again. The Inhabitants are frugal, induſtrious, careful, content, and reputed the beſt Fiſhermen in America, and are alſo very dexterous able Seamen. It hath been ſuppoſed, and with great Probability, that they might avail themſelves of their Soil and Climate in raiſing Wine, Cotton, Cochineal, but more eſpecially Silk, as having not only great Plenty of Mulberry-trees, but of the Worm. They have no venomous Creatures, but a great many Spiders of a large Size, and which in the Heat of Summer ſpin Webs of ſo ſubſtantial a Silk as to catch ſmall Birds. The Spermacæti Whale frequents their Rocks, and Ambergris is ſometimes thrown upon their Coaſts, as it is alſo on thoſe of the Bahamas. The Total of their Exports A. D. 1769 were 8013 l. A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards, Ships 4, Sloops 103. Cleared outwards, Ships 4, Sloops 154.

SECT.

SECT. III.

A ſuccinct Account of Jamaica.

THIS noble Iſland, the largeſt of thoſe which we poſſeſs in this Part of the World, is one of the Great Antilles, and is particularly happy in its Situation, having the Iſland of Cuba to the North, at the Diſtance of about Forty Leagues; Hiſpaniola on the Eaſt, from which it is removed about Twenty Leagues; the Moſquito Shore on the Continent to the South Weſt, about One hundred and Forty Leagues; and Porto Bello, about One hundred and Fifty Leagues directly South. It lies from Seventeen to Nineteen Degrees North Latitude, in Longitude Seventy-ſix to Seventy-nine Weſt from London. In Length near One hundred and Seventy Miles, and about Sixty in Breadth. It approaches in its Figure to an Oval. The Windward Paſſage right before it hath the Iſland of Cuba on the Weſt, and Hiſpaniola on the Eaſt, and is about Twenty Leagues in Breadth [a].

THE Proſpect of this Iſland from the Sea, by reaſon of its conſtant Verdure, and many fair and ſafe Bays, is wonderfully pleaſant. The Coaſt, and for ſome Miles within, the Land is low, but removing farther, it riſes and becomes hilly. The whole Iſle is divided by a Ridge of Mountains running Eaſt and Weſt, ſome riſing to a great Height; and theſe are compoſed of Rock, and a very hard Clay, through which, however, the Rains that fall inceſſantly upon them, have worn long and deep Cavities, which they call Gullies. Theſe Mountains, however, are far from being unpleaſant, as they are crowned even to their Summits by a Variety of fine Trees. There are alſo about a Hundred Rivers that iſſue from them on both Sides; and though none of them are navigable for any Thing

[a] This Iſland was diſcovered by Admiral Chriſtopher Columbus in his Second Voyage, who landed upon it May 5th, A. D. 1494, and was ſo much charmed with it as always to prefer it to the Reſt of the Iſlands, in conſequence of which his Son choſe it for his Dukedom. It was ſettled by Juan de Eſquivel A. D. 1509, who built the Town, which from the Place of his Birth he called Seville, and Eleven Leagues farther to the Eaſt ſtood Melilla. Oriſtan was on the South Side of the Iſland, ſeated on what is now called Blue Fields River. All theſe are gone to decay, but St. Jago, now Spaniſh Town, is ſtill the Capital. The Spaniards held this Country One hundred and Sixty Years, and in their Time the principal Commodity was Cacao; they had an immenſe Stock of Horſes, Aſſes, and Mules, and prodigious Quantities of Cattle. The Engliſh landed here under Penn and Venables May 11th 1654, and quickly reduced the Iſland. Cacao was alſo their principal Commodity till the Old Trees decayed, and the new Ones did not thrive, and then ſome Planters from Barbadoes introduced Sugar Canes, which hath been the great Staple ever ſince.

but

but Canoes, are both pleaſing and profitable in many other Reſpects. The Climate, like that of all Countries between the Tropics, is very warm towards the Sea, and in marſhy Places unhealthy; but in more elevated Situations, cooler, and where People live temperately, to the full as wholeſome as in any Part of the Weſt Indies. The Rains fall heavy for about a Fortnight in the Months of May and October, and as they are the Cauſe of Fertility, are ſtiled Seaſons. Thunder is pretty frequent, and ſometimes Showers of Hail; but Ice or Snow, except on the Tops of the Mountains, are never ſeen; but on them, and at no very great Height, the Air is exceedingly cold [b].

In an Iſland ſo large as this, which contains about Five millions of Acres, it may be very reaſonably conceived that there are great Variety of Soils. Some of theſe are deep, black, and rich, and mixed with a Kind of Potter's Earth; others ſhallow and ſandy; ſome of a middle Nature. There are many Savannahs, or wide Plains, without Stones, in which the native Indians had luxuriant Crops of Maize, which the Spaniards turned into Meadows, and kept in them prodigious Herds of Cattle. Some of theſe Savannahs are to be met with even amongſt the Mountains. All theſe different Soils may be juſtly pronounced fertile, as they would certainly be found, if tolerably cultivated, and applied to proper Purpoſes. A ſufficient Proof of this will ariſe from a very curſory Review of the natural and artificial Produce of this ſpacious Country [c].

It

[b] The moſt eaſtern Part of this Ridge are famous under the Name of the Blue Mountains. This great Chain of rugged Rocks defends the South Side of the Iſland from thoſe boiſterous North Weſt Winds, which might be fatal to their Produce. Their Streams, though ſmall, ſupply the Inhabitants with good Water, which is a great Bleſſing, as their Wells are generally brackiſh. The Spaniards were perſuaded that theſe Hills abounded with Metals, but we do not find that they wrought any Mines, or if they did, it was only Copper, of which they ſaid the Bells in the Church of St. Jago were made. They have ſeveral hot Springs which have done great Cures. The Climate was certainly more temperate before the great Earthquake, and the Iſland was ſuppoſed to be out of the Reach of Hurricanes, which ſince then it hath ſeverely felt. The Heat however is very much tempered by Land and Sea Breezes, and it is aſſerted that the hotteſt Time of the Day is about Eight in the Morning. In the Night the Wind blows from the Land on all Sides, ſo that no Ships can then enter their Ports.

[c] The firſt Kind of Soil, which from its Colour, is in this Country denominated Brick Mould, is the moſt fruitful of any. After this come a Variety of others compounded of looſe Mould and ſmall Gravel, which are likewiſe fertile, and other Soils are made ſo by Labour and proper Management. But Sugar Works, though the moſt profitable, are at the ſame Time the moſt expenſive, and therefore it hath been always wiſhed that for the Sake of increaſing the Number of White Inhabitants, ſmall Plantations of other Kinds were encouraged. For this Purpoſe no Country perhaps in the World affords a greater Variety of inferior Staples that might be cultivated to Profit, as ſome of them already are, many others might; and if intelligent Perſons were employed, there is no Queſtion that their Number could be conſiderably increaſed. Beſides, the Continents of North and South America are open, and alſo the Eaſt Indies, from which

It abounds in Maize, Pulſe, Vegetables of all Kinds, Meadows of fine Graſs, a Variety of beautiful Flowers, and as great a Variety of Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, and other rich Fruits. Uſeful Animals there are of all Sorts, Horſes, Aſſes, Mules, black Cattle of a large Size, Sheep, the Fleſh of which is well taſted, though their Wool is hairy and bad. Here are alſo Goats and Hogs in great Plenty, Sea and River Fiſh, wild, tame, and Water Fowl. Amongſt other Commodities of great Value, they have the Sugar Cane, Cacao, Indigo, Pimento, Cotton, Ginger, and Coffee; Trees for Timber and other Uſes, ſuch as Mahogany, Manchineel, White Wood, which no Worm will touch, Cedar, Olives, and many more. Beſides theſe, they have Fuſtick, Red Wood, and various other Materials for Dyeing. To theſe we may add a Multitude of valuable Drugs, ſuch as Guaiacum, China, Salſaparilla, Caſſia, Tamarinds, Vanellas, and the Prickle Pear, or Opuntia, which produces the Cochineal; with no inconſiderable Number of odoriferous Gums. Near the Coaſt they have Salt Ponds, with which they ſupply their own Conſumption, and might make any Quantity they pleaſed [d].

As this Iſland abounds with rich Commodities, it is happy likewiſe in having a great Number of fine and ſafe Ports. Point Morant, the eaſtern Extremity of the Iſland, hath a fair and commodious Bay. Paſſing on to the South there is Port Royal; on a Neck of Land which forms one Side of it there ſtood once the faireſt Town in the Iſland, and the Harbour is as fine a one as can be wiſhed, capable of holding a Thouſand large Veſſels, and ſtill the Station of our Squadron. Old Harbour is alſo a convenient Port, ſo is Maccary Bay; and there are at leaſt Twelve more

from which innumerable Trees and Plants might be brought hither, and with a little Care cultivated to great Profit, and for which Markets would never be wanting.

[d] The very great Importance of this noble Iſland ſeemed to demand a more large Account of it than of the Reſt; and this Argument was enforced from the Conſideration of its Extent, and of the great Improvements that may be yet made, though very great Improvements have been made already. Some valuable Things however are in a Manner loſt, as the Cacao, of which there is ſcarce enough preſerved for their own Conſumption, though in general Uſe among the Inhabitants, and which, when the Engliſh firſt came there, yielded Two hundred Pounds an Acre. Others are in a Manner overlooked, as the Opuntia and the Anotto, which in the Hands of ſkilful and induſtrious Perſons might turn to great Amount. Some are leſs conſidered than they deſerve, as the Canella Alba, which is in Truth a Kind of wild Cinnamon, and might by proper Culture be improved. What comes over hither paſſes for the Cortex Winteranus, which it is not. All the fine Drugs, Gums, Balſams, &c. do not yield the Inhabitants any Thing like what they might do. To put this Matter paſt a Doubt, it may not be amiſs to mention, that when Pimento was firſt exported from thence, they cut down the Tree before they gathered the Spice. They found it afterwards expedient to plant them; and yet Twenty Years ago they did not ſend over a Fourth Part of what they do at preſent; which would probably be the Caſe with reſpect to other Things.

between

between this and the Weſtern Extremity, which is Point Negrillo, where our Ships of War lie when there is a War with Spain. On the North Side there is Orange Bay, Cold Harbour, Rio Novo, Montego Bay, Port Antonio, One of the fineſt in the Iſland, and ſeveral others. The North Weſt Winds, which ſometimes blow furiouſly on this Coaſt, render the Country on that Side leſs fit for Canes, but Pimento thrives wonderfully; and certainly many other Staples might be raiſed in ſmall Plantations, which are frequent in Barbadoes, and might be very advantageous here in many Reſpects [e].

In ſo large an Iſland as this it might be expected there ſhould be a conſiderable Number of great Towns, which however there is not. The Reaſon of this is very obvious, for the Wealth of the Inhabitants ariſing from their Plantations, of which there are at preſent about Five hundred, and each of theſe containing ſome Hundreds of Inhabitants, it appears from hence that every Plantation forms a Village, and accounts ſufficiently for the Diſpoſal of the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants. There are however ſome few Towns, the largeſt of which is Kingſton, which ſtands on the Harbour of Port Royal, contains about Sixteen hundred Houſes, and is very populous. It is regularly laid out for about a Mile in Length, and Half that Space in Breadth inhabited chiefly by Merchants and Perſons concerned in Trade, moſt of the Sugars being ſhipped off there. There is a ſpacious Pariſh Church, Two Synagogues of Jews, and other Places of religious Worſhip. St. Jago de la Vega, or as it is uſually called Spaniſh Town, is properly the Capital of the Iſland, being the Reſidence of the Governor, the Place where the Aſſembly meets, and is alſo the Seat of the principal Courts of Juſtice. It conſiſts of about Four hundred Houſes, ſituated in a fine pleaſant Valley, on the Banks of the Rio Cobre, and as moſt of the People who reſide there are Perſons of

[e] The Town of Port Royal, as we have already mentioned, ſtood on a Point of Land running far out into the Sea, narrow, ſandy, and incapable of producing any Thing. Yet the Excellence of the Port, the Convenience of having Ships of Seven hundred Tons coming cloſe up to their Wharfs, and other Advantages, gradually attracted Inhabitants in ſuch a Manner, that though many of their Habitations were built upon Piles, there were near Two thouſand Houſes in the Town in its moſt flouriſhing State, and which let at high Rents. The Earthquake by which it was overthrown happened on the 7th of June 1692, and Numbers of People periſhed in it. This Earthquake was followed by an epidemic Diſeaſe, of which upwards of Three thouſand died, yet the Place was rebuilt; but the greateſt Part was reduced to Aſhes by a Fire that happened on the 9th of January 1703, and then the Inhabitants removed moſtly to Kingſton. It was however rebuilt for the Third Time, and was riſing towards its former Grandeur, when it was overwhelmed by the Sea, Auguſt 20th 1722. There is, notwithſtanding, a ſmall Town there at this Day. Hurricanes ſince that Time have often happened, and occaſioned terrible Devaſtations, yet they have been leſs frequent and leſs violent of late Years, and the Climate alſo is ſaid to be altered for the better.

high

high Rank and great Fortunes, every Thing breathes an Air of Splendour and Magnificence. Port Royal after all its Misfortunes is the Third Town in the Iſland merely from the Convenience of its Situation, and contains about One hundred Houſes. Fort Paſſage, ſo called becauſe People land there, to go either to Kingſton or Spaniſh Town, contains about Fifty Houſes, and beſides theſe there are ſome other Hamlets ſcattered through the Country, and a few contiguous Houſes at almoſt every Port[f].

The Adminiſtration of public Affairs is by a Governor and Council of Royal Appointment, and the Repreſentatives of the People in the lower Houſe of Aſſembly. They meet at Spaniſh Town, and Things are conducted with great Order and Dignity. The Colony hath a conſiderable public Revenue of which the Quit-rents, by a Grant of the Crown, make a Part. Another Branch ariſes from a Tax or Fine laid upon ſuch as keep fewer than Three White to One hundred Black Servants. This is preferring the Eaſe to the Security of the Community, in reſpect to which it would have operated much more beneficially as a Regulation. The Iſland is divided into Three Counties, Middleſex, Surry, and Cornwall, containing Nineteen Pariſhes, over each of which preſides a Magiſtrate ſtiled a Cuſtos, but theſe Pariſhes in Point of Size are a Kind of Hundreds. Yet is this fine Country upon the Whole but thinly peopled and indifferently cultivated; for though near a Fourth Part of the Lands are patented, yet not above a Ninth Part is actually under Cultivation. The Commerce of Jamaica is very conſiderable, not only with all Parts of Great Britain and Ireland, but with Africa, North and South America, the Weſt India Iſlands, and the Spaniſh Main, for the Encouragement of which a late Act was paſſed. The Ships annually employed are upwards

[f] In ſome of the lateſt Maps we find ſeveral other Towns mentioned, moſt of them within Land, but probably not very conſiderable. It is to be wiſhed that effectual Means were employed to compel the Cultivation of ſuch Lands as have been long patented, and that, as we have ſaid, ſmall Plantations were encouraged in order to increaſe the Number of white Inhabitants. This might be alſo beneficial in other Reſpects. Such ſmall Planters might find their Account in raiſing Maize and Rice for Sale, in making Fiſh Oil for ſome Purpoſes, and Oils from Vegetables for others, making Shingles and Heading, to which we may add breeding Horſes, all of which might be certainly and eaſily done, and ſave the Inhabitants Twenty thouſand Pounds, which they pay annually for Things with which they might be much better ſupplied at Home. This might, as we have already mentioned, be facilitated by introducing new Staples, by planting Mahogany, which begins to grow ſcarce, and raiſing Logwood, which Experience ſhews is very practicable. By the Statute paſſed in the Sixth Year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, chap. 49 the Ports of Kingſton, Savannah la Mar, Montego Bay, and Santa Lucea in this Iſland are declared under certain Reſtrictions and Limitations free Ports, for any foreign Veſſel from any foreign Colony or Plantation in America, not having more than One Deck. This Act is to continue in force to A. D. 1773, and to the End of the then next Seſſion of Parliament.

of Five hundred Sail; the Number of Inhabitants is very incertain, ſome ſay about Thirty thouſand or perhaps more Whites, and about One Hundred and Seventy thouſand Negroes g.

g The following Account of the Exports of this Iſland, in A. D. 1770, will contribute more than all that hath been ſaid, to ſhew the Importance of Jamaica. They conſiſted in 2249 Bales of Cotton, which at Ten Pounds per Bale, the Price in the Iſland, amounts to 22,490 l. 1873 Hundred Weight of Coffee at Three Pounds Five Shillings per Hundred, 6088 l. 2753 Bags of Ginger at Two Pounds Five Shillings per Bag, 6194 l. 2211 Hides at Seven Shillings per Hide, 773 l. 15,796 Hogſheads of Rum at Ten Pounds per Hogſhead, 157,960 l. To Ireland 679 Hogſheads at Ten Pounds per Hogſhead, 6790 l. Mahogany 15,182 Pieces, and 8500 Feet, 50,000 l. Of Pimento 2,089,734 Pounds Weight, 52,243 l. Sugar 57,675 Hogſheads, 6425 Tierces, 52 Barrels, at Seventeen Pounds Ten Shillings per Hogſhead, Twelve Pounds per Tierce, and Four Pounds per Barrel, amounting in the Whole to 1,086,620. Sarſaparilla 205 Bags at Ten Pounds per Bag 2250 l. Exports to Great Britain and Ireland 1,391,210 l. To North America 146,324 l. To the other Iſlands 595 l. Total of the Exports 1,538,730 l.

SECT. IV.

Of Barbadoes, the Leeward and Virgin Iſlands.

IN the Two Firſt Sections of this Chapter we have diſcourſed of large Countries producing many valuable Commodities, and affording ample Room for the Production of many more. In the Section immediately preceding we have ſpoke of a noble Iſland abounding with numerous and rich Productions, bleſſed with many ſafe Harbours, endowed with ſeveral other Advantages, in which however there are ſtill not a few large Tracts that remain, and have long remained to be improved. In this we are to treat of Countries very different, and from which we may derive the cleareſt Ideas and the fulleſt Conviction of the Benefits that may be derived from an inſular Situation. By this their Inhabitants have been enabled to avail themſelves of all the Bounties and Bleſſings of Nature, whence they are riſen into a Degree of Affluence that is aſtoniſhing, and inconteſtibly demonſtrates what, though unaſſiſted by Extent of Territory, Skill and Induſtry united can effect. From a conſtant and uniform Exertion of theſe, they not only enjoy that Opulence they ſo well deſerve, but contribute greatly by the Purchaſe of large Quantities of their Produce to the Welfare of their Siſter Settlements upon the Continent, and are in a Variety of Reſpects highly beneficial to Great Britain. The State and Hiſtory therefore of theſe Colonies is a Subject of the utmoſt Importance to every Individual of this Country who is deſirous of underſtanding

ing whence its preſent Grandeur hath ariſen, and by what Meaſures it may be beſt ſupported and preſerved [a].

THE eldeſt of our Settlements in the Weſt Indies is BARBADOES, called by the Spaniards los Barbudos, as is ſuppoſed from a Kind of Fig Trees upon the Coaſt, the long Filaments falling from which were conceived to reſemble Beards. This Iſland is ſituated from Thirteen Degrees Ten Minutes to Thirteen Degrees Twenty-three Minutes North Latitude, and in the Longitude of Fifty-eight Degrees Fifty Minutes to Fifty-nine Degrees Three Minutes Weſt from London. It is not more than Twenty-five Miles long, or Fifteen broad, about Sixty in Circumference; a great Part of this Nature hath impaled with Rocks, and where theſe are wanting there are Fortifications which render this Iſle in ſome Degree inacceſſible. The Face of the Country is agreeably variegated with ſmall Plains, gently riſing Grounds, ſome Ridges of Hills, which with tall Trees, ſpacious Buildings, and a continual Verdure, exhibit a moſt pleaſing Proſpect both from Sea and on Shore. It hath the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher's to the North Weſt at the Diſtance of between Eighty and Ninety Leagues; the Spaniſh Main about Fourſcore Leagues to the South Weſt; and is near a Thouſand Leagues diſtant from the neareſt Part of Africa. The Climate is very warm, but the Air exceedingly pure, and the Heat moderated by conſtant regular Winds blowing over an immenſe Expanſe of Sea, and though the cutting down of Woods is ſaid to have been detrimental in diminiſhing the Quantity of Rain, yet by giving a free Paſſage to the Air the Country is become more healthy.

[a] What hath been above ſtated in the Text, muſt at firſt appear ſomewhat ſurprizing in regard to Iſlands of ſo ſmall a Size, and from which therefore ſuch great Emoluments could hardly have been expected. But a little Reflection will let us at leaſt in part into the Cauſes of their quick Growth and wonderful Improvement, and at the ſame Time explain what hath been aſſerted in reſpect to the Advantages they derive from their Situation. In the Firſt Place their earlieſt Inhabitants had a great Degree of Safety from their being ſurrounded with the Ocean, and conſequently were from thence leſs in Danger than a ſmall Number of Men would have been if they had fixed upon a Continent inhabited by Savages. This Circumſtance allowed them Leiſure to conſider and attempt every Kind of Improvement, and the Narrowneſs of their Territory rendered it the more manageable in point of Cultivation, and when they had once made a right Choice of a Staple put it in their Power to carry it to Perfection. Beſides theſe the ſurrounding Ocean afforded them many other Benefits, rendering the Air purer, milder, and more wholeſome, than on greater Continents, or even in much larger Iſlands, as Experience ſhews, allowing them at all Times a free and facile Communication with their Neighbours, as well as the Means of receiving Supplies from, and exporting their Produce to diſtant Countries, and to theſe we may add the affording them, what is a conſiderable and laſting Benefit, a conſtant Proportion of Subſiſtence by Fiſhing, common to every Part of the Settlement. Laſtly, it beſtowed an extraordinary Degree of Security, more eſpecially under the Protection of a Maritime Power.

The Soil is very different, in ſome Places a heavy Clay, in others a light Sand, dark heavy Earth in ſome, a light red Mould in others, nor are there wanting wet and ſwampy Grounds, or ſome Spots that are dry and afford a hard Gravel. In general it is very fertile, and with proper Management and Manure almoſt all Parts yield large Crops of Sugar. The Inhabitants are happy in a vaſt Variety of vegetable Productions, Maize, Guinea Corn, and many edible Roots. As to Animals, they have Black Cattle and Sheep of their own, a few Horſes, but many are imported from England and the Continent of America, the former for the Saddle, the latter chiefly uſed for Labour. We have been ſettled here about One hundred and Fifty Years [b]. The Firſt Planters raiſed Tobacco, but this was in Proceſs of Time abandoned for Sugar Canes, which were originally brought thither from Fernambuca in the Brazils. In Proportion as the Iſland grew rich and populous an excellent Conſtitution was formed, to which they ſteadily adhered, and from which they have derived a Stability and Security that hath juſtly gained them the Character of One of the beſt regulated Colonies in the World [c].

The

[b] The ſeveral Accounts we have hitherto had in regard to the original Settlement of this Iſland are very dark and incertain. All that can be collected is, that the Lord Ley High Treaſurer of England, and afterwards Earl of Marlborough, had a Grant by Letters Patent of Barbadoes from King James the Firſt, and therefore it muſt have been ſettled, though perhaps very imperfectly, in his Reign. In that of his Succeſſor, the Earl of Carliſle intent upon ſettling St. Chriſtopher's obtained a Warrant for a Grant of all the Caribbee Iſlands, Barbadoes included. This was ſtopped at the Great Seal on account of the Earl of Marlborough's prior Patent. The Two Earls however coming to an amicable Agreement the Earl of Carliſle's Patent, in which all ours and all the French Iſlands are exactly enumerated, paſſed A. D. 1627. On the breaking out of the Civil War no farther Regard was paid to the Proprietor. But after the Reſtoration a Claim was made by his Creditors, and the Crown thought fit to enter into an Agreement with them, and to make a Compenſation to his Heir for the Surrender of the Patent, and thus this and the other Iſlands returned into the Hands of the Crown, to the no ſmall Joy of the Inhabitants. But their Satisfaction was not a little abated by the Demand made by Lord Willoughby of Parham, their Governor, on the Part of the Crown, of a Duty to reimburſe the Expences of this Purchaſe, and for other Purpoſes, to which, though very unwillingly, the Aſſembly gave their Conſent, and thereby fixed the Impoſition of Four and a Half per Cent. on the Commodities of theſe Iſlands, which hath ever ſince been paid.

[c] The Government of Barbadoes was ſettled by Philip Bell, Eſq; appointed Governor by the Earl of Carliſle, and ſo well conſtituted that it hath ſubſiſted ever ſince, and been in ſome Degree a Model to the Reſt of the Iſlands. The Governor is appointed by the King's Commiſſion, ſo are his Council conſiſting of Twelve by Mandamus, the Aſſembly is compoſed of Twenty-two, that is, Two Members from each of the Eleven Pariſhes. The Iſland is divided into Five Diſtricts, in each of which there is a Judge and Four Aſſiſtants, who hold a Court of Common Pleas every Month, from January to September. There is another wiſe Law which hath been of the utmoſt Utility, in aſſigning to every Servant at the Expiration of his Term a ſmall Patrimony, of Three, Four, or Five Acres. This conſtitutes a Yeomanry, and is the Cauſe that the Force of the Iſland hath been at all Times reſpectable. At preſent they have Six Regiments of Foot, Three of Horſe, and a Troop of Guards, all ſtout Men and well-diſciplined.

The

THE Capital of the Iſland is Bridge Town or St. Michael's upon Carliſle Bay, by much the largeſt and moſt convenient in the Iſland. In this Town, before it was deſtroyed by Fire, there were Fifteen hundred Houſes, moſt of them neatly, ſome magnificently built, and it is now riſen out of its Ruins with freſh Beauty. Beſides this there is Oſtins or Charles Town, St. James's in the old Maps, the Hole, and Speight's Town, formerly called little Briſtol, becauſe chiefly frequented by Ships from thence. The Planter's Houſes are many of them very elegant Structures, and the neceſſary Accommodations, with Negro Huts and the Tenants Houſes, render each conſiderable Plantation a Kind of Village. The principal Commodities for Exportation are Aloes, Cotton, Ginger, Sugar, Rum, and Melaſſes. The Commerce between this Iſland, Great Britain, North America, and Africa is very conſiderable, ſo as to employ upon a moderate Computation upwards of Four hundred Veſſels of different Sizes. As to the Number of Inhabitants it is impoſſible to ſpeak with any great Degree of Certainty, but according to the moſt authentic Account that could be obtained there are about Twenty-two thouſand Whites and Seventy-two thouſand Blacks. It is however poſitively aſſerted that the Number both of white Inhabitants and of Slaves had been conſiderably greater in former Times [d].

ST. CHRISTOPHER's was ſo called by Admiral Columbus, whether after his own Name or that of St. Chriſtopher is uncertain. It lies in Seven-

The Skill and Induſtry of the Inhabitants have been always conſpicuous, and the Commodities of every Sort they raiſe very perfect in their Kind.

[d] There have been and ſtill are many large and lucrative Plantations on this Iſland, ſo valuable that thoſe who purchaſe them ſcarce make Four per Cent. of their Money As a Specimen of theſe Eſtates we are told that Two hundred and Sixty Acres properly managed will require 180 Negroes, 100 horned Cattle, 12 Horſes, 40 Sheep, Three Tenants or Militia-men with their Families, who ſupport themſelves upon the Grounds allowed them. A Manager at One hundred or One hundred and Fifty Pounds per Annum, a Driver, a Diſtiller, and Two Apprentices, their Salaries together Forty-five Pounds; a Town Agent and Book-keeper at Twenty Pounds each, an Apothecary at Thirty or Forty Pounds, a Farrier at Twenty, an Engliſh Agent at Two and a Half per Cent. Commiſſion. All this, excluſive of Freight of Sugars, Taxes, Repairs, and incidental Expences. In A. D. 1770, their Exports were to Great Britain 930 Hundred Weight of Aloes at Three Pounds Ten Shillings per Hundred Weight, 3255 l. 453 Bales of Cotton at Twelve Pounds per Bale, 54361 5361 Bags of Ginger at Two Pounds and Five Shillings per Bag. 12,062 l. 5 s. 90 Hides at Seven Shillings, 31 l. 10 s. 2031 Hogſheads of Rum at Ten Pounds, 20,310 l. 2836 do. to Ireland, 28,360 l. 5349 Hogſheads, Two Tierces of clayed Sugar at Twenty Pounds the Hogſhead and Fifteen Pounds the Tierce, 107,010 l. 5149 Hogſheads, 3522 Tierces, 544 Barrels of Muſcovado Sugar at Seventeen Pounds Ten Shillings per Hogſhead, Twelve Pounds the Tierce, and Four Pounds the Barrel, 134,547 l. 10 s. The Total 311,012 l. 5 s. Total of the like Goods to North America, 119,828 l. 4 s. To the other Iſlands 1173 l. The Account of this Iſland hath been more particular as in many Reſpects it may ſerve to give us an Idea of the Reſt.

teen

teen Degrees Twenty-five Minutes of North Latitude, and in Sixty-two Degrees of Longitude West from London. It is Twenty-one Miles in Length, and between Six and Seven in Breadth, except to the South East, where it is connected by a narrow Isthmus to a Tract of Land of about a League in Length, and near as much in Breadth, in which there is a large Salt Pond. This Peninsula is separated by a very narrow Channel of the Sea from the Island of Nevis. The whole Circumference of St. Christopher's is about Seventy English Miles. The Climate is warm, but from the Height of the Country less so than might be expected from its Situation, and the Air pure and healthy. On the other Hand it is subject to frequent Storms, and is also exposed to Hurricanes and Earthquakes. It affords a beautiful Prospect from the Sea, appearing at a Distance like a vast Mountain covered with Woods, but on a nearer Approach the Coast round the Island is found to be smooth and the Ascent gentle, One Hill rising above another to a great Height, but cultivated almost to their Summits. The Chain of Hills that divide the Island are in the Centre broken into rocky Precipices hardly passable, and in these there gush out Hot Springs towards the Bottom. There is One Eminence stiled the Sulphur Mountain, and in another there is said to be a Silver Mine, but it was never wrought [e].

The Soil is light and sandy, but very fertile and well watered by many Rivulets that run from both Sides of the Mountains. It yields Plenty of Manioc, of which the Cassada Bread is made, edible Roots in Abundance, a Variety of Vegetables, rich Fruits, and fine Timber. The Animals are much the same as in Barbadoes, Abundance of tame and wild Fowl, and the Sea affords Store of excellent Fish. The chief Town is Basseterre, and besides this there are Two Shipping Places, One at Old Road, and the other at Sandy Point. The whole Island is covered with well cultivated Plantations, the Owners of which live in very hand-

[e] This Island was settled by the English and French, A. D. 1625, who arrived on different Sides of it the same Day, the former under Captain Warner, afterwards Sir Thomas Warner, under the Patronage of the Earl of Carlisle, the latter under the Sieur D'Esnambuc, under the Authority and Auspice of the Cardinal de Richlieu. These Two Governors made an amicable Division of the Island, the French having the East and West Ends, and the English the North and South, by a Treaty of Partition, A. D. 1627. Two Years after both Nations were driven off the Island by the Spaniards; but not long after their Departure the English and French resettled and remained very good Friends till the First Dutch War, in the Reign of Charles II. when the former were driven out by the French, but were again restored by the Peace of Breda in 1667. As soon as the News of the Revolution reached the West Indies, the French, without waiting for a Declaration of War, drove them out a Second Time, and they were again restored by the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. In Queen Anne's War the English expelled the French, though some of the best Families, and a great Part of their Slaves remained, and the Whole of the Island was finally ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht.

some

ſome Houſes built chiefly of Cedar, and their Grounds fenced with Orange and Lemon Trees. Public Affairs are adminiſtered by a Governor, Council, and Aſſembly, choſen from the Nine Pariſhes into which the Iſle is divided, in each of which there is a ſpacious Church. Their principal Commodities are Cotton, Rum, and Sugar, which is of a very fine Grain. The Number of Inhabitants is ſaid to be Forty thouſand, and of theſe there are about Ten thouſand Whites [f].

The Iſland of Nevis, called by the French and Spaniards Nieves, and by us very commonly, though corruptly, Mevis, at a ſmall Diſtance, as we have ſaid, from St. Chriſtopher's, and about Seven Leagues North North-Weſt of Montſerrate. It lies in Seventeen Degrees Twenty Minutes of North Latitude, and in about Sixty-two Degrees of Longitude Weſt from London, making a beautiful Appearance from the Sea, being a large conical Mountain, covered with fine Trees, of an eaſy Aſcent on every Side, and entirely cultivated. The Circumference is about Twenty-one Miles, with a conſiderable Tract of level Ground all round it [g]. The Climate in the lower Part is eſteemed to be warmer than Barbadoes, but more temperate towards the Summit. The Soil below is very fine and fertile, but becomes coarſer in the Aſcent. However, as there is a Space

[f] We have already obſerved that the Lord Willoughby of Parham after the Reſtoration was appointed Governor of Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands. After his Demiſe Sir William Stapleton was appointed Governor of the latter A. D. 1672, and fixed his Reſidence in St. Chriſtopher's. The Produce of this Iſland A. D. 1770 ſtood thus. There was exported to Great Britain of Cotton 192 Bales, 566 Bags, 7964 l. 86 Hides 30 l. 2 s. 858 Hogſheads of Rum, of which 97 were exported from other Iſlands, 8580 l. to Ireland 1179 Hogſheads, 11790 l. 17,964 Hogſheads, 1814 Tierces, 648 Barrels of Sugar, of which 335 Hogſheads and 360 Tierces were re-exported from other Iſlands, 338,709 l. 10 s. In all 367,074 l. 2s. To North America to the Amount of 59,794 l. to the other Iſlands, 61 Hogſheads of Rum, 518 l. 10 s. To Africa Eight Hogſheads of Rum, 68 l.

[g] This pleaſant Iſle was ſettled under the Auſpice of Sir Thomas Warner from St. Chriſtopher's. His Succeſſor Governor Lake was conſidered as the Solon of this little Country, in which he diſpoſed every Thing with ſuch Prudence, Wiſdom, and Juſtice as procured him a high Reputation with the French as well as Engliſh. In the Dutch War they met with ſome Diſturbance from the French, but being covered by an Engliſh Squadron, the Enemy were obliged to deſiſt from their intended Invaſion after a ſmart Engagement in Sight of the Iſland. Sir William Stapleton ſometimes reſided here, and Sir Nathaniel Johnſon conſtantly, which contributed not a little to the Proſperity of Nevis, the Inhabitants of which were then computed to be upwards of Thirty thouſand. In the War immediately after the Revolution they exerted themſelves gallantly, and had Two Regiments of Three hundred Men each. In that of Queen Anne they behaved as well, though they were not equally fortunate, for the French landing with a ſuperior Force, and having inveigled moſt of their Slaves, they were forced to capitulate. About Four thouſand of theſe Slaves the French carried away and ſold to the Spaniards to work in their Mines. The Parliament after making due Enquiry into the Loſſes they ſuſtained voted them about a Third Part of the Sum in which they had ſuffered. Theſe Loſſes by War, an epidemic Diſeaſe, and repeated Hurricanes, exceedingly diminiſhed the Number of their People.

of

of about Three Miles all round, the Induſtry of the Inhabitants is conſpicuous in its Cultivation. As to its Productions, they are very nearly the ſame with thoſe of St. Chriſtopher. There are Three pretty good Roads or Bays, with ſmall Towns in their Vicinity, Charles-town, Moreton-bay, and Newcaſtle. There is here a Lieutenant-governor, with a Council, and an Aſſembly, which is compoſed of Three Members from each of the Five Pariſhes into which the Iſland is divided. The Commodities exported from hence are Cotton and Sugar. About Twenty Sail of Ships are employed annually in this Trade; and the Number of Inhabitants is ſaid to be between Two and Three thouſand Whites, and upwards of Six thouſand Negroes, though it was formerly much better peopled [h].

Antego, Antegoa, rather Antigua, from Santa Maria la Antigua, a Church in Seville, from whence it was ſo called by Admiral Columbus. It is the largeſt of the Leeward Iſlands, and now the Seat of Government; it lies in the Latitude of Seventeen Degrees Twenty Minutes North, and in Sixty-one Degrees of Longitude Weſt from London. It is in Length about Twenty-one Miles, and nearly the ſame in Breadth, in Circumference upwards of Sixty. The Climate is very warm, and Hurricanes are often felt. The Country is finely diverſified into low and high Grounds, but without any of theſe ſo elevated as to be ſtiled Mountains, ſo that there are no Rivers, but few Springs, a Couple of little Rivulets which riſe not far from and run into the Sea. This Iſle is of courſe very ill ſupplied with Water, which the Inhabitants for their own Uſe preſerve in Ciſterns, and in Ponds for their Cattle, both depending upon Rain. It was this Defect in reſpect to Water, that for a long Time retarded the Settling of this Iſland. At this Time the Inhabitants are now and then diſtreſſed by it. Some good Judges however who have lived long upon the Place think it in ſome Degree their own Fault, ſince if they made their Ciſterns larger, and dug their Ponds deeper, this Calamity might be avoided. It is alſo to be obſerved that the Water thus preſerved is wonderfully light, pure, and wholeſome. The Soil varies, but is in many Places a fine black Mould, in others a deep and pretty ſtiff Clay, yet is indifferently fertile. The Country is rather better ſtocked than the other Iſlands with Animals of all Sorts, great Plenty of wild and tame Fowl, and a vaſt Variety of excellent Sea Fiſh. They have Roots and Vege-

[h] The Inhabitants of Nevis are equally remarkable for the Neatneſs of their Dwellings, and their great Induſtry in their Plantations. They exported to Great Britain A. D. 1770. 236 Bags of Cotton amounting to 2,360 l. 71 Hogſheads of Rum, 710 l. 2329 Hogſheads of Sugar, 40,757 l. 10 s. In the Whole 43,827 l. 10 s. To North America, they ſend a great many Barrels of Lemons, a conſiderable Quantity of Melaſſes, and a great Deal of Rum, amounting in the Whole to 14,155 l.

tables

tables in great Abundance, and all the Fruits common in the Weſt Indies. There was formerly ſome Indigo and Tobacco raiſed here, but theſe have been long ago abandoned for Cotton, Melaſſes, Rum, and Sugar the preſent Produce of this rich Iſland [i].

The Capital is St. John's, upon a very good Harbour of the ſame Name; the Town of Falmouth ſtands upon Engliſh Harbour, which in conſequence of much Care and ſome Expence hath been rendered fit for careening Ships of War. There are beſides Parham and Willoughby Bay with ſome leſſer Creeks. But in general the Coaſt of the Iſland is rocky, and wherever it is eaſy of Acceſs well fortified, and there is commonly a Regiment of regular Troops quartered therein for the Defence of the Inhabitants. The Governor-general of the Leeward Iſlands, who uſually reſides here, calls, when he thinks proper, a General Aſſembly compoſed of Repreſentatives deputed from the other Iſlands. Antigua hath beſides a Lieutenant Governor, a Council, and an Aſſembly compoſed of Twenty-four Members. It is divided into Six Pariſhes and Eleven Diſtricts, Ten of which elect each of them Two Repreſentatives, and that of St. John's Four. The Number of Ships that enter here are about Three hundred, but with reſpect to the Inhabitants, Whites and Negroes, we have but very incertain Accounts of their Numbers [k].

[i] This noble Iſland like the former was ſettled under the Auſpice of Sir Thomas Warner, but made a very ſlow Progreſs at the Beginning from a general Opinion, that as is ſaid in the Text, there was a total Want of Water. By Degrees however the Number of Inhabitants increaſed, yet before they had attained a competent Strength they were attacked and reduced by the French in the Reign of Charles the Second. However by the Twelfth Article of the Treaty of Breda, the Iſland was reſtored, after which the Number of People increaſed, and the Country was much improved. In the War in King William's Time General Codrington defeated all the Deſigns of the French againſt it, and even reduced ſome of their ſmaller Iſlands. His Son who ſucceeded him in the Government of the Leeward Iſlands made a vigorous Attempt upon Guadaloupe in the Reign of Queen Anne. Since this Time Things have gone on proſperouſly, and the Spirit, Skill, and Induſtry of the Inhabitants have been amply rewarded by their Acquiſitions, though from Hurricanes, Droughts, and other Accidents, there is great Inequality in their Exports.

[k] Lord Willoughby of Parham, when Governor of Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, being informed of the languid State of Things in Antigua, procured a Grant and ſent his Brother thither to take Care of his Property. After his Lordſhip's Death Chriſtopher Codrington, Eſq; removed thither from Barbadoes, and by his great Skill and Application entirely changed the Face of Affairs. When he became Governor and Captain General he fixed the Seat of Government here, which was of great Conſequence, and ſome other intelligent Planters reſorting thither the Productions of Antigua in Quantity and Quality were gradually improved. A. D. 1770 they exported to Great Britain 192 Bales, 566 Bags of Cotton, amounting to 5046 l. 735 Hogſheads of Rum, 7350 l. To Ireland 6,492 Hogſheads of do. 64,920 l. 20,116 Hogſheads, 72 Tierces of Sugar 352,894 l. in all to Great Britain and Ireland 430,210 l. To North America to the Amount of 35,551 l. 7 s. 6 d. and to the other Iſlands 229 l. 10 s.

MONTSERRAT is a very ſmall but a very pleaſant Iſland, ſo called by Colombus from its Reſemblance to a famous Mountain near Barcelona in Catalonia. It lies in Sixteen Degrees Fifty Minutes of North Latitude, and in about Sixty-one Degrees of Longitude Weſt from London, having Antigua to the North Eaſt, St. Chriſtopher's and Nevis to the North Weſt, and Guadaloupe lying South South Eaſt at the Diſtance of about Nine Leagues. In its Figure it is nearly round, about Nine Miles in Extent every Way, Twenty-ſeven in Circumference, and is ſuppoſed to contain about Forty or Fifty thouſand Acres [l]. The Climate is warm, but leſs ſo than in Antigua, and is eſteemed very healthy. The Soil is mountainous, but with pleaſant Vallies rich and fertile between them, the Hills are covered with Cedars and other fine Trees. Here are all the Animals as well as Vegetables and Fruits that are to be found in the other Iſlands, and not at all inferior to them in Quality. It is beſides pretty well watered which is no ſmall Advantage. The Inhabitants raiſed formerly a conſiderable Quantity of Indigo, which was none of the beſt, but which they cut Four Times a Year. The preſent Product is Cotton, Rum, and Sugar. There is no good Harbour, but three tolerable Roads at Plymouth, Old Harbour and Ker's Bay, where they ſhip the Produce of the Iſland. Public Affairs are adminiſtered here as in the other Iſles, by a Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Aſſembly, compoſed of no more than Eight Members, Two from each of the Four Diſtricts into which it is divided [m]. There a few Ships employed in Trading to

[l] In the Year 1632 Sir Thomas Warner ſent a ſmall Number of his People from St. Chriſtopher's to Montſerrat, lying to the South Eaſt, being of a round Figure, a little mountainous Iſland, which owes its Healthineſs and Security to that Circumſtance. It was become a very populous and well-improved Settlement when attacked and reduced by the French in the Beginning of the Reign of King Charles the Second. But being reſtored to its old Maſters by the Twelfth Article of the Treaty of Breda, it very ſpeedily recovered its former Splendour. When the next War broke out with France ſoon after the Revolution, the People of Montſerrat acted with great Vigour and Spirit, by which they kept their Enemies at a Diſtance. But by theſe extraordinary, though honourable Efforts their Numbers were conſiderably diminiſhed. This expoſed them in the Reign of Queen Anne to be extremely harraſſed by the French, and even after the Ceſſation of Arms was concluded, Mr. Coſſard landed here, and in a great Meaſure ruined the Iſland. For this it was ſtipulated in the Eleventh Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, that an Enquiry ſhould be made into the Damages which the People of Montſerrat had ſuffered. But it does not appear that any ſuch Enquiry was ever made, or that the leaſt Compenſation was received.

[m] The wonderful Effects of Induſtry and Experience in meliorating the Gifts of Nature have been no-where more conſpicuous than in theſe Iſlands, and particularly in this, by gradually improving their Produce, more eſpecially of late Years, ſince the Art of Planting hath been reduced to a regular Syſtem, and almoſt all the Defects of Soil ſo thoroughly removed by proper Management and Manure, that except from the Failure of Seaſons, or the Want of Hands, there is ſeldom any Fear of a Crop. In A. D. 1770 there was exported from this Iſland to Great Britain,

to this Iſland from London and from Briſtol. As to the Number of Inhabitants according to the moſt probable Accounts, they conſiſt in between Twelve and Fifteen hundred Whites and from Ten to Twelve thouſand Negroes, though ſome ſay not ſo many.

BARBUDA is a ſmall Iſland lying in Seventeen Degrees Forty Minutes North Latitude, and in Sixty Degrees Thirty-two Minutes Weſt from London, Ten Leagues North from Antigua, Fifteen North Eaſt from Montſerrat, and about the ſame Diſtance from St. Chriſtopher's and Nevis. Soon after the Firſt of theſe Two Iſlands was planted, the Inhabitants had an Account of this ſo very favourable that they immediately took a Reſolution to ſettle it, which they did, and called it Dulcina. They found it healthy, pleaſant, and fertile; but the Coaſts were rocky, there was little Water, the Soil but ſhallow, and they were frequently diſturbed by the Caribbees, on which they quitted it and retired to Nevis. Many Years after General Codrington, who was equally diſtinguiſhed as a Stateſman, Soldier, and Planter, obtained a Grant of it in Property, and it ſtill belongs to his Family. There are upon it ſome Hundreds of People, who raiſe Corn, breed Cattle, tame Fowls, and other Proviſions, for which they always find a Market in the other Iſles, and live very happily and much at their Eaſe [n].

ANGUILLA is another little Iſland, which lies in Eighteen Degrees Twenty Minutes North Latitude, and in Sixty-one Degrees Thirty Minutes Longitude Weſt from London. At the Diſtance of Twenty Leagues North Weſt from Barbuda, and Twelve from St. Chriſtopher's. It derives its Name from its winding Form, which is thought to reſemble that of an Eel, or as the common Notion is of a Snake. The French thought it, as it is very low and flat, not worth keeping or cultivating, and it was long in our Hands before it was conſidered as a Place of any Conſequence, though Fifteen Miles long, and in ſome Places Seven broad. But of

Britain, 167 Bags of Cotton, 1670 l. 740 l. Hogſheads of Rum, 7400 l. To Ireland 133 ditto, 1330 l. 4338 Hogſheads, 232 Tierces, 202 Barrels of Sugar, 79,507 l. in the Whole, 89,907 l. To North America, 12,633 l.

[n] There were Two Motives that induced General Codrington to procure a Grant of this Iſland, the ſole Proprietary Government in the Weſt Indies. The Firſt was the raiſing Proviſions, in which he effectually ſucceeded, the Second the Cultivation of Cinnamon, to which he was induced from ſome Experiments he had made from the wild Cinnamon Trees in Antigua. In this Project he was interrupted by the French War in which the Enemy once attempted to ſurprize him, while he and ſome of his Friends were amuſing themſelves at his Plantations in Barbuda. His Death, which followed not long after, put a Period to his Deſigns, in which, conſidering the amazing Progreſs he made in improving the Sugars of Antigua, it is not at all improbable he would otherwiſe have ſucceeded.

late Years the induſtrious Inhabitants have ſhewn that this was a Miſtake, for beſides raiſing all the Neceſſaries of Life, they now export Cotton, Rum, and Sugar as well as their Neighbours, and are in a very thriving Condition. According to the Information of thoſe who have lately viſited this little Iſle, it is in its preſent State as healthy as any in this Part of the World, and the Natives remarkably ſtout, vigorous, and indefatigable in raiſing Proviſions of all Sorts, with which they ſupply their Neighbours [o].

The Iſlands which the Spaniards ſtile las Virgines, and we from them the Virgins, lie in a Cluſter, from Eighteen Degrees to Eighteen Degrees Forty Minutes of North Latitude, and in the Longitude of from Sixty-two Degrees Thirty Minutes, to Sixty-three Degrees Weſt from London. Tortola is the largeſt of them, and next to that Spaniſh Town, or rather Peniſton, in which there is ſaid to be a Silver Mine, neither of them very conſiderable in point of Size, but otherwiſe pleaſant and fertile. There are beſides theſe Ten or Twelve more, all of them inhabited, and have been ſo for many Years, though it is not long ſince they were put under a regular Form of Government. There is in the Midſt of theſe Iſlands the fineſt Baſon of Water that can be imagined, in which Veſſels may lie Land-locked from all Winds, from which they are covered from the regular Diſpoſition of theſe Iſlands round them, which is a very great Advantage to the Inhabitants, and to ſuch as by frequenting them are experienced in this Navigation. Otherwiſe the Coaſts of theſe Iſlands being many of them foul and rocky are exceedingly dangerous, and many Veſſels have been wrecked upon them, and amongſt theſe ſome Spaniſh Galleons. We have now a regular Communication with Tortola, from whence there is annually exported, chiefly of its own, but ſome alſo of the Produce of the other Iſlands, conſiderable Quantities of Cotton, Rum, and Sugar. As to the Number of Inhabitants in theſe Iſles our Accounts have been very incertain, but I have been lately informed by a very judicious and credible Perſon, who conſtantly trades thither, that they amount to about a Thouſand Whites, and to upwards of Ten thouſand Negroes [p].

It

[o] This ſmall Iſland is another very ſtriking Inſtance of what has been before obſerved, that Skill and Induſtry will have great Effects whereever exerted with Perſeverance, ſince all the Accounts we have of it, as is ſaid in the Text, agree in their Repreſentation of its being capable of producing nothing more than a bare Subſiſtence to a few wretched Inhabitants, and yet we find them by Dint of their own Labour riſing into ſome Conſideration; for A. D. 1770 they exported 242 Bags of Cotton, amounting to 2420 l. Nineteen Hogſheads of Rum, 190 l. 68 Hogſheads of Sugar, 1190 l. in all to Great Britain 3800 l. and to North America 2057 l. 10 s. and they are in a fair Way of producing much more.

[p] Theſe Virgin Iſles, as hath been already hinted in the Text, were for many Years conſidered as little inhoſpitable Rocks upon which a few miſerable People, whom their Debts had

driven

It is not a little amazing, and if we had not the cleareſt and moſt authentic Evidence in its Support, would appear abſolutely incredible, that a few Iſlands containing altogether not more Ground than the County of Monmouth, and but a very little bigger than the Iſland of Minorca, ſhould produce to the Value of One Million and an Half Sterling annually, in the Commodities they export, excluſive of Freight and every other Advantage. It is true that the Stáples of theſe Iſlands are very rich. But we muſt not conclude from thence, that ſuch ſmall Iſlands could not otherwiſe be ſupported, ſince it appears by a Report made to the Board of Trade near Twenty Years ago, that Rhode Iſland in North America, which is not bigger than St. Chriſtopher's, had upon it Thirty thouſand white Inhabitants, and Four thouſand Negroes, all of whom were ſubſiſted by the Produce of the Iſle and its Commerce. Let us now proceed to the Ceded Iſlands.

driven thither to preſerve Freedom, picked up as they could, a precarious Subſiſtence. This perhaps might be really the Caſe, but ſeeing the Effects of Induſtry in ſome of the other Iſlands, they gradually began to imitate them, at firſt by planting Cotton, and this proving very fine furniſhed them with the Means of purchaſing Negroes,, and at length put it in their Power to plant Canes. A. D. 1770 the Iſland of Tortola exported 29 Bales and 1590 Bags of Cotton, amounting to 16,248 l. Hides 368, 128 l. 16 s. Sugar 2446 Hogſheads, 20 Tierces, 73 Barrels, 43,337 l. Beſides this from the Produce of other Iſlands in Cotton and Sugar to the Value of 1982 l. 10 s. in all to Great Britain, 61,696 l. 6 s. and to North America in Cotton, Rum, and other Commodities to the Value of 10,132 l. 10 s.

SECT. V.

The ceded Iſlands, St. Vincent, Grenada, the Grenadines, Tobago, and Dominica.

IN the former Section it hath been ſhewn at what Time and in what Manner the Engliſh ſettled the Iſlands of Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher; and that the French likewiſe ſettled themſelves on the latter at the ſame Time. It does not appear that the People of Barbadoes thought of making any Excurſions from their own Iſland, but contented themſelves with cultivating and improving it to the utmoſt of their Power. But St. Chriſtopher's being ſmaller, and a Moiety of it only occupied by each of the Nations, their Chiefs who were both Men of enterprizing Spirits entertained other Views. Sir Thomas Warner, as we have already mentioned, ſettled moſt of the Leeward Iſlands. Mr. Deſnambuc wrote to the

the Court of France, and propoſed an Expedition for ſettling One of Three Iſlands which he named. His Propoſition was accepted, and a ſmall Force accordingly ſent under Two Commanders who firſt debarked upon Martinico, but diſliking its mountainous Appearance quitted it, and fixed themſelves on Guadaloupe. Mr. Deſnambuc no ſooner heard of this, than he likewiſe embarked a ſmall Body of Men, and took Poſſeſſion of Part of Martinico. The French met with no ſmall Difficulties in both Iſlands, but by keeping Meaſures at firſt with the Natives, and then gradually picking Quarrels with them, they at length made themſelves Maſters of both after a Diſpute of about Thirty Years, in which Space all our Iſlands were pretty well ſettled *.

A French Weſt India Company had been erected under the Auſpice of Cardinal Richlieu for the Direction of their Affairs in this Part of the World. Their Capital conſiſted of about Four thouſand Pounds Sterling, and this even in thoſe Days proved ſo inſignificant that they were in a little Time unable to ſupport thoſe who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Iſles before-mentioned; and therefore in a juſt Senſe of their Inability they ſold the ſmaller Iſlands to the Order of Malta, and granted Martinico and Guadaloupe to Two of their Countrymen as Proprietors, reſerving only the Sovereignty to the Crown of France, and having thus ridded themſelves of all their Poſſeſſions as a Company, they broke up. When Lewis the Fourteenth took the Reins of Government into his own Hands, he by the Advice of wiſer Miniſters than thoſe who had been employed during his Minority, erected a New Weſt India Company, with Funds properly proportioned to the Schemes they were to undertake. This Company was ſo well conducted that they redeemed all the Iſlands, carried on a War againſt England in thoſe Parts, and put their ſeveral Poſſeſſions into good Order, and a competent State of Defence. All this they did in ſo ſhort a Space as Nine Years, and in return their Great Monarch diſſolved them and took all into his own Hands. It muſt not be ſuppoſed that we were inactive all this Time, for on the contrary we reduced the great Iſland of Jamaica, in which Service Five thouſand Men from the other Iſlands were employed, and after it was ſubdued the ſettling it was attended with much Expence of Men and Money. Numbers alſo went from Barbadoes to

* The principal Intention in theſe Notes is to authenticate the Hiſtory, and to fix the Dates that are mentioned in the Text for the Reader's Eaſe and Satisfaction. The Perſons ſent from France at the Inſtance of Mr. Deſnambuc were Meſſieurs du Pleſſis and l'Olive, and they landed on Guadaloupe July 8th 1635. The former of theſe Gentlemen dying, and the latter becoming blind within a Year, the Company conferred the Government of that Iſland on the Sieur Aubert, who had been for ſome Time an Officer in the Iſle of St. Chriſtopher. On the other Hand, Mr. Deſnambuc appointed his Nephew Monſieur du Parquet, Governor of the Colony that he ſettled in Martinico.

Surinam;

Surinam; which Colony, as hath been before obſerved, we exchanged for New York, and it muſt be likewiſe remembred, that at the Time the French King eſtabliſhed his New Company, our Iſlands in the Weſt Indies were thoroughly improved, and in the moſt flouriſhing Condition [b].

We kept up our Claim during this whole Period to the Iſlands of Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago, which were conſtantly inſerted in the Governor of Barbadoes Commiſſion, and we ſent Governors to ſome of them, and exerciſed other Acts of Sovereignty. It was owing to the Intrigues of the French that we did not abſolutely reduce and ſettle them, for while they were conquering the other Iſlands, they not only willingly permitted the Caribs to retire into theſe, but alſo afforded them the neceſſary Aſſiſtance to prevent our driving them out. In the Reign of James the Second a Treaty of Neutrality was concluded between the Two Nations in the Weſt Indies upon Terms, which conſidering their different Views were advantageous and acceptable to both. But King James did not mean to include theſe Iſlands in this Treaty, but on the contrary took Meaſures to ſettle them, on which, under pretence that the Caribs or as they ſtile them Caraïbs were their Allies, the French interfered in the Diſpute, for terminating of which a new Negotiation was begun at the Time the Revolution took Place. In the Reign of King William, the Situation of our Affairs did not permit us to proſecute our Rights, and the ſame Reaſons ſeem to have operated in the Reign of Queen Anne. King George the Firſt made a Grant of St Lucia and St. Vincent to the Duke of Montagu, who from a Motive of Public Spirit undertook to ſettle them at a vaſt Expence, but France interfering again

[b] The Firſt French Weſt India Company was eſtabliſhed A. D. 1626, and they did all they could to ſupport the Eſtabliſhments made by them. At length finding themſelves exceedingly involved, they granted to Mr. du Parquet before-mentioned the Iſlands of Martinico, Grenada, and St. Lucia; and to the Sieur Houel the Iſlands of Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Deſiderade, and the Saints. To the Commander du Poincy, who was Grand Croſs of the Order of Malta, and at that Time Governor General of their Iſlands, they ſold in Truſt for his Order, their Part of St. Chriſtopher's together with the Iſlands of St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, and Santa Cruz, and the Poſſeſſion of them was ratified by the French King's Letters Patents. This Firſt Company broke up A. D. 1651. The Second French Weſt India Company was created by Letters Patents, dated the 11th July, A. D. 1664, and had an entire Grant of all that the French poſſeſſed on the Continent, as well as in the Iſlands of America, and this new Company was ſo well ſupported, that in a very ſhort Space they equipped upwards of Forty Sail of Ships for different Services. Beſides what is mentioned in the Text, this Company rendered the French Nation many other beneficial Offices, and particularly took entirely out of the Hands of the Dutch, then cloſely allied with France, the Trade of the Iſlands, by which they had been exceedingly enriched. In effecting ſo much they had not only expended their Capital, but had run upwards of a Million of Livres in Debt, which was the Pretence made uſe of for diſſolving them, the King reimburſing their Capital and diſcharging their Incumbrances.

in

in favour of her Indian Allies, Things were compromiſed to prevent entering into a War upon what might ſeem to be a private Quarrel. In the Reign of King George the Second a new Regulation took Place, by which Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago, to which the French had never formed any Pretences, were declared Neutral Iſlands by the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle. In this State Things were at the Entrance of the laſt War, but at the Concluſion of it the French quitted all their Pretenſions to Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, and ceded the Iſland of Grenada to his Majeſty as an Equivalent for the Iſland of St. Lucia (thereby admitting our Right) which we yielded to the French who had conceived higher Notions of the Value of that Iſle, than it will perhaps ever be found to deſerve [c].

In deſcribing theſe Iſlands we begin with that of St. Vincent, which received its Name from being diſcovered on the Twenty-ſecond of January, the Feaſt of that Saint. It lies from Thirteen Degrees to Thirteen Degrees Twenty Minutes of North Latitude, and in Longitude Fifty-nine Degrees Forty Minutes Weſt from London. At the Diſtance of between Five and Six Leagues South Weſt from St. Lucia, Twenty-three South Weſt from Martinico, Thirty-ſix or as ſome compute Forty South from Dominica, Twenty Weſt by South from Barbadoes, and Seventeen or Eighteen North Eaſt from Grenada. Being thus ſituated directly to the Leeward of Barbadoes, it may in a few Hours be reached from thence, and is at the ſame Time ſo ſeated as to cover and connect the ſmall Iſlands that lie between it and Grenada. It ſtretches in Length from South to North about Twenty-five Miles, and is about Thirteen in Breadth, in Circumference between Sixty and Seventy. In Point of Size therefore it differs but little from Barbadoes. The Climate is very warm, at leaſt in the Judgment of Europeans. The Country is in general hilly, in ſome Places mountainous, but interſperſed with a Variety of pleaſant Vallies, and ſome large and luxuriant Plains, the Soil being every where very fer-

[c] The Treaty of good Correſpondence and Neutrality concluded between King James II. and Lewis XIV. bears Date the 5th November 1686. The Motives were the delivering the Subjects of both Crowns from the Interruptions they met with from Buccaneers, and the ſecuring the Trade of their reſpective Iſlands to the Powers to which they belonged. In A. D. 1718, upon the Surmize of a rich Mine in the Iſland of St. Lucia, the Regent Duke of Orleans made a Grant of that Iſland in Property to the Marſhal d'Eſtrees. But the Britiſh Court expoſtulating upon this and ſhewing clearly, that the Right was in the Crown of Great Britain, that Grant was recalled. His Majeſty King George I. by Letters Patents, dated 20th June 1722, granted this Iſland, with St. Vincent, to the Duke of Montagu, and as we have ſaid above, to avoid a Quarrel between the Two Nations, it was agreed that thoſe Iſlands ſhould not be ſettled by either. The compleat Ceſſion of the Iſlands, which are the Subject of this Chapter, was made in the fulleſt and cleareſt Terms by the Ninth Article of the laſt Peace ſigned at Paris, 10th February, A. D. 1763.

tile,

tile, and the high Grounds are at leaſt in general eaſy of Aſcent. Few Iſlands of its Extent are ſo well watered, for ſeveral Rivers run down from the Mountains, and ſmaller Streams from almoſt every Hill; there are likewiſe ſeveral fine Springs at a little Diſtance from the Sea. The Inhabitants raiſe all Kinds of Ground Proviſions in Plenty, and with little Trouble. The Rivers ſupply them with a Variety of Fiſh, and the ſame may be ſaid of the Sea that waſhes their Coaſts. They have Abundance of excellent Fruits, and very fine Timber fit for almoſt every uſe, and with which they formerly ſupplied their Neighbours [d].

The French, though they did not venture to raiſe Sugar, had ſeveral ſpacious Plantations at the Mouths and on the Sides of the Rivers, planted with Cacao Trees, Coffee, Indigo, and fine Tobacco. There are ſeveral commodious Bays on the North Weſt and South Weſt Sides, and at the Southern Extremity there is the deep ſpacious ſandy Bay, formerly ſtiled the Bay of St. Antonio, but now Kingſton Bay, where large Ships may ride commodiouſly; and there is ſaid to be good anchoring Ground round the whole Iſland. It remained for a long Space of Time after it was diſcovered by the Europeans the Head Quarters and general Rendezvous of the Caribs or Caraïbs, who from thence made Expeditions to the Continent, and were alſo ſometimes very troubleſome to the adjacent Iſlands. Beſides theſe there are another Race of People generally, though very improperly, ſtiled Black Caribs, but who are in reality Negroes deſcended, as is generally believed, from ſome who eſcaped out of a Guinea Ship wrecked upon the Coaſt, and gradually augmented by ſuch as from time to time fled thither from Barbadoes. Theſe Nations were often at

[d] A little Reflection on the Climate, Soil, and natural Productions of theſe Iſlands might eaſily lead to the Deſire of making Trials, of what through the Force of Skill and Induſtry might be added to their native Stores. But probably here as well as elſe-where, ſuch Trials might have been neglected, if Governor Melvil, a Gentleman alike diſtinguiſhed for the Warmth of his public Spirit and univerſal Benevolence, had not eſtabliſhed in this Iſland a public Garden for this noble Purpoſe, and put it under the Care of Dr. George Young an excellent Botaniſt, to whom the Society for the Encouragement of Arts have deſervedly given a Gold Medal, and who hath brought a Certificate from the Chief Magiſtrate of St. Vincent, that he had growing in this Garden in the Month of May A. D. 1772 One hundred and forty healthy Plants of the true Cinnamon. He hath alſo in the ſame Garden, amongſt many other curious Plants, Logwood, Turmeric, Eaſt India Mango, Tobago Nutmeg, Seſamum or oily Grain, Caſſia Fiſtula, Vanelloes, Anatto, China Tallow Tree. He is likewiſe preparing to carry from hence amongſt many others the following, the Tea Shrub, Sago Palm, Gum Storax Tree, Olives, Camphire Tree, Florida Starry Anniſeed, Zant Currant Tree. It would be eaſy to expatiate on the Advantages that may probably ariſe from this Inſtitution. At preſent it is ſufficient to have pointed out to whom they will be due.

War, but when their Quarrels were compoſed they had a Strength ſufficient to prevent Strangers from ſettling by force [e].

The French about Half a Century ago, at the Requeſt of the Caribs, made a Deſcent from Martinico and attacked the Negroes, but were repulſed with Loſs, and afterwards found it their Intereſt to conciliate a Friendſhip with both Nations by means of Preſents, and furniſhing them with Arms and Ammunition, which procured them the Means of making thoſe Plantations that have been before-mentioned. Since it came into our Poſſeſſion, it hath proved as profitable, though not quite ſo healthy as could be wiſhed. But now that our diſagreeable Diſputes with the Negroes are over, it is to be hoped for ever, we may reaſonably expect, that what belongs to us in the Iſland will be ſpeedily and effectually cultivated; and as by this a free Circulation of Air will be promoted, the Climate become more wholeſome. The Government is of the ſame Form with that of our other Iſlands, but dependent upon the Governor and Captain General, who reſides in Grenada. As to the Number of Inhabitants we have not poſſeſſed this or the other Iſles long enough to have any diſtinct Accounts, but competent Judges may frame a probable Conjecture from the Nature and Quantity of its Produce [f].

Dominica received that Name from its being diſcovered upon a Sunday, being ſituated in the Latitude of Fifteen Degrees Twenty Minutes, to Fifteen Degrees Forty Minutes North, and Fifty-nine Degrees Thirty-five Minutes of Longitude Weſt from London. It lies in the very Midſt

[e] There have been ſome Doubts raiſed as to the Accounts given in the Text of the coming in of the Negroes, on a Suppoſition that they might be Spaniſh Slaves who eſcaped from the Continent, which however ſeems leſs probable. They have adopted in ſome Degree the Manners of the Natives who are the moſt indolent People upon the Earth. In Conjunction with them they obliged Captain Brathwaite in A. D. 1723 to deſiſt from his intended Deſign of debarking upon the Iſland in conſequence of the Duke of Montague's Grant, being abundantly ſupplied at that Time with Arms and Ammunition from the French. They are now reduced to a very low State, but ſtill they are intitled to Juſtice and Humanity, more eſpecially when conſidered as Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain. Force may reſtrain, but Kindneſs only can ſubdue. They raiſed Ground Proviſions, Poultry, and other Things for the Uſe of the French, and there ſeems to be no Reaſon to doubt that by Gentleneſs and good Treatment they might be made in like Manner uſeful to themſelves and to us, and with a very little Induſtry live comfortably and in Peace.

[f] What hath been ſaid of this Iſland in reſpect to its preſent and future Conſequence to this Country will be better ſhewn and more fully corroborated from the State of its Exportations in A. D. 1770, which were Cotton 284 Bags at Ten Pounds per Bag, 2840 l. Coffee 4818 Hundred-weight One Quarter Six Pound, at Three Pound Five Shillings per Hundred-weight, 15,659 l. 9s. 8¾ d. Cacao 1000 Hogſheads and One Barrel at Twenty-five Pounds per Hogſhead and Twelve Pounds per Barrel, 25,012 l. Rum 346 Hogſheads at Ten Pounds per Hogſhead, 3460 l. Sugar, 2866 Hogſheads at 17 l. 10 s. per Hogſhead, 50,155 l. In all to Great Britain 97,126 l. 9 s. 8¾ d. To North America 13,375 l. Total 110,501 l. 9 s. 8¾ d.

of

of the French Iſlands, at the Diſtance of Eight Leagues North by Weſt from Martinico, about the ſame Diſtance South South Eaſt from Guadaloupe; the ſmall Iſlands called The Saints lying between them, Five Leagues South Weſt from Marigalante, about Forty Leagues North from St. Vincent's, about the ſame Diſtance North Weſt from Barbadoes, and about Seventy Leagues North and by Eaſt from Grenada. It is ſtretched out from North Eaſt to South Weſt in the Form of a Bow, of which the Leeward Side, which makes but an indifferent Appearance at Sea, repreſents the String. A very noble Iſland it is, between Thirty and Forty Miles in length, about Fifteen in Breadth, and upwards of Ninety in Circumference. The Climate is remarkably warm even for that Part of the World, though the Air is very thin and pure, and the Country from thence reputed to be healthy. In its Appearance it is rough and mountainous more eſpecially towards the Sea, but within there are rich and pleaſant Vallies, and a few fine Plains [g].

The Mountains are not ſteep, and the Soil is every where a deep black Mould, wonderfully fertile, and not eaſily exhauſted. There is in it a Sulphur Mountain, and One in which the French believe there is a Gold Mine. No Place can be better watered, as there are Thirty Rivers, one of which is navigable for ſeveral Miles. There are ſeveral hot Springs, which, if we may believe the Report of our own Countrymen, who made Trial of them a Century ago, are not inferior in their Virtues to thoſe of Bath. Bananas, Potatoes, and Manioc, from which Caſſada Bread is made, and which in theſe Parts are ſtiled Ground Proviſions, are here in great Plenty and in their ſeveral Kinds are all remarkably good. All Kind of Vegetables they have in Abundance, the richeſt Fruits particularly the fineſt Pine Apples in the Weſt Indies; inexhauſtible Stores of Timber of all Kinds. Hogs wild and tame, Variety

[g] This Iſland was diſcovered by Admiral Columbus on Sunday November the 3d, A. D. 1493; but it does not appear that it was ever ſettled by the Spaniards. The Accounts we had of it in former Times were but very indifferent, from our being acquainted only with its Coaſts. The French took great Care to decry and miſrepreſent it, as mountainous, barren, and a fit Habitation only for the Savages; though the more ancient Writers of their own place it in quite another Light, and acknowledged it to be, what it really is, One of the faireſt and fineſt Iſlands in theſe Parts. The conſtant Correſpondence kept up by the Inhabitants of Martinico with the Caribs in this Iſle enabled them to prepoſſeſs thoſe poor People with the moſt dreadful Ideas of the Engliſh; and Father Labat, after giving a moſt unfavourable Picture of Dominica, ſays very ingenuouſly, that inſignificant as it was, the Engliſh had made ſeveral Attempts upon it, which they had uſed all imaginable Pains to fruſtrate, as knowing the bad Conſequences that muſt reſult to them from our becoming poſſeſſed of this Iſle.

of Game and Abundance of Poultry, with all which the Natives ſupplied Martinico in great Abundance [h].

The Caribs here were formerly very numerous, and reputed the braveſt and the moſt robuſt of any in the Iſles. They are now much diminiſhed, of which the French taking Advantage, had ſettled almoſt all the Windward Coaſt, and raiſed in their ſpacious Plantations, Cacao, Coffee, and ſome Canes. At the North Weſt End of the Iſland there is a deep capacious ſandy Bay, which from his Highneſs's anchoring in it for ſome Time with his Fleet, hath born ever ſince the Name of Prince Rupert. It is covered from moſt Winds by the Mountains round it, and hath more than once been the Station of our Squadrons when in thoſe Seas. There are beſides many other Bays and Inlets, and very ſafe anchoring Ground on the Leeward Side of the Iſland, notwithſtanding the Inſinuations of the French to the contrary, for which they had their Reaſons. This, as well as the Iſland of St. Vincent, was when firſt ceded to us dependent upon Grenada, but is ſince become a ſeparate Government and a free Port eſtabliſhed therein [i].

The Iſland of Grenada, is, except Tobago, the moſt Southern of all the Antilles, was diſcovered by and received its Name from Admiral Columbus, who finding it ſtrong by Situation and very full of People, made no Attempt upon it. It lies from Eleven Degrees Fifty Minutes to Twelve Degrees Five Minutes of North Latitude, though ſome of the lateſt French Maps place it from Twelve Degrees Five Minutes to

[h] One great Advantage of Dominica lies in the great Variety of its Soils, their different Situations and Expoſitions, ſo that not only every Thing that grows in the other Iſlands may with Facility and Certainty be raiſed here, but alſo farther Improvements made by the Introduction of valuable Plants from the Spaniſh Main, and even thoſe of the Eaſt Indies. There is a vaſt Variety of Timber here for a Variety of Purpoſes, particularly Roſe Wood, and others proper for the Uſe of Cabinet-makers, as well as for Building, of which due Care ought to be taken. The Rivers afford an Opportunity of conſtructing Mills, which is a Circumſtance that muſt prove very advantageous to the Planters. The native Caribs that ſtill remain were exceedingly uſeful in many Reſpects to the French, in furniſhing Proviſions of all Kinds to their Planters; and there ſeems to be little Reaſon to doubt, that being treated with Juſtice and Lenity, to which as Men, and Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, they are ſurely entitled, they may likewiſe be made ſerviceable to us.

[i] The making Dominica an independent Government was certainly intended to promote the ſpeedy ſettling of this Iſland, which undoubtedly was the beſt ſituated of any in our Poſſeſſion for a free Port; and it is hoped that great Advantages may reſult from thence, in Proportion as the Number of Inhabitants increaſe. The Exportations from hence, A. D. 1770, were, of Coffee 10,380 Hundred-weight Three Quarters Twelve Pounds, 33,737 l. 15 s. 8½ d. Cacao, 285 Hogſheads, 7125 l. Rum, Thirteen Hogſheads, 130 l. Sugar, 307 Hogſheads, 5372 l. 10 s. In all to Great Britain, 46,365 l. 5 s. 8½ d. To North America 16,496 l. 10 s. In the Whole 62,856 l. 15 s. 8 d.

Twelve

Twelve Degrees Twenty Minutes, and in the Longitude of Sixty-one Degrees Weſt from London. It is ſituated about Eighteen Leagues South Weſt from St. Vincent, Thirty-five from St. Lucia, Thirty-five Leagues South Weſt by Weſt from Barbadoes, about Fifty Leagues South Weſt from Martinico; and between Sixty and Seventy Leagues South South Weſt from Dominica, ſomewhat more than Twenty Leagues North Weſt from Tobago, between Ninety and One hundred Leagues South from St. Chriſtopher's, and about Thirty Leagues North from the Spaniſh Main. In Length about Thirty Engliſh Miles, and Thirteen in Breadth according to the beſt Accounts hitherto received. The Climate is certainly warm, but ſo tempered by the regular Returns of the Sea Breeze as to be rendered very tolerable. The Air is generally pure and ſerene; and though ſuch as came firſt were frequently viſited by a Kind of Fever, which however ſeldom proved mortal, yet as the Woods have been opened and the Country better cultivated this no longer excites any Apprehenſions, but when it happens is conſidered as a temporary Inconvenience; to balance which, it is aſſerted, that the Seaſonings, as they are called in the Weſt Indies, are more regular here than in the other Iſlands, the Blaſt not frequent, though not, as the French Writers ſay, altogether unknown, and as yet no Hurricane hath ever been felt[k].

THERE is a Chain of Mountains, ſome of them pretty high, which runs from South to North, and in other Parts of the Iſland there are Hills but of a very gentle Aſcent, and conſequently capable of Cultivation. Both the Mountains and the Hills are of great Utility, as from them larger and leſſer Streams, ſeveral of which deſerve the Name of Rivers, roll down in gentle Currents on both Sides the Iſland. There are alſo Plenty of Springs, ſome Salt Ponds, and a few Lakes, of which only Two are of any conſiderable Size. The Soil is of ſeveral Kinds, but chiefly of a deep,

[k] The French were certainly long enough Maſters of this Iſland to be able to judge of the Facts mentioned in the Text; and there ſeems to be no Reaſon to queſtion their Authority. The Seaſonings, as they are called in this Part of the World, are the regular Returns of Rain, for in all the Antilles the Inhabitants reckon only Winter, which is the rainy, and Summer, which is the dry Seaſon. The former perhaps might with equal Propriety be called the Spring, and the latter the Autumn. The Rains begin about the Middle, at leaſt before the End of July, and laſt to December; not that it rains continually, but that there is very ſeldom a Day without Rain, upon which the Fertility of the Country depends, and thence their Regularity is juſtly conſidered as a very great Bleſſing. The Blaſt is a Malady incident to the Sugar Canes both in ours and in the French Iſlands, the Cauſe of which being unknown, no Remedy hath been hitherto found againſt it. As to Hurricanes, the common Opinion in the Weſt Indies is, that they happen between the 20th of July and the 15th of October, which in general may be true; and it is certainly a very great Happineſs to lie out of the Track of theſe deſtructive Tempeſts. Theſe Advantages, therefore, taken together, may be juſtly conſidered as very diſtinguiſhed Recommendations of this Iſland.

rich,

rich, black Mould which is very fertile. There are large Woods of various Kinds of fine Timber, in which, while in the Hands of the French, there was a great Deal of Game. In reſpect to Ground Proviſions, Vegetables of all Kinds, rich Fruits, Animals, River and Sea Fiſh, it is inferior to none of the Iſlands. In reference to Productions that enter into Commerce, it was generally allowed, that whatever they were, Sugar, Cacao, Coffee, Cotton, or Tobacco, for all in their Turns have been raiſed there, they were the very beſt in their reſpective Kinds. It hath been aſſerted on good Authority that the true Cinnamon and Nutmeg Trees have been found in the Foreſts, and therefore however neceſſary it may be to clear the Country, the Woods ſhould be cut with Caution and under proper Inſpection[r].

But what adds exceedingly to the Worth of this Iſle, and which, independent of all other Advantages, would have rendered it highly valuable, are Two very fine Ports, Calivenie at the South Eaſt Extremity of the Iſland, which is ſingularly ſafe and ſpacious, compoſed of an outward and an inward Harbour, the latter having Seven Fathom Water and a ſoft muddy Bottom. The other at the South Weſt End is called the Carenage, the Harbour of Port Royal or the Old Port, always eſteemed One of the beſt in the Weſt Indies. At the Entrance it is about a Quarter of a Mile broad, but ſo capacious within as to hold with Eaſe a Squadron of Twenty-five Ships of the Line, and ſo covered as that they may ride with Safety in reſpect either to Wind or Weather. At a ſmall Diſtance from this Port there is a very deep Lake of conſiderable Extent, which by the cutting of a Sand Bank that divides them might be joined to the Harbour, and would then become as fine a Baſon as could be wiſhed, and where any Number of Ships might be very commodiouſly careened. As the Eaſt Side of the Iſland is the plaineſt and beſt cultivated, and as the Planters found the Conveyance of their Sugars to either of the Ports before-mentioned attended with much Trouble and Expence, they were de-

[r] There are many Reaſons that may ſerve to juſtify what is ſaid in the Text. All the old Writers agree, that though many or moſt of the Trees that grow in One grow alſo in the Reſt of the Antilles, yet that however there are ſome peculiar to One or Two Iſlands, and inſtance more, eſpecially in Grenada, Tobago, and St. Croix. It may therefore be very expedient to examine all the different Kinds that grow here, in order to preſerve ſuch as are moſt valuable. Some Caution ought alſo to be uſed in cutting down the reſt, ſince, before the French prevented them, the Inhabitants of Barbadoes cut great Quantities of Mill Timber here and in the Grenadines, which afterwards they procured as they could from Santa Lucia; and being now precluded from that Iſland, there is the more Reaſon for their being furniſhed again from this. To this we may add, that an injudicious and indiſcriminate Deſtruction of Wood is allowed to have altered the Seaſons in ſome of our Iſlands, which ought to be a Caution in reſpect to Grenada, where, as we have ſaid, they are perfectly regular at preſent.

ſirous

ſirous of finding ſome Means to ſhip them more commodiouſly. Our Seamen, to whom nothing ſeems impracticable, have accompliſhed this by venturing through ſeveral Reefs of Rocks into a Bay that lies very deep within Land, but is ſo commodious for the Purpoſe of loading Sugars as to become, notwithſtanding the Difficulty of its Entrance, One of the moſt frequented in the Iſland, and which is now known by the Name of Port Grenville. With all theſe Advantages, and few Iſlands can boaſt ſo many, the French were very long in Poſſeſſion of it before they made it turn to any Account, and this notwithſtanding various Repreſentations of the numerous Benefits that might have been derived from it [m]. A Circumſtance very fortunate for us, and which there is little Doubt that we ſhall improve, and that in a very high Degree.

THERE ſtretches from the Northern Extremity of Grenada in a North North Eaſt Direction a long Range of ſmall Iſlands for the Space of more than Twenty Leagues. Theſe except the Round Iſland are all but very little, having narrow Channels between them, navigable only by Boats, and not always by them with Safety. The Indians called them Begos, the Spaniards Grenadillas, and the French the Grenadines, their Number is not very well aſcertained, though it is generally agreed they are ſomewhat more than Twenty, Small as they are, in point of Climate they are exceedingly pleaſant, have a rich deep Soil, and are very capable of Improvement. The People of Barbadoes, though not without ſome Hazard, viſited them formerly for the Sake of the excellent Timber that grew upon them.

BESIDES theſe there are Five other Iſlands more conſiderable in many Reſpects. The Firſt of theſe, that is the neareſt to Grenada, from which it is diſtant only Five Leagues, bears ſtill the Indian Name of Cariouacou, about Twenty Miles in Compaſs, and by thoſe who ſhould be beſt acquainted with it repreſented as One of the faireſt and fineſt Spots in this

[m] This Iſland was upwards of a Century in the Hands of the French. They had their Views upon it early, but the Natives were then ſo numerous, and ſo much upon their Guard, that they durſt not attempt it. At length Mr. du Parquet planned and eſtabliſhed a Settlement, having firſt paid a Conſideration to the Indians for their Conſent. In the Space of Seven Years he ſold it to the Count of Cerillac for Ninety thouſand Livres. It was certainly a cheap Purchaſe if it had been well managed. The Royal Company redeemed it. It was reſumed from them, and made a royal Government; ſo that in the ſhort Space of Twenty-four Years this Colony was expoſed to Two Maſſacres by the Indians, Three Inſurrections amongſt themſelves, and Five Revolutions in the Form of their Government. At the Beginning of the current Century it was not in a much better State than when originally ſettled. By Degrees, however, the Inhabitants began to thrive, chiefly by a clandeſtine Trade with the Dutch, to which the French Government put an entire Stop; yet even after this it is ſaid to have yielded, in its moſt flouriſhing State, not more than Twelve thouſand of their Hogſheads of Sugar annually.

Part

Part of America, enjoying a Climate equally wholeſome and pleaſant, a Soil wonderfully fertile, abounding with valuable Timber, as well as fine Fruit Trees. But what diſtinguiſhes it moſt, and which induced more than One Recommendation to the French Court, is its having an Harbour as ſafe, as ſpacious, and as commodious as any that this Part of the World can boaſt, and communicating by a narrow, though a deep Channel, with a Lagune, in which, without any Aſſiſtance from Art, Ships may careen very conveniently, and which, its Situation conſidered, cannot but draw our Attention. On the next of theſe Iſles the French have beſtowed the Name of the Union, though in fact there are Two Iſlands, One Three and the other Two Leagues in Extent. The Third is called Cannouan or Caouanne, a Word which the French have adopted from the Indians, and which ſignifies a particular Kind of Tortoiſe, of which there are or at leaſt were Numbers, and thoſe of a large Size, that went to lay their Eggs thereon. It is about Nine Miles in Length and Three in Breadth. The Fourth is called Muſkito Iſland, nearly the ſame Size, and diſtant from the laſt-mentioned about Two Leagues. Theſe are much of the ſame Nature with thoſe that have been already deſcribed, and as for many Reaſons they merit, ſo there is little Reaſon to doubt that in Proceſs of Time we ſhall continue to improve and reap conſiderable Advantages from them [n].

The Fifth and laſt, which lies about a Mile from the Muſkito Iſland, and not above Two Leagues South Weſt from St. Vincent's, is Bequia; which as the French Writers aſſert, is between Twenty and Thirty Miles in Circumference. The French beſtowed upon it the Name of Little Martinico, becauſe infeſted with venomous Serpents, a Circumſtance peculiar to that Iſle and St. Lucia; the Reptiles in the other Iſles, though ſome of them eſpecially in Dominica of a very large Size and diſagreeable Appearance, yet are abſolutely harmleſs. In Point of Climate and Soil

[n] The Vigour and Induſtry of our Planters hath been to the full as extraordinary as the Indolence and Want of Spirit in the French. For though we have been ſo ſhort a Time ſettled here, theſe numerous Iſlands, of which they ſcarce made any Uſe at all, have found Owners, and are either improving or improved. The Iſlet Rond, as the French called it, or the Round Iſland, is in the Hands of a Gentleman who propoſes to erect an Indigo Work there, with great Probability of Succeſs. The greateſt Part of that prodigious Quantity of Cotton annually exported hither, hath been raiſed on Cariouacou; for if I am rightly informed, there are but few Cotton Plantations upon Grenada. The reſt are all turned to ſome uſeful Purpoſe or other, and without Queſtion will be ſtill farther improved in Time. The Want of Water in moſt of them, which the French conſidered as an inſurmountable Difficulty, will not appear ſo to us, ſince beſides our own Iſland of Antigua, and the Dutch Iſland of St. Euſtatia, there are ſeveral others fully inhabited and cultivated, notwithſtanding this Defect, and, which is ſtill more, notwithſtanding they are deſtitute of many of the Advantages which theſe Iſlands poſſeſs, more eſpecially in regard to Ports; for St. Euſtatia hath nothing more than a Road; and this is likewiſe the Caſe of others.

this

this hath highly commended, as alſo for the delicious Fruits growing thereon, ſome dyeing Woods which well deſerve to be enquired after, and which is of ſtill higher Importance, a ſafe and ſpacious Port, of which the French made great Uſe in the laſt War. It is on the other Hand ſaid that this Iſland being almoſt entirely flat, is from that Circumſtance deſtitute of freſh Water, which however we have reaſon to conceive may by the uſual Helps be fully ſupplied, ſince the Number and Height of its Trees clearly ſhews that the Seaſons are regular, and the Rains copious. Theſe Iſles and Iſlets, though already Objects of Attention, may in Proceſs of Time, when all their Properties come to be thoroughly underſtood, be found capable of being converted to a Variety of beneficial Uſes, ſuperior to thoſe of which we have at preſent any Conception, but which may be gradually ſuggeſted to the enterprizing Abilities of our Planters, aſſiſted by the Lights continually furniſhed by Experience. This Sentiment is in ſome Degree warranted by the numerous Advantages that are already derived as well as thoſe that are ſtill expected from the Skill and Labour of our induſtrious Countrymen in the larger Iſland of Grenada [o].

The laſt of the ceded Iſlands, though in a Courſe of Years perhaps it may not be found the leaſt conſiderable, is Tobago, diſcovered, but does not appear to have been ever ſettled by the Spaniards. It lies in the Latitude of Eleven Degrees Ten Minutes North, and Fifty-nine Degrees Forty Minutes Longitude Weſt from London, about Forty Leagues South by

[o] It was certainly no ſmall Advantage to us, that when this fine Iſland came into our Hands it was already peopled and planted, though it muſt be confeſſed but very indifferently. It gave us however an immediate Opportunity of entering upon Improvements, and to the Honour of our new Settlers, it muſt be acknowledged they have puſhed on theſe with equal Induſtry and Succeſs. All the old Eſtates are now in a Condition much ſuperior to what they were, and if I am rightly informed the Number of them is increaſed One Third. Thoſe under Coffee remain in the ſame State they were, except ſome that have been converted to Sugar. It may not be amiſs to obſerve that there is ſtill about a Third Part of the Iſland uncultivated, and though a conſiderable Proportion of this being mountainous cannot be improved, yet the Remainder affords Room to hope we may ſtill ſee them carried much farther. The Exports from this Iſland from the Fifth of January A. D. 1770 to the Fifth of January 1771 were as follows, Cotton, 11 Bales, 3472 Bags, at 12 l. per Bale and 10 l. per Bag, 34,852 l. Coffee 15,927 cwt. 1 qr. 13 lb. 49,773 l. 1 s. 3 d. Cacao, 327 Hhds, 1104 Bags and Barrels, at 25 l. per Hhd. and 12 l. per Barrel, 21,423 l. Hides 261 at 7 s. per Hide, 91 l. 7 s. Rum 1169 Hhds. 11,690 l. To Ireland 723 Hhds. 7,230 l. Clayed Sugar 2692 Hhds. 35 Tierces, and 30 Barrels, at 20 l. per Hhd, 15 l. per Tierce and 5 l. per Barrel, 54,515 l. Do. Muſcovado, 15,312 Hhds. 322 Tierces, 63 Barrels, at 17 l. 10 s. per Hhd. 12 l. per Tierce and 4 l. per Barrel, 272,076 l. In all 451,650 l. 8 s. 3 d. Imported from the other Iſlands and exported hither 3326 l. 10 s. To North America 51,061 l. 7 s. 6 d. To the other Iſlands 671 l. 10 s. Total 506,709 l. 15 s. 9 d.

Weſt from Barbadoes, Thirty-five South Eaſt from St. Vincents, Twenty South Eaſt from Grenada, Twelve North Eaſt from the Spaniſh Iſland of Trinidada, and between Thirty and Forty North Eaſt from the Spaniſh Main. According to the lateſt Accounts we have received it is ſomewhat more than Thirty Miles in Length from North Eaſt to South Weſt, between Eight and Nine in Breadth, and from Twenty-three to Twenty-five Leagues in Circumference [p].

The Climate notwithſtanding its Vicinity to the Line is ſo tempered by Breezes from the Sea, as to be very ſupportable even to Europeans, and hath the ſame Advantages with that of Grenada in having regular Seaſons, and alſo in being exempt from Hurricanes. There are throughout the Iſland many riſing Grounds, though, except at the North Eaſt Extremity, there is no Part of it that can be ſtiled mountainous, and even there the Country is far from being rugged or impaſſable. The Soil, if we may credit either Dutch or French Writers, is as fertile and luxuriant, if not more ſo, than any of the Iſlands, and very finely diverſified. Ground Proviſions of all Sorts have been raiſed in the greateſt Plenty, a vaſt Variety of Vegetables excellent in their Kind, ſome for Food, ſome for Phyſic. Almoſt every Species of uſeful Timber is to be found here, and ſome of an enormous Size, amongſt others the true Cinnamon and Nutmeg-trees, as the Dutch confeſs, and of which none could be better Judges. Whole Groves of Saſſafras, and of Trees that bear the true Gum Copal, with other odoriferous Plants that render the Air wholeſome and pleaſant. As well watered as can be wiſhed, with Rivers that fall into the Sea on both

[p] We viſited this Iſland very early, Sir Robert Dudley being there in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. In that of Charles the Firſt William Earl of Pembroke procured a Grant of this, with Two other ſmall Iſlands, but died before he was able to carry into Execution his Deſign of ſettling them. In A. D. 1632 ſome Merchants of Zealand ſent over a ſmall Colony thither, and gave it the Name of New Walcheren, but before they were able thoroughly to eſtabliſh themſelves they were deſtroyed by the Indians aſſiſted by the Spaniards. Some Ten Years after James Duke of Courland ſent a Colony thither, who ſettled themſelves upon Great Courland Bay, and made a conſiderable Progreſs in planting. A. D. 1654 Meſſieurs Adrian and Cornelius Lampſins, Two opulent Merchants of Fluſhing, ſent a conſiderable Number of People thither, who ſettled on the other Side of the Iſland, and lived in Amity with the Courlanders until they learned that the King of Sweden had ſeized the Perſon of their Duke and diſpoſſeſſed him of his Dominions, when they attacked and forced his Subjects to ſubmit. The Duke being afterwards reſtored, he obtained from Charles II. a Grant, dated the 17th of November 1664, of this Iſland. In the Firſt Dutch War ſome Privateers of ours plundered the Dutch Settlement, which Loſs however they quickly repaired. In the Second Dutch War the Count d'Eſtrees by order of his Maſter totally ruined it at the Cloſe of the Year 1677, and from that Time it continued waſte till we took Poſſeſſion of it after the Treaty of Paris.

Sides,

Sides, many ſmaller Streams, and fine freſh Springs in almoſt every Part of the Iſland. The Sea Coaſt is indented by Ten or Twelve fair and ſpacious Bays, and there are amongſt theſe One or Two Ports capable of receiving as large Ships as ever viſited thoſe Seas. Wild Hogs in great Plenty, Abundance of Fowls of different Kinds, and a vaſt Variety of Sea and River Fiſh. With all theſe Advantages it may be ſafely concluded, that with proper Cultivation this for its Size will be rendered as lucrative as any of our Poſſeſſions in America, and what gives greater Weight to this Aſſertion is, that during the ſhort Time the Dutch were poſſeſſed of it, this Character of Tobago was fully juſtified by Experience [q].

In the mountainous Part near the Sea there are a few native Indians ſettled, who are as quiet, harmleſs, and docile Creatures as can be imagined, ſo that if they ſhould be of no Service, it is certain they cannot give us the leaſt Umbrage. At the North Eaſt Extremity lies Little Tobago, which is Two Miles long, and about Half a Mile broad, very capable of Improvement. It is indeed amazing with what Alacrity and Succeſs the ſettling this Iſle hath been carried on, and how great a Progreſs is already made not only on the Coaſt but through the whole interior Part of the Country, to which the numerous Bays, wherein Ships may load and diſcharge their Cargoes with perfect Eaſe and Safety, have not a little contributed, inſomuch that if our moſt recent Informations may be depended upon, there are upwards of Forty Sugar Eſtates on the Iſland, and others are daily forming, ſo that in the Space of a few Years there is the

[q] In the former Note it hath been ſhewn, that though the Dutch were here about Twenty Years, yet in that Space their Tenure was but very precarious, however they exported large Quantities of Tobacco, Sugar, Caſſia, Ginger, Cinnamon, Saſſafras, Gum Copal, Cacao, Rocou, Indigo, and Cotton, beſides rich Woods, Materials for Dyeing, Drugs of different Kinds, and ſeveral Sorts of delicious Sweetmeats. Sir Joſiah Child however in the Tenth Chapter of his Diſcourſe upon Trade hath the following very remarkable Paſſage reſpecting this Iſland, "The Dutch, ſays he, did never much thrive in planting, for I remember they had about "Twenty Years paſt Tobago, a moſt fruitful Iſland in the Weſt Indies, apt for the Produc-"tion of Sugars and all other Commodities that are propagated in Barbadoes, and I have heard "Planters affirm, better accommodated with Rivers for Water Mills, which are of great Uſe "for Grinding of the Canes. This Iſland is ſtill in their Poſſeſſion, and Coraſoa and ſome others; "and about Sixteen or Seventeen Years paſt they were ſo eager upon the Improvement of it, that "beſides what they did in Holland they ſet up Bills upon the Exchange of London, proffering great Privileges to any that would tranſport themſelves thither. Notwithſtanding all "which to this Day that Iſland is not the Tenth Part ſo well improved as Jamaica hath been "by the Engliſh within theſe Five Years." This ſhews what were the Sentiments of the beſt Judges in reſpect to the Value of this Iſland near One hundred Years ago.

greateſt Probability that its Produce will be equal to what is received from ſome of our Leeward Iſlands [r].

The Profits that have already ariſen, and which may be conſidered as the Earneſt of what we may reaſonably expect, though very conſiderable, are not the only Advantages that accrue to us from theſe new Settlements. Beſides theſe they have clearly added to us, an Extent of Territory nearly equal to all that we before held in the Weſt Indies, and at the ſame Time have connected, and thereby ſtrengthened the ſeveral Iſlands we formerly poſſeſſed. This was become abſolutely neceſſary to our Security againſt the ſuperior and increaſing Strength of the French. At the ſame Time theſe Acquiſitions may with great Propriety be looked upon as taken out of the Scale of their Power, as well as added to ours, ſince it hath been very fully ſhewn, that in a very ſhort Space they would have imperceptibly gained and ſettled theſe very Iſlands for themſelves. But neither are theſe Advantages all that we have reaped, of which we muſt be convinced if we reflect on the Situation of ſome of theſe Iſlands, and the Conſequences that muſt neceſſarily ariſe from thence. Dominica when ſettled will be a perpetual Check upon both Martinico and Guadaloupe, give us timely Notice of any hoſtile Preparations made in either, and by ſending a Squadron into Prince Rupert's Bay we ſhall be effectually able to awe both. In like Manner St. Vincent is a Check upon St. Lucia, and the Former of theſe Iſlands in caſe of Danger may receive ſpeedy and ſufficient Succour from Barbadoes. The ſafe and commodious Harbour of Port Royal, now St. George, in the Iſland of Grenada, is ſo ſeated as to command the Paſſage of the Spaniſh Galleons in caſe of a War or the Apprehenſions of One. Taking therefore all theſe Circumſtances together, it muſt appear to every candid and intelligent Judge that our Condition in this Part of the World is inexpreſſibly mended by the Ceſſions procured to us by the laſt Peace [s].

In

[r] What is ſaid in the Text will ſufficiently account for our having had conſiderable Exports hitherto from this Iſland. Yet in A. D. 1770 they ſent to the other Iſlands from thence 18 Hhds. and 12 Tierces of Muſcovado Sugar, which amounted to 459 l. excluſive of what went to Grenada, as hath been already mentioned, and the Year following I have been aſſured they exported hither in Four Ships 1313 Hhds. of Sugar. This laſt Year it is ſaid they have exported 2361 Hogſheads.

[s] It is for want of comprehending clearly, or conſidering theſe Points attentively, that ſome erroneous Notions in reference to theſe new Settlements have been embraced. If theſe had not been obtained, our old Poſſeſſions could not long have continued in our Hands. The French before the War began were in point of Strength ſuperior to us in thoſe Parts, and would have been much more ſo, when they had added to them theſe Iſlands. The Neutrality was no Security to us, but a great Advantage to them, for under Colour of that they were actually ſettling in St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominica. It is clear from Experience that this hath not diminiſhed the Profits

In order however to render theſe Places as ſoon and as effectually beneficial to this Country, by the Arms of which through the Bleſſing of the Divine Providence they were acquired, ſome ſalutary Steps may be requiſite, and poſſibly amongſt them theſe. An immediate adopting that Conſtitution which hath been ſo viſibly ſerviceable to Barbadoes, the granting Lands in ſmall Parcels to Tenants on Condition of their ſerving in the Militia. This would contribute to eſtabliſh ſuch a Force, as ſeems to be peculiarly proper for Iſlands in their Situation, and would at the ſame Time procure Plenty of Proviſions, for the raiſing of which ſuch ſmall Parcels of Land are uſually applied. It would facilitate alſo an Increaſe of white Inhabitants, and retaining them in the Countries where they were ſettled by the ſecureſt Tie, that of their own Intereſt, and at the ſame Time excite a Readineſs from the ſame Principle to take up Arms in its Defence. It might be alſo proper to erect in the Center of each Iſle, or in the Place beſt adapted for ſuch a Purpoſe, a ſtrong and capacious Fortreſs, to which upon any ſudden Invaſion the People might carry their moſt valuable Effects, which once done, and the Women and Children being likewiſe ſent thither, they would have both Leiſure and Spirits to repel the Enemy, or ſo to harraſs and fatigue them as to afford Time for obtaining Succours from other Settlements. It might be alſo expedient to lay out a public Garden in each of them like that at St. Vincent, which would have many good Conſequences, ſuch as the acquiring a perfect Knowledge of the Nature and Qualities of the Trees, Plants, and Vegetables of every Kind, the Fitneſs of the Soil and Climate for introducing Exotics of every Sort, and by a Variety of Experiments of their Utility in Food, Phyſic, Dyeing, and other Arts, lead to the augmenting the Commodities that might be exported to Profit. To this we may add, that ſuch an Eſtabliſhment could not fail of raiſing a ſcientific Spirit that would have innumerable good Effects there, and meet with conſtant Encouragement and Support from hence[t].

This

Profits of our old Colonies. We have not yet a Redundancy of Sugar, and if we ſhould have, it would be an evident Advantage by increaſing our Exportation. Beſides from the high Price of Lands in ſome of our Iſlands, and from Cauſes that need not be mentioned in others, Numbers of induſtrious People had removed to the Dutch Iſlands and to their Settlements on the Continent, to ſay nothing of Santa Cruz, in a great Meaſure inhabited by our Subjects under the Protection of the Crown of Denmark. It is true that ſome Inconveniences may have ariſen from the Expences attending the ſettling of the new Iſlands, and from the Advance in the Price of Negroes, but theſe are only temporary Evils, which in no long Space of Time will be overcome.

[t] Theſe Regulations were the rather mentioned in the Text, becauſe if they are not early introduced, there is too much Reaſon to fear they will never be introduced at all. This would be a great Misfortune, becauſe nothing can be more obvious than their Utility, more eſpecially if

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THIS arduous Taſk is at length accompliſhed, and it may be permitted to ſay that even this very ſuccinct Inventory of our different Poſſeſſions, for ſuch it is, and is given for no more, ſufficiently ſhews the Extent of the Britiſh Empire, and the Grandeur to which it is arrived. This to a candid and conſiderate Reader will appear the cleareſt Demonſtration of the Excellence of that Conſtitution, by which ſuch amazing Effects have been manifeſtly produced. By this as it was acquired it hath been alſo hitherto upheld, and as far as human Foreſight can diſcern will continue to ſubſiſt ſo long as that Conſtitution ſhall retain its Vigour. An Argument ſurely of all others the ſtrongeſt, for our warm and ſteady Adherence thereto, as that upon which our ALL, and how great an ALL this is, this Book hath in ſome Degree explained, muſt ever depend. It is true the Foundation is wonderfully wide, and the Superſtructure raiſed thereon as wonderfully ſuperb, but the ſame Power that with the Aſſiſtance of Providence raiſed, will be undoubtedly able through the ſame Aſſiſtance to ſupport it, if we are not wanting to that and to ourſelves in the Exertion of Unanimity and public Spirit, which having ſuch Encouragement to Perſeverance, we cannot from ſo brave, ſo generous, and ſo enlightened a Nation as this, have any Occaſion to ſuſpect.

we conſider the peculiar Circumſtances of theſe Iſlands, and how much it imports us to neglect nothing that may contribute to their Security. The providing an effectual Militia would prevent the Neceſſity of ſending over regular Troops which is attended with many Inconveniences. The Diſtraction on the Firſt Appearance of Danger would be as effectually removed by the Conſtruction of ſuch a Fortreſs, which is no new Thought, though it hath never yet been executed. The public Garden would probably diſcover that we are really in Poſſeſſion of many of thoſe valuable Things for which we envy our Neighbours, and we may be ſure that whatever we find growing naturally in the Country may by Skill and Culture be with Facility and Certainty brought to Perfection. Of this we have a clear Inſtance in reſpect to Indigo, ſince the wild Plant which was long neglected, is now preferred to what was obtained with much Labour and Expence.

THE

THE POLITICAL SURVEY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

The Commercial Intereſts of Great Britain.

CHAP. I.

A general View of our Traffic with foreign Countries.

THE Scope of this Book is to give a comprehenſive View of our Traae in all its Branches. The Nature and State of our Intercourſe with Ruſſia. Our Trade with Sweden and the Occaſion of its Decline. Our Commerce with Norway and Denmark conſidered. The State of our Traffic with the ſeveral great Cities in Germany. The Nature of our Intercourſe with the Auſtrian Netherlands. The Commerce between Great Britain and the United Provinces impartially conſidered. Our paſt and preſent Intercourſe with France ſtated in the like Manner. The former and preſent Condition of our Traffic with Spain, with Remarks. Our Commerce with Portugal

Portugal in former Times, and at preſent fairly ſtated. Our Intercourſe with the ſeveral Parts of Italy, with ſome Reflections thereon. Our Trade to the Levant under the Direction of the Turkey Company conſidered. The Trade between Great Britain, Africa, and her Colonies explained in the former Book. The Fame and Reputation of theſe Nations diffuſed by our extenſive Commerce through all Parts of the World. This is likewiſe the great Source of national Wealth, and is alſo in many other Reſpects the Foundation of national Happineſs.

THE Pains that on every Occaſion have been taken in placing the numerous and invaluable Advantages ariſing from Commerce to this Nation in the fulleſt Point of View through every Part of this Work, makes it unneceſſary to enter here into minute Details on this very important Subject, which could only lead to the Repetition of Things that in their proper Places have been explained already. What is ſtill wanting is to collect into a narrow Compaſs a general Proſpect of our extenſive Traffic, that we may from thence form clear and diſtinct Ideas of the Uſes that have been made, and the Benefits that have been drawn from the many favourable Circumſtances theſe Iſlands poſſeſs, for maintaining a great and permanent Maritime Power, founded upon our univerſal Mercantile Correſpondence through all Parts of the known World[a].

To begin then with the Northern Nations.

OUR Intercourſe with Ruſſia hath ſubſiſted long, and been ſubject to many Revolutions, that is, in different Periods we have had greater or leſs Connections therewith, have ſometimes ſent more at others fewer Ships thither than other Nations, but in no Period ſo many as at preſent. We export thither Woollens of various Sorts, Silks, Paper, Mercery, Hard Wares, Arms, Powder, Lead, Pewter, Herrings, Coppras, Dyeing Woods,

[a] It may conduce to the clear Underſtanding what is delivered in this Chapter, to give a ſuccinct Repreſentation of the Advantages theſe Iſlands enjoy in reſpect to an extenſive Commerce. Their Situation for an Intercourſe with all Parts of the World is as commodious as can be deſired. Our Ports are numerous, happily diſpoſed, many of them excellent by Nature, ſome wonderfully improved by Art, open at all Seaſons of the Year, which is not, or at leaſt not always the Caſe with ſome of our Neighbours, and moſt of them ſecure and eaſy of Acceſs. The Country abounds with a Variety of rich and valuable Commodities, and ſince Trade and Induſtry have flouriſhed, innumerable Manufactures. Our Seamen are on all Hands allowed to be ſtout, active, and expert. The Genius of the People in Great Britain and Ireland admirably adapted to all the different Employments requiſite to the Support of a commercial State, all which Circumſtances maturely conſidered ſufficiently ſhew, that what we advance in the Text is founded on the moſt ſubſtantial Reaſons.

Sugar,

Sugar, Pepper, and many other Things. We import Cordage, Tallow, Skins, Furs, Pot Aſh, Iron, Copper, Hemp, Flax, Linſeed, coarſe Linens, Sail Cloth, &c. in conſequence of which the Balance againſt us is very great, greater indeed than with any other Country. But it by no means follows from hence that this is a detrimental Trade, it is in Truth quite the contrary, for we import no Luxuries from thence. The Naval Stores are requiſite to ſupport our Shipping, and the Freight we receive from Foreigners goes a great Way in diminiſhing this Balance. This Trade being carried on in bulky Commodities increaſes our Navigation and the Number of our Seamen. Beſides this many of our Imports from thence are manufactured here and re-exported. The great Profit that Ruſſia derives from us makes her a natural and uſeful Ally. But notwithſtanding all this it would be highly beneficial to us if we could raiſe more of theſe naval Stores in our Plantations, or excite the Inhabitants of the Weſtern Iſlands of North Britain to cultivate Hemp in large Quantities, for which their Soil is exceedingly proper, and as we have elſewhere ſhewn, no Hemp whatever is preferable to our own [b].

Sweden is a Country with which we had formerly much larger Dealings than we have at preſent. We continue to export thither ſundry Kinds of Woollen Goods, wrought Iron and Braſs, Paper, Pepper, and different Drugs. On the other Hand we bring from thence Iron, Copper, Plank, and other Naval Stores, and theſe in ſuch Quantities as to create a conſiderable Balance againſt us. But as we obſerved before, theſe are Neceſſaries not Luxuries, ſo that the Loſs is the leſs to be regretted, though heightened by the Swedes ſending moſt of theſe Goods in their own Veſſels, by which the Freight is added to the Price. The Decline of this Trade the Swedes owe to their own Conduct by raiſing the Price of their Pitch and Tar, and putting us under other Hardſhips, which induced us

[b] In reſpect to the Trade of Ruſſia, Sir Joſiah Child in the Preface to his excellent Diſcourſe ſpeaks of it as at that Time in a Manner loſt, the Dutch having Twenty-two Sail of Ships employed there in the Year before he wrote, and we but One; whereas, ſays he, in former Times we had more than they. It is plain from hence that he conſidered our Intercourſe with Ruſſia as of great Importance. The Revolutions in Commerce are frequent and great, for which Reaſon no abſolute Concluſions can be formed from the State of the Trade between Two Nations at any particular Period, even ſuppoſing, which is rarely the Caſe, that they could be obtained with the greateſt Certainty. A Century after the Time in which Sir Joſiah wrote Things have worn a very different Aſpect, for A. D. 1764 there went from the Port of London only to the Ruſſian Ports of Peterſburg, Narva, and Riga, Eighty-nine Sail of Ships, and from the ſeveral Ports in the Britiſh Dominions, or freighted on Britiſh Account, near Two hundred. It was computed in this Year that a Moiety of all the Ships trading to Ruſſia were Engliſh, and in point of Tonnage that they amounted to Two Thirds. It was alſo computed by the Ruſſians themſelves that the Balance of Trade in their Favour, including Cuſtoms and our Commerce at Archangel, amounted to Five Millions of Rubles.

to take thoſe Steps, that by procuring theſe Commodities from our own Colonies have delivered us from this Inconvenience. This Behaviour ought to be a warning to other Nations and to ourſelves, for ſuch unreaſonable Impoſitions, though they may be attended with temporary Advantages, cannot but prove detrimental in the End [c].

Our Commerce with Denmark and Norway is as ancient as any. We export ſome coarſe Woollens, Herrings, Paper, Pepper, and different Kinds of Drugs. On the other Hand we import Fir Timber, Deals, Spars, Iron, and other Naval Stores in great Quantities, by which there is a large Balance againſt us, and this is alſo enhanced by their bringing theſe Commodities in their own Ships. Yet theſe are Neceſſaries likewiſe, though undoubtedly it is not neceſſary that we ſhould deal with Foreigners in preference to our Subjects in the Colonies from whence we might be ſupplied, which is a Thing that cannot be too often repeated, while the Evil which occaſions theſe Repetitions continues to ſubſiſt [d].

Our Intercourſe with the Trading Cities of Germany, Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzick, Koningſberg, Elbing is very conſiderable. We export to them Woollens of almoſt every Sort, Tin, Lead, large Quantities of Eaſt India Goods and Manufactures, and many Commodities from our Plantations. We receive in return Plank, Kid Skins, Linnen, Linnen Yarn, and many other Articles. Theſe great Cities by the Means of large Rivers diſtribute what they take from us through Germany, Poland, Pruſſia, and other Countries, to a very great Diſtance, by which they acquire much Wealth, and their Demands for the Goods which we have before-

[c] The Swedes for a long Courſe of Years ſaw our Trade and their Intereſt therein with a Diſpoſition no Way favourable to us, and perhaps leſs ſo to themſelves. They were unable to work their Mines without Advances from our Merchants, we took great Quantities of their Goods, and paid for at leaſt Two Thirds of them with ready Money. On Principles of true Policy they ought to have cheriſhed a Commerce ſo beneficial, inſtead of which they did all they could to cramp our Importations, and oppreſſed our Merchants in a Variety of Inſtances. At the Beginning of Queen Anne's War, A. D. 1703, they puſhed Matters ſo far, upon a Preſumption that we muſt be obliged to them for Pitch and Tar, and this too upon their own Terms, that as we have already ſhewn, ſee p. 567, induced us to take ſuch Meaſures as procured us both from our American Plantations, to their great Prejudice and our Emolument.

[d] In regard to our Commerce with all theſe Northern Nations, it is to be remembered that we extract from them Neceſſaries, and chiefly ſuch as we turn to our Profit, and therefore we ought not to regret that we pay for them. As they are chiefly employed in our Marine, the Balances thus ſtanding againſt us, though an apparent Loſs in that, yet conſidered in another Light, as Proofs of our increaſing Navigation, are Regiſters of our Gains. They were ſmaller when our Trade was more confined, they have grown in Proportion to the Extenſion of our Commerce, and the only Means by which we ought to wiſh their Decline in any Degree, muſt be from our raiſing what we take from them at Home, or bringing them from our Colonies.

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mentioned are continually increaſing. It would however certainly be a great Advantage to us, if by encouraging the Linnens of Great Britain and Ireland we could leſſen their Importation, as this would not only find Employment for our induſtrious Poor, but alſo contribute to heighten the Balance in our Favour, a Point that certainly merits the greateſt Attention [e].

With the Auſtrian Netherlands we have, and have had for ſome Ages a conſtant and very conſiderable Intercourſe. We export ſome Woollens, Grograms, Cotton, Hard Ware, ſome Silk, a great Deal of our Plantation Produce, and large Quantities of Proviſions, eſpecially Butter from Ireland. On the other Hand we import Lawns, Laces, Threads, Tapes, Tapeſtry, &c. this employs very many Ships, a great Number of Sailors, and not a few Manufacturers, which are Circumſtances certainly in our Favour. But as many, if not moſt of the Goods we receive are not Neceſſaries, it ought to induce us to take every Method poſſible to raiſe our own Manufactures of the ſame Kind, which would gradually contribute to enhance the Balance in our Favour [f].

Our Commerce with Holland hath been long very great, and continues increaſing. We export thither Woollens of almoſt every Kind, Leather, Coals, the Produce of our Plantations, and many of the Commodities and Manufactures that we bring from the Eaſt Indies. Our Imports conſiſt in fine Hollands, Thread, Spices, Rheniſh Wines, Battery, Madder, Wainſcot, Clapboards, &c. It is on all Hands allowed that we have a large Balance in our Favour. It hath been ſaid, and ſaid with Truth, that notwithſtanding what we gain from the Dutch they derive great, perhaps greater Profits from this Trade than we, by ſending what they

[e] The Commerce of theſe great trading Cities ought not in reaſon to excite our Envy, for if we in part ſupply the Materials of their Wealth we participate in their Profits; any ſiniſter Accidents happening to them, muſt of courſe decreaſe their Demands from us. Beſides we employ a very conſiderable Part of our Imports in our Manufactures, and therefore have no Cauſe to grudge an Expence that turns ultimately to our Advantage. The late Repreſentations made by the City of Dantzic in her preſent Diſtreſs hath ſet this Matter in a very full and true Light, by ſhewing in a Multitude of Inſtances, that the Declenſion of her Commerce would impair ours.

[f] In the Courſe of this Work we have had frequent Occaſions to ſhew the reciprocal Advantages ariſing from the Intercourſe between theſe Iſlands and the Dominions of the Houſe of Burgundy in former Times. We have ſeen that the Flemings have inſtructed us in Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce, and that very many of theſe Improvements by which we have grown to be a rich and flouriſhing Nation, we derive from them. If they have ſtill the Advantage in reſpect to ſome Manufactures, it ought to excite our Emulation rather than our Envy. We have already acquired much by copying their Examples, and by giving proper Encouragement to the Induſtry of our own People we may ſtill acquire more.

purchaſe into other Countries. There ſeems however to be no Cauſe that we ſhould repine at this, for what accrues to us from the Sale and Freight of our Commodities is the ſame, let who will conſume them. In truth, inſtead of Complaint it ought to furniſh us with Grounds of Satisfaction, ſince it is an experimental Proof, that a Nation, inſtead of being impoveriſhed may be enriched by trading with another Nation, though in the Firſt Inſtance the Balance is againſt her, and therefore it gives us juſt Reaſon to hope that this may happen to ourſelves in other Caſes [g].

France is a Region that not only furniſhes the Neceſſaries and the Conveniencies, but abounds alſo with what may be truly ſtiled the Luxuries of Life. Our Commerce therefore with the French hath been always, and that juſtly an Object of Jealouſy. We export to them Flannels, a very few Woollens, Tin, Lead, Coals, Tobacco, Alum, Lanthern Leaves, Drugs, and ſome of the Commodities of the Eaſt Indies. On the other Hand we import Wines, Brandies, Lace, Lawns, Cambrick, Brocades, Prunes and other Fruits, with a Variety of other Articles. It is evident therefore that dealing with them for Articles of Luxury moſtly, it is not to be wondered that the Balance is againſt us. But ſince Dunkirk hath been made a free Port, and we have exported Cambricks when printed, ſent over ſuch large Quantities of Tobacco, and taken leſs of their Wines and Brandies, it is probably leſs detrimental than formerly. However if we conſider the Practice of Smugling, there is no ſpeaking poſitively to this Point. Our greateſt Security would be following the Example of the French, in taking from them as they do from us ſuch Things only as we cannot do without [h].

Spain

[g] The Articles of our Exports mentioned in the Text are but few, becauſe it would have required a Page to have mentioned them all, ſince there is hardly any Thing of our Produce or Manufacture which at ſome Time or other we do not ſend to Holland. It is owing to the peculiar Situation, indefatigable Induſtry, and the commercial Skill of the Dutch, that they are enabled to vend in ſome Shape or other the far greateſt Part of the Goods they take from us, and if by this they are Gainers, we are ſo likewiſe. If they did not diſpoſe of our Commodities and Manufactures as they do, we could not. Beſides with reſpect to the Imports many of them are of uſe in our Manufactures, and others are re-exported. The Dutch are certainly a very ſagacious People, eſpecially in Commerce, ſo that in many Things it would be well if we imitated them, but not in all, becauſe we differ from them in our own Policy, and in ſeveral other Circumſtances.

[h] It is very certain that in the Reign of Charles the Second our Commerce with France was very detrimental to this Nation, yet whether to ſuch a Degree, as ſome able Writers aſſerted, hath been queſtioned by Dr. Davenant. Be that as it will the Opinion had its Uſe. The French, though ſo great Gainers, firſt began to cramp this Trade, by laying heavy Duties on our Manufactures, and this produced a Retaliation, which with the ſucceeding Wars effectually leſſened our Correſpondence. We likewiſe began to ſet up many of their Manufactures, which was highly facilitated by the Proteſtants, who retired hither from the violent Perſecution raiſed againſt them

SPAIN is a noble and extenſive Kingdom, with which we had larger commercial Dealings formerly than of late Years, and many Engliſh Houſes of great Reputation were ſettled in the principal Ports by eminent Merchants who lived in great Credit and Eſteem. We export Woollen Cloths, Stuffs, Hats, Silk and worſted Hoſe, Leather, wrought Iron, Braſs, Pewter, Tin, Lead, Copper, Sail Cloth, Linnens printed and plain, Clock Work, wrought Silk, Cordage, Glaſs, Copperas, and a great Variety of Plantation and Eaſt India Commodities. We import from thence Wine, Oil, Silk (when the Extraction of that Commodity is permitted) Iron, Wool, Indigo, Barilla, Kelp, Cochineal, Cork, Kid Skins, and a great Variety of Fruits. It is plain from hence, that from this Intercourſe both Nations are reciprocally benefitted. We are by far the beſt Cuſtomers the Spaniards have, indeed, except to Holland and Germany, they ſend their Commodities no where elſe, and on the other Hand they have ours on the moſt moderate Terms. We have ſtill a conſiderable Balance, but ſome competent Judges have thought this Trade might be again put into a better State, than that in which it now ſtands [i].

PORTUGAL owes more and more recent Obligations to us than any other State in Europe, of which at the Beginning of the current Century they ſeem to have had a truer and ſtronger Senſe than at preſent. Our Exports conſiſt in Woollen Cloths and Stuffs of different Kinds, Hats, Hoſe, Iron, Braſs, Lead, Pewter, Sail Cloth, Linnen, Glaſs, Cabinet, Turnery, and Millenery Wares, Gunpowder, Cordage, Clock and Watch-work, wrought Plate, Leather, Drugs, and a great Variety of other Articles, more eſpecially from our Plantations. We import Wines, Oils, Almonds, Raiſins, Canes, Cork, Fruit, and Salt. The prevailing Opinion is that we draw a great Balance from thence, we certainly did ſo formerly, but things have been very much altered in leſs than Half a Century. It was always and is ſtill true, that we take more of their Com-

them in that Country. From theſe and other Cauſes our Demands for French Commodities have been very much leſſened. But notwithſtanding this the Principle advanced in the Text is perfectly well-founded, and we have ſtill juſt Reaſon to be jealous of a Commerce that ſupplies us only with Luxuries, and ſtill greater Reaſon to guard by every poſſible Method againſt their being brought in clandeſtinely to the Detriment of the Revenue, as well as the public Intereſt in many other Reſpects.

[i] A judicious Hiſtory of our Intercourſe with Spain political and commercial would be of very great Uſe, and rectify many Miſtakes which otherwiſe perhaps may never be cured. It is very evident that the Intereſts of both Nations are very compatible, and it might be very eaſily ſhewn, that in conſequence of this a ſtrict Friendſhip between them would contribute to their mutual Advantage, and on the other Hand, that any Miſunderſtanding between them muſt be exceedingly detrimental to both. As Things ſtand at preſent this Trade is ſtill very valuable, though not in ſo high a Degree as it was. But by prudent Management, and a little Forbearance on both Sides it might be made much more ſo than it is.

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modities than all the other Nations of Europe, and that if we did not take them they would find it difficult to diſpoſe of them elſewhere, whereas there are few or none of them with which we might not be ſupplied on as reaſonable Terms from other Places [k]. Under the former Article the Canary, under the latter the Madeira Iſlands are included.

ITALY is a very ſpacious Country, and hath ſome valuable Dependencies, abounding with a Variety of rich Commodities, and inhabited by an intelligent and commercial People, with whom we have always had a great Intercourſe. The great Cities of Turin, Milan, Bologna, Parma, Lucca, and ſeveral others, though within Land, drive a very great Trade by the Means of different Ports, ſuch as Nice, Genoa, Leghorn, Ancona, Venice, Naples, and in Sicily, Meſſina, Palermo, &c. Our Exports conſiſt in Woollens of every Kind, Hats, Hoſe, Silk mixed and wrought, Leather, Pewter, Braſs, Tin, Lead, Lanthern Leaves, Bugles, Glaſs, Earthen and China Wares, Pipes, wrought Plate, ſeveral Sorts of Fiſh, and a great Variety of Plantation and Eaſt India Commodities. We receive in return Silk raw, thrown, and wrought, Oils, Wines, Currants, Paper, Marble, Rock Alum, Vermicelli, Coral, Cotton, Goats Hair, and Skins, Soap, Sulphur, Drugs of different Kinds, and many other leſſer Articles. Many of theſe are neceſſary in our Manufactures, ſome of them abſolutely ſo, as to what may be ſtiled Luxuries, they do not amount to much, and are paid for in our own Goods. The Balance may be and probably is againſt us in ſome Places, in others for us, and we have, it is believed, a general Balance upon the Whole [l].

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[k] Our Commerce with this Country in the Reign of Queen Anne, in conſequence of Mr. Methuen's Treaty, was without queſtion very great. But then it is to be conſidered that a Part of our Exports went to ſupply our Army, and Part alſo was privately carried into Spain, then in the Hands of an Enemy. It hath ſince, in the Opinion of the ableſt Judges, declined very much, notwithſtanding the common Notions to the contrary. Theſe were chiefly ſupported from the Quantities of Portugal Money brought hither, which it was concluded was the Conſequence of a Balance in Trade in our Favour. In Truth, Portugal having a Balance againſt her with all the other Nations in Europe, and we having a Balance againſt ſome of them, that was diſcharged to us there, and the Security and Facility of tranſporting Money in our own Ships rendered us the Carriers of a conſiderable Part of the Balances due to other Nations, and by which in reality we gained only the Freight. The common Notions however ſupported by this Appearance have been very prejudicial, and are in a great Meaſure the Source of that Change of Diſpoſition in the Portugueſe Miniſtry, which in Spite of the good Offices we have rendered them have had very bad Effects in regard to our Merchants there.

[l] What hath been previouſly obſerved in regard to our Commerce with Ruſſia and the other Northern Countries, is to be remembered here, to prevent our apprehending an ultimate Loſs where a great Advantage is not apparent. The Web of Commerce is compoſed of many Threads, and ſome of theſe are almoſt imperceptibly fine. In the preſent Caſe it is evident that we take nothing from Italy, or at leaſt very little, that can be had elſewhere, and that we ſend large Quantities

The Commerce of the Levant is under the Direction of the Turkey Company, erected by Queen Elizabeth, confirmed by her Succeſſor King James, regulated by Charles the Second, and altered by a late Act of Parliament. This is not a joint Stock Company, but rather an Aſſociation of Merchants trading under certain Rules and Reſtrictions of their own framing, and for a long Series of Years conſidered as the moſt reſpectable mercantile Body in the Nation. We export Woollens of all Sorts, Tin, Lead, Leather, wrought Iron, Glaſs Wares, and large Quantities of Plantation and Eaſt India Commodities. Our Imports conſiſt in raw Silk, Grogram Yarn, Cotton and Cotton Yarn, Wool, Goats Hair, Dyeing Goods, and a Variety of Drugs. It is obvious from this very ſuccinct Account, that no Branch of our Trade can be more beneficial than this, as it carries out only Commodities and Manufactures, and as we receive in return no Luxuries, but on the contrary Staples that employ the Induſtry of our own People. It is however aſſerted, that the French by their Addreſs, and by their favourable Situation for this Commerce, have in ſome Meaſure ſupplanted us, but it is ſtill hoped that by the neceſſary Aſſiſtance of the Legiſlature, and the known Abilities of our eminent Merchants, the Splendour of this Company may be again reſtored [m].

In reſpect to our Intercourſe with Africa, the Eaſt Indies, and our Plantations, the beſt Accounts have been given of them that lay within the Compaſs of our Abilities, or the Reach of our Information, and upon the Whole the Reader cannot but perceive with Pleaſure, that whatever hath been advanced in this Work in reference to the wide Extent of our Commerce, is ſtrictly true, and that no Nation at preſent can with any Degree of Juſtice be thought our Equals therein. But though this gene-

Quantities of our Commodities thither. In reſpect to what we receive from thence, and more eſpecially Silk, turns highly to our Profit by the Employment of a Number of induſtrious Perſons, and the other Articles are alſo of great Utility in different Manufactures. The Whole occaſions a Circulation in Trade, which is a Thing of no ſmall Conſequence, even if the Balance ſhould fluctuate and be ſometimes for and ſometimes againſt us.

[m] Moſt of the Circumſtances which are generally allowed to conſtitute a beneficial Trade are united in this Commerce. What we ſend to and receive from the Dominions of the Grand Signior is on Board our own Veſſels, and thereby an Advantage to our Navigation. We export our Native Commodities and our own Manufactures, we import raw Materials, which being wrought up here, are in part re-exported. In how extenſive a Manner the good Effects ariſing from this Intercourſe are diffuſed through all Ranks of People, and how much the landed as well as trading Intereſts are benefitted thereby, is very clearly explained in the Britiſh Merchant, vol. i. p. 135—141. This fully juſtifies what hath been advanced in the Text in reference to the great Importance of this Branch of Trade, and the Expediency of trying every Method to recover, ſupport, and extend it. The probable Means of ſucceeding in ſo momentous an Affair hath been very fully as well as very judiciouſly treated by Sir James Porter in his late Treatiſe upon this Subject.

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ral Repreſentation, founded as it is on particular Inſtances, might poſſibly ſuffice, and make an Impreſſion ſufficiently ſtrong upon ſuch as are acquainted with this Subject, yet for the Sake of others not ſo converſant therewith, it may not be amiſs, the great Importance thereof conſidered, to deſcend a little farther into the Matter, in order more effectually to diſplay, and more clearly to aſcertain the great and numerous Benefits ariſing from it.

As it is the immediate Baſis of our Correſpondence with other Countries, it affords them in the ſeveral Specimens of our Commodities a certain Degree of Knowledge of theſe Iſlands, the Fame of which hath reached the moſt diſtant Parts of the Globe. By the Value of our Cargoes we raiſe our Credit with the Inhabitants. Through the Advantages they reap from our Dealings with them, they are induced to court our Favour, and to preſerve our Friendſhip; by our Candour and Juſtice, and our being known to have none but commercial Views we conciliate their Eſteem, while our maritime Force excites that Reſpect which is ſo neceſſary to maintain it. Theſe are Points of the higheſt Conſequence to a Nation, and are clearly in our Poſſeſſion.

But there is another Species of Power which we derive from the ſame Source, and that is our national Wealth. This will inconteſtably appear if we conſider the Condition we were in and the Figure we made before we became conſiderable for our foreign Commerce, to which from the Peruſal of the former Books the Reader can be no Stranger. It is to this that we owe the Improvement of our Lands, the Increaſe and Variety of our Produce, the Riſe of Rents, and that Spirit of Cultivation, for which, as a People, we are diſtinguiſhed. It is no leſs evident from the Increaſe of our Cities, Towns, and Ports, the Beauty, Convenience, and Elegance of private as well as public Structures, and the rich Furniture with which they are adorned. It is conſpicuous in our Magazines of coſtly Goods, in the Quantity of our Plate and Jewels, as well as in the Treaſure we poſſeſs, and the low Rate of Intereſt, all of which have been the gradual Conſequences derived from, or Benefits continually furniſhed by our Commerce [n].

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[n] We have heard much of the Balance of Trade, and of the Neceſſity of diſcovering it, for which a Variety of Methods have been pointed out, many of them very ſpecious, ſome to a certain Degree uſeful, but none of them abſolutely certain or ſatisfactory. The Balance between us and particular Countries can never be known from the State of Exports and Imports for a few Years, even if theſe States could be abſolutely depended upon. The general Balance therefore

THERE are ſtill perhaps better Effects flowing from the ſame Cauſe, that is, the general Change of Circumſtances in reſpect to Individuals. We are no longer divided into great Lords and mean Vaſſals. Riches acquired by Traffic, being more equally diſperſed are better employed, and conſequently make more People happy. The Support of Commerce is Induſtry, the Spirit of Induſtry is the Reſult of Freedom. The Security of Property produces Independency, and the Conſciouſneſs of this, and that it is derived from and depends upon our Conſtitution, is the genuine Characteriſtic of public Spirit. It is true that this great Fabrick does not reſt entirely upon foreign Trade, but derives likewiſe no inconſiderable Strength from that which reſults ftom the Intercourſe between the Inhabitants of the different Parts of our own Dominions, as will appear in the ſubſequent Diſcuſſion of this Subject.

computed from theſe muſt be indeciſive. The Rate of Exchange, which hath been called a commercial Barometer, would be really ſo, if Commerce only operated upon it; but this not being the Caſe, it can be no Rule at all. The Cuſtom-houſe Books, though very uſeful, are yet no unerring Guides; whatever is ſmuggled does not appear, ſome Exports are beyond the Truth, and ſome Things are not rated at all. The Plenty or Scarcity of Money cannot for many Reaſons be relied on; and yet the Judgments formed from One or more of theſe have miſled ſeveral inquiſitive Perſons, and have, according to their reſpective Prejudices, excited the moſt ſanguine Notions in ſome, and produced deep Deſpondency in others. A due Senſe of this prevented the inſerting any Calculations in this Chapter, confiding rather in thoſe Signs mentioned in the Text, as being level to every One's Underſtanding, and the Truth of which are too notorious to be controverted. Our Foreign Traffic hath been for a Series of Years increaſing; if the general Balance had been againſt us we muſt by this Time have been brought very low, if not totally undone. But as every Thing we ſee proves the contrary, it may ſerve to convince us, and this the rather, becauſe Foreigners ſhew their Senſe of the Matter by the Sums they entruſt in our public Funds.

CHAP. II.

Of the Coaſting Trade, and of that between Great Britain and Ireland.

A General Repreſentation of the national Advantages that ariſe from the Coaſt Trade. The Baſis of this, the happy Diſtribution of the various Productions through different Parts of theſe Iſlands. By this Moae of Communication they are all brought into a conſtant and continual Circulation. This Circumſtance promotes Induſtry equally, effectually, and univerſally. Becomes thereby a principal Inſtrument of national Felicity. The Conſtruction of Coaſting Veſſels affords Employment and Subſiſtence to Multitudes. The

Force of this Reaſoning no Way impeached by the acknowledged Incertainty as to the Number of theſe Veſſels. The Seamen they breed may be juſtly conſidered as a Naval Militia maintained without any national Expence. The Intercourſe between Great Britain, Ireland, and the Coaſt Trade of both a Matter of great Conſequence. The promoting a general Correſpondence between theſe and the leſſer Iſlands depending upon them, a Point of great Utility. The Connection between Foreign Commerce and this Coaſting Trade ſtated and explained.

AS theſe Iſlands are moſt admirably ſeated for embracing a conſtant foreign Commerce to all Parts of the World, ſo their Form and Diſpoſition is at the ſame Time the moſt favourable that can be wiſhed for the carrying on a Coaſting Trade, the Nature, Importance, and Conſequence of which it is our next Buſineſs to explain. If we conſider them in this Point of View we ſhall diſcern that the Bays, Creeks, and Mouths of Rivers are moſt commodiouſly ſituated on both Sides of both Iſlands, at convenient Diſtances from each other, which is of inexpreſſible Benefit to ſmall Veſſels. What is ſtill a greater Advantage is the very large Extent of our Coaſts, the peculiar Prerogative of inſular Situations, which we have taken ſo much Pains in different Parts of this Work to render evident. Theſe ſignal and ſingular Bleſſings of Providence naturally invites, as well as facilitates to an intelligent People who poſſeſs them, the correſponding with each other by Sea. By this Means an eaſy and conſtant Communication is preſerved to the Inhabitants, who with Veſſels of different Sizes, and conſtructed for different Purpoſes, make longer or ſhorter Voyages according as their Occaſions require, and thus with little Riſk and Trouble, without hearing ſo much as the Sound of a foreign Language, or being out of the Protection of their own Laws, Multitudes are ſupported, and very many of theſe acquire eaſy Fortunes, by the Profits ariſing from their Induſtry in the Management of domeſtic Traffic [a].

[a] The Obſervation of Sir William Petty, that the Sea Line of all the Britiſh Iſlands extends to no leſs than Three thouſand Eight hundred Miles, whereas that of the great Kingdom of France is but One thouſand, will convey to an intelligent Reader a very ſtriking Idea of thoſe Advantages that we derive from thence. But in early Times, when People were not much uſed to Reflection or Calculation, the very Proſpect of their own and their Neighbour's Situation gave Birth to this Sort of Navigation, and gradually to the Riſe of the numerous Towns upon our Coaſts. In all of theſe Children from their earlieſt Age have a Propenſity to ſomething relative to this Buſineſs, and if their Diſpoſitions are not diverted to ſome other Objects, become Rope-makers, Boat-builders, or Sailors, in this Way eſpecially, as being free from all the Terrors and Dangers attending long Voyages, to which however the boldeſt and moſt experienced addict themſelves by Degrees.

This Subject, ſimple as it ſeems, cannot be developed to ſuch a Degree as it deſerves, without much Attention and Pains. The Baſis of thoſe Benefits we derive from it is the very great Difference in the Soil and Climate of the different Parts of theſe Iſles, which may in this Reſpect be conſidered as ſo many different Countries. The Products and Commodities that are extremely common in ſome of them, are in others not to be met with at all. A proper Senſe of this, and a juſt Deſire to make a right Uſe of it, naturally dictated the transferring Commodities from One Part of the Iſland to another. In early Ages, however, this from various Cauſes was very much confined. For before Genius had invented and Induſtry perfected many Arts, or theſe Iſlands were united under One Monarchy, this Intercourſe was often interrupted and always incomplete, and of courſe its Effects leſs conſiderable. But by Degrees as theſe Obſtacles were ſucceſſively removed, its Advantages grew more conſpicuous, from whence Improvements were continually made, and its Progreſs greatly increaſed, till in our Days it hath reached to a ſtupendous Height, notwithſtanding which it is daily extending. For where Profit invites and Example points the Way, Bounds are not to be ſet, ſo that probably Poſterity, when comparing the State it may be then in with what it is now, will look back upon us with the very ſame Sentiments that we do upon our immediate Anceſtors [b].

The Carriage by Sea, wherever it is any Way practicable, is pregnant with many apparent, conſiderable, and growing Advantages, being eaſy, ſpeedy, cheap, regular, and in our Seas always free from Ice, conſtant and open. In conſequence of ſo many favourable Circumſtances we ſee Wares of every Kind brought with the greateſt Facility from Places very diſtant, and by this Means thoſe to whom they belong contract an Acquaintance, and the Knowledge is thereby ſpread of the Commodities of which they are poſſeſſed, and thoſe Wants they deſire to have ſupplied, whence it hath ariſen that we now receive many Things from different remote

[b] The ſeveral valuable Commodities for which theſe Iſlands are juſtly famous, become, by this Diſtribution into different and diſtant Parts, much more profitable and uſeful to the Inhabitants. For by Means of the Coaſt Trade wherever they grow they are every where to be found, and this with a very inconſiderable Addition of Expence, which is alſo commonly balanced by the Goods and Manufactures ſent to thoſe Places in Return. This commodious Diſtribution is particularly remarkable in Coals, the Eaſt Side of the Iſland being ſupplied from Newcaſtle and its Dependencies, the Weſt and a great Part of Ireland from Swanſea and Whitehaven. We may ſay the ſame of Salt, of Corn, Metals, and many other Commodities; but to bring this Matter into a narrow Compaſs, and to convince the judicious Reader how well founded our Aſſertions upon this Head are, let him conſider that theſe are our own Productions, brought from different Parts in our own Shipping, in which our own Seamen are employed, and that all the Profits of the Sale, Freight, &c. centers amongſt ourſelves.

Parts of our own Dominions, with which, when this Communication was leſs extenſive, we were furniſhed by Foreigners. To the ſame Cauſe we owe that whatever is of any Uſe or capable of being any where converted to Uſe, wherever it lies, is ſooner or latter brought to Market, and finds in Time its proper Value, which otherwiſe from being unknown might for ever have continued neglected [c].

All the various Products, Commodities, and Manufactures of this moſt rich and plentiful Country are happily diſtributed through all its ſeveral Parts, as much as may be on account of ſaving Expence, by the Help of coaſting Veſſels of different Forms and Sizes. The Counties beſt adapted to grazing, wherever ſituated, furniſh immenſe Quantities of Butter and Cheeſe. Thoſe again that abound in Paſture, afford Wool. Arable Lands ſupply Corn, Flour, Meal, Malt, Hops, &c. The raw Materials are conveyed from the Places of their Growth, to thoſe in which from the Cheapneſs of Proviſions or other Circumſtances, they are wrought up. In the like Manner, Things of daily Conſumption, ſuch as Timber, Stones, Bricks, Iron, Tin, Lead, and Copper, all bulky Commodities, afford conſtant Loadings. Beſides theſe there are many neceſſary Articles, ſuch as Salt, Coals, Lime, &c. which being in continual Demand, are continually tranſported. Thus as in the Commerce of the Univerſe the Superfluities of One Region adminiſters to the Wants of another, and where Induſtry is not deficient, Abundance is communicated to all [d].

[c] In ancient Times, and even at the Beginning of the laſt Century, the diſtant Parts of theſe Iſlands were very imperfectly known to each other. But as the Coaſting Trade hath extended, a perfect Union hath been produced, and People frequently tranſport themſelves and their Goods wherever they are invited by the Hopes of diſpoſing of them to Advantage. A ſtriking Proof of this ariſes from the Cuſtom-houſe Books, which ſhew that Coaſting Veſſels arrive at London from upwards of a Hundred different Ports in the Iſland of Great Britain only. Veſſels laden with Oyſters from Cornwall, and Lobſter Smacks from the Orkneys meet here. At the ſame Time we muſt remember, that there are many other great Marts, ſuch as Leith, Newcaſtle, Hull on the Eaſt Side, and Glaſgow, Liverpool, Cheſter, Briſtol, &c. on the Weſt Side.

[d] The native Riches of this Iſland, and their being ſo diſperſed, as we have repreſented in the Text, might excite an Idea to which its Size is no very formidable Objection, that Great Britain conſidered as a Continent in this Reſpect reſembles China, and is capable of obtaining from its ſeveral Provinces all the Neceſſaries and moſt of the Conveniencies of Life. This is a ſignal and at the ſame Time a very ſingular Advantage, which diſtinguiſhes this from ſome other Countries, and particularly from Holland, where they have very little of their own Growth or Produce, from whence it ariſes, that a rigid Frugality in its Inhabitants is not only a wiſe and prudent, but alſo a very neceſſary Point of Policy. Whereas with us it is apparently the public Intereſt that private Perſons ſhould live freely, plentifully, and at their Eaſe, for this promoting the conſtant and uniform Conſumption of Proviſions and Manufactures, encourages Cultivation, excites Induſtry, maintains the Navigation of which we are ſpeaking, and inſtead of impoveriſhing, conduces to enriching the People. A Circumſtance of very great Importance, which merits mature Conſideration, and which for this Reaſon we ſhall hereafter take Occaſion more largely to eſtabliſh and explain.

This

This Distribution of Nature's Benefits is so far from being an Inconvenience, that it is in many Respects highly beneficial to the Public. For by this Means every Country pursues that Mode of Improvement and Cultivation which is most suitable to the Soil and Climate, and for these Reasons most easy and agreeable to the Inhabitants, which contributes equally to Plenty and to Perfection. This accumulated Stock being sent to different Places, brings in Return all those Necessaries and Conveniencies which no single Spot however fertile could have supplied, and Industry is by this Means universally excited and supported, through that general Circulation which this Coasting Trade maintains, and which is in itself a most useful and extensive Branch of Industry, and at the same Time the Source of many other Branches, productive of numerous Emoluments to the Community, and therefore it is necessary, in order to set this Subject in its proper Light, to take some Notice of these [e].

The Construction of these Vessels require a Variety of Materials, Commodities, and Manufactures, some of them brought from a considerable Distance, and some that have passed through and given Employment to several Hands. For before they can be put upon the Stocks there must be a Provision made of Timber, Plank, Iron-work, Hemp, Flax, Tar, and several other Things. The Assistance then becomes requisite of Carpenters, Joiners, several Sorts of Smiths, Painters, Sail-makers, Rope-makers, Anchor-smiths, and other Artificers, and when these have done their Work, and the Vessel is fit for Sea, the Butcher, Brewer, Baker, Ship-chandler, and other Tradesmen contribute their respective Wares to fit her for the Voyage. It is easy to apprehend from this, that in Places where a

[e] The Commodities of this Country would certainly lose much of their Value if their Consumption was confined to the Places of their Growth. This Distribution of them by the Coast Trade renders them alike beneficial to the Inhabitants of these Islands at large, which is so far from diminishing, that it heightens their Price in the very Places where they are produced. This Position, and the Consequences flowing from it, will be very easily and clearly comprehended by an attentive and judicious Reader. Yet it may not be amiss to remark, as equally decisive and striking in respect to this Proposition, that the very different Conditions which in several Periods of Time this Country hath been in, and which in the Course of this Work have been carefully described, however influenced by other Causes, arose immediately from this Circumstance, which is exceedingly worthy of Consideration. The Romans, equally correct in the whole System of their Policy, were not more attentive to Cultivation and Population, than vigilant in regard to Communications of every kind; and hence that flourishing State of Britain so copiously and so elegantly displayed by their Panegyrists. The Confusion that followed their Expulsion annihilated the Coast Trade, and thereby introduced Barbarism and Famine much sooner than they could be expelled. But when the Saxons were united under one Monarchy, and Peace and a general Correspondence were restored, Plenty returned, and for the Protection of the Country and its Trade, we find these Coasting Vessels, for such undoubtedly they were, collected and embodied in Fleets, which for their Number seem almost incredible.

Number

Number of theſe Veſſels are built, Multitudes of People are employed and their Families ſubſiſted, as every One knows who has viſited ſuch Places or ſeen the Builders Yards in ſome of our great Ports[f].

THESE Obſervations will at leaſt enable us to form a general Notion of the Nature of this Trade, which will be ſufficient to convince us of its Importance to the Public. It would certainly put this more in our Power, if we could aſſign exactly the Number of Veſſels that carry it on in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Iſlands dependant upon them. But when it is conſidered, that on the one Hand their being exceedingly numerous is a Fact indiſputable; and that on the other they have been progreſſively increaſed, and are continually increaſing, is a Thing not to be denied; it is evident from thence that all Computations on this Head muſt be indeciſive, notwithſtanding the Facts before ſtated, on which the Argument is grounded, are abſolutely certain. Some, and thoſe alſo very competent Judges, have advanced as probable at leaſt, that about One hundred thouſand Seamen are employed in the Coaſting Trade, and though this may poſſibly be beyond the Truth, yet, if we comprehend Bargemen, Keelmen, &c. they might ſwell to a much larger Number[g]. All theſe maintain themſelves and their Families comfortably and creditably by their honeſt Labour, in which, as well as in other Reſpects, they ought to be regarded as very uſeful Members of the Community; a Character very reſpectable in a free Country.

[f] The only Method of coming at a clear and thorough Knowledge of Subjects ſo complicated as this, is to ſeparate the principal Members of which they are compoſed, leaving the Reſt to the Reader's Penetration and Reflection. The far greater Part of the Materials employed in the Conſtruction of theſe Veſſels are of our own Growth, and the Price of them is apparently a national Advantage. The Labour employed in fitting and preparing thoſe Materials for Uſe, and the Carriage of them by Land being likewiſe paid for, is no leſs beneficial to Numbers. Neither is this all, for the ſubordinate Tradeſmen, who live and thrive by the Inhabitants of ſuch Places, though not immediately concerned in their Shipping, yet as they draw their Subſiſtence from thoſe who are, muſt be likewiſe taken into the Account; and ſo alſo muſt be ſuch as furniſh Proviſions of every Kind to theſe Towns, in which, as all who are acquainted with them know, there is a great and continual Conſumption.

[g] What is ſaid in the Text is abundantly ſufficient to remove with any candid Reader any Difficulty that might ariſe from the not being able to ſtate the Number of theſe Veſſels, or of the Hands employed on board them with any Degree of Certainty. It would be abſurd in a froſty Night to diſpute whether it was Star-light, becauſe the Number of thoſe ſplendid Luminaries from whence it is derived could not be exactly fixed This very Circumſtance, by proving their Multiplicity, is a Demonſtration of the Fact. Sir Joſiah Child having ſhewn that moſt of the Rules laid down for finding the Balance of Trade, however plauſible, are by no Means concluſive, delivers it as his Opinion, (chap. viii.) that the Increaſe or Decreaſe of our Shipping is the ſureſt Indication of our Succeſs in Trade. I will not diſpute to what Extent this Obſervation may be carried in reſpect to foreign Commerce, but in regard to what is the Object of this Chapter it is certainly juſt, as the Increaſe of Coaſting Veſſels in our ſmall Ports renders it evident that ſuch as carry on this Trade are Gainers by it, otherwiſe the Number of their Tools, that is, their Ships, would decline, and the Towns decay.

But this Body of Men will appear of much higher Conſequence, if we look upon them in another Point of Light. They may with great Propriety be ſtiled a National Naval Militia, ſerving at their own Expence. For they are by Experience known to be as ſtout, active, and hardy Sailors as any in Europe, always at Hand on any Emergency, which is a Reſource of inexpreſſible Importance to a Maritime Power, and which being founded on the Situation and Extent of theſe Iſlands, may without the Imputation of Partiality be conſidered as a Reſource peculiar to ourſelves. This is a Circumſtance that cannot but afford the moſt ſincere Pleaſure to every One who really loves his Country, and who of courſe hath a warm Senſe of whatever contributes to her Proſperity. It is an additional Satisfaction to reflect that this is not only a great and a peculiar, but alſo a growing Advantage. There are many remote Parts of Great Britain and Ireland that have ſtill no very conſiderable Correſpondence One with another, at leaſt by Sea, which in Time however, as well as the Communication with our ſmaller Iſlands, cannot fail of taking Place and thereby contribute to the Increaſe of our Naval Force, and to the Welfare of Thouſands of our People [h].

The continual Intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland muſt be regarded as a very conſiderable Branch of this Trade, and which is therefore of the utmoſt Conſequence to theſe Nations. Our Exports to that Iſland conſiſt in a prodigious Variety of our Native Commodities, in the greateſt Part of our Manufactures, in Goods imported from the Levant, the Eaſt Indies, and our own Plantations. On the other Hand we import from thence Linnen and Linnen-yarn, Wool, Woollen, and Worſted-yarn, Copper-ore, Feathers, Hair, raw Hides, Kelp, Calf, Goat, Kid, Sheep, Lamb, and Rabbit Skins, Tallow, Butter, Fiſh, Frieze, Pork, Beef, and other Things; all which are of apparent Utility, and many of them abſolutely neceſſary in our Manufactures, and therefore highly beneficial to the Community. It is alſo evident from the very Nature both of the Exports and Imports, that a great Number of Veſſels of different Sizes muſt be continually employed in carrying on

[h] This Naval Force is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, our own, ariſing from the Intercourſe of the Inhabitants of different Parts of theſe Iſlands with each other, and is a Strength on which we may always rely. The Romans, as we have already ſhewn, truſted very much to their Navy for the Protection of this Iſland, and for the Security of their maritime Provinces on the Continent. Carauſius, who was Admiral of this Fleet, raiſed himſelf from that Command to the Purple. It was not till this Navy was withdrawn, that the Saxons were able to over-rūn this Country. When they were fully Maſters of it, they likewiſe, as we have hinted before, truſted to their Fleets, and when the Normans were thoroughly ſettled they committed the Security of the Sea and Sea Coaſts to the Navy of the Ports, as the Reader may ſee at large in the learned and judicious Work of the famous Selden, to which we have ſo frequently referred.

the

the Communication between the Two Kingdoms. The ſeveral Advantages ariſing from hence are diſtributed through the different Ports on the Weſt Side of this Iſland, contributing thereby to the Emolument of Wales, South and North Britain. Under this Head we muſt alſo include all the Coaſt Trade of Ireland, and the Communication between her and the ſeveral Iſlands belonging to Britain, which, as the Spirit of Commerce diffuſes itſelf through every Part of the Britiſh Dominions, is gradually and perceptibly increaſing [i].

In reference to Guernſey, Jerſey, Man, the Weſtern, Orkney, and Shetland Iſlands there hath been already ſo much ſaid of them and of the Advantages that may be derived from them, with the Means of deriving thoſe Advantages, that it is unneceſſary to reſume that Subject here. It may not however be amiſs to obſerve, that in Proportion as theſe Advantages can be obtained, and a conſtant and regular Correſpondence eſtabliſhed and ſupported between them, theſe Two great Iſlands, and amongſt each other, it will afford an almoſt inexpreſſible Augmentation in the Coaſting Trade, with this additional Benefit, that the People employed therein muſt neceſſarily become in a very ſhort Space, from the Nature of this Navigation, as bold, active, and intrepid Seamen as any in our Service. A Circumſtance ſo much the more worthy of Attention, as the Sailors thus bred are, as we have already very fully ſhewn, the moſt important Body of Men, for the immediate and effectual Supply of our Fleets, and on which our Superiority as a maritime Power, the great Bulwark of our Safety, as well as the chief Source of our Proſperity, moſt evidently depends [k]. Whatever Meaſure therefore can be taken to promote and extend

[i] It hath been fully ſhewn in the preceding Volume, from a Survey of the Coaſts of this Iſland, and a very ſuccinct Account of their Ports, that no Country in the World can be better ſituated either for the carrying on foreign Commerce or of domeſtic Traffic by Veſſels navigating the whole Extent of its Coaſts. All that hath been ſaid of Great Britain is ſtrictly true of Ireland. It abounds with a vaſt Variety of Staple and valuable Commodities, and theſe are diſperſed through the different Parts of the Country ſo as to render them mutually dependent upon each other for the Neceſſaries, at leaſt for the Conveniences of Life. If notwithſtanding this there may be a great Diſparity in Appearance between ſome Parts in compariſon with others, this can only ariſe from the Improvements made in that Kingdom, not being become hitherto univerſal, towards the Accompliſhment of which nothing could contribute more than the Increaſe of its Coaſting Trade. This we have all the Reaſon in the World to expect from the Spirit of its Inhabitants, from the Progreſs of Trade and Manufactures amongſt them, from the Increaſe of their Cities and Ports, as well as of their Shipping, the conſtant Care of their Legiſlature, and the noble Zeal that appears in ſeveral laudable Societies for promoting and encouraging Induſtry of every Kind, by every Means and by every Method that good Senſe and public Spirit can deviſe.

[k] In other Countries this Kind of Navigation may be conſidered as a partial, but in theſe leſſer Iſlands becomes the principal, and almoſt the only Employment. In many of them, the bad State of their Soil (at leaſt for the preſent) and in moſt of them the Scantineſs of Territory, precludes

tend this general Communication, or to encourage thoſe concerned therein, cannot but be in many Reſpects highly beneficial to the public Intereſts.

But notwithſtanding the Coaſt Trade is in a great Degree diſtinct from, yet it muſt not be ſuppoſed to have no Connection with foreign Commerce, ſince the contrary is true, as in many Reſpects it promotes, and is in ſome promoted by it. In bringing, which is its proper Object, a Variety of Commodities from different and diſtant Parts of theſe Iſlands to thoſe great Ports from which our Commerce is carried on, it facilitates the Aſſortments of their foreign Cargoes. The Returns ariſing from theſe are in like Manner diſtributed to the leſſer Ports, even in the Extremities of theſe Iſlands by the ſame Means, and thereby contributes alſo to ſpread every-where a Deſire of obtaining ſuch Goods, and of courſe excites a Spirit of Induſtry, by which the Means of obtaining them can only be procured. It alſo promotes Commerce, as we have before hinted, by its being a conſtant and convenient Nurſery for Seamen. It is aſſiſted on the other Hand by Foreign Commerce in tranſporting, as we have obſerved, a great Part of its Returns, and it is the cleareſt and moſt evident Proof of the Truth of what hath been advanced, that they have both grown, increaſed, and flouriſhed together [l].

precludes them from other Views. But in all of them there is Room, Materials, and Encouragement for this Occupation. They have Ports, Fiſheries, Kelp, and other Advantages from the Sea, from whence they at preſent derive a poor and indifferent Subſiſtence, which diſpoſes, one might ſay compels them to emigrate continually in hopes of bettering their Fortune. But if they would once turn their Thoughts and their Endeavours heartily to this Object, ſo plainly pointed out to them by Providence, Succeſs would ſoon diſſipate that Supineneſs which is the real Source of their preſent Poverty, and Experience would gradually teach them new, and perhaps hitherto untried Methods of promoting their Proſperity. This would not only be a Bleſſing to to them, but as we have ſaid in the Text, a ſignal Emolument to the Nation which might thereby acquire in the Space of a few Years double the Number of Seamen, that their coaſting Trade furniſhes at preſent.

[l] As the ſame Spirit animates the whole commercial Syſtem, there ariſes from thence a conſtant Harmony amongſt its ſeveral Branches, which contributing to the Support of each, thereby invigorates the Whole. It would have been eaſy to have given more Inſtances of the Connection of foreign Commerce with this Coaſting Trade, but as theſe will fall in with the Subjects of the ſucceeding Chapters, it was thought better to omit them here to prevent unneceſſary Repetitions, and the rather becauſe the laſt Remark in the Text is concluſive on this Head, as will be apparent to the intelligent Reader, who will conſider the Facts already ſtated in the Accounts given of the Ports of Whitehaven and Whitby. For in Points of this Kind, Facts not only convey fuller Evidence, but at the ſame Time clearer Intelligence than can be communicated by any other Method.

CHAP. III.

The Nature and Importance of Inland Trade.

A Short Account of what is to be underſtood by the Term of Inland Trade. The Settling of Towns and Cities particularly attended to by every Government. The different Modes purſued in this by the Romans, Saxons, and Normans, with their Effects. The Means employed to extend this Communication by the Help of Markets, Marts, and Fairs. Public Events by which the Extenſion of this Home Trade was gradually promoted. A farther Detail of Incidents that were likewiſe favourable thereto. The Encouragements given and the Liberty indulged to the ſetting up Manufactures attended with the moſt advantageous Conſequences. Many new Circumſtances that aſſiſted the Eſtabliſhment and Perfection of Inland Traffic. The numerous national Benefits ariſing therefrom ſet in a true Light. The cloſe Connection between Inland Trade, the Coaſting Navigation, and foreign Commerce clearly explained. The Advantages derived from them may probably be farther augmented by Inland Canals.

THE numerous Benefits ariſing from the great Extent and from the irregular Figure of our Coaſts having been very largely diſcuſſed, we come now to a Subject of a very different Nature. The Iſlands of Great Britain and Ireland, as they are of great Extent, contain Mediterranean as well as Maritime Countries, the former of theſe in ſome Parts comprehending very large Tracts of Land. Theſe according to their ſeveral Kinds being fitted and employed to different Purpoſes, their Inhabitants for the Sake of thoſe Advantages that ariſe from Society, and particularly to facilitate the Diſpoſal of their Wares and Commodities, aſſociated themſelves in Villages, many of which gradually ſwelled into Towns, and ſome of theſe roſe into Cities, being increaſed by the Emoluments ariſing from reciprocal Communication by the Help of Roads and navigable Rivers. The Aggregate of the Traffic thus carried on, which perhaps in no Part of Europe is at preſent greater than here, conſtitutes what is properly ſtiled Inland Trade, and is a ſubject that deſerves to be conſidered with the greateſt Attention [a].

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[a] It is a very curious Obſervation of the judicious Sir William Petty, that conſidering the Sea Line of Great Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent Iſlands, and comparing this with the whole Content of Acres, the Land would form an Oblong or Parallelogram of Three thouſand Eight hundred Miles long, and about Twenty-four Miles broad, and conſequently every Part thereof would be

The Choice and Eſtabliſhment of theſe Habitations, or at leaſt thoſe of a larger Size, were always under the Direction of Government, and One of the principal Objects of its Care. The Towns of the Britons however rude, were ſettled by their reſpective Princes, and were ſuch as ſuited the Condition their Subjects were then in. The Romans in Proportion as they ſpread their Dominions introduced their Policy, gave a regular Form to their Provinces, a new Face to the Country, and furniſhed full Employment to its Inhabitants. The Saxons when they had conquered, and were become the peaceable Poſſeſſors of the beſt Part of this Iſland, made ſuch Alterations as were agreeable to their Syſtem of Rule, and the Normans did the like. In the former Parts of this Work we have ſufficiently expatiated on theſe Points, and therefore a Recapitulation for the ſake of preſerving Connection between the ſeveral Matters contained in this Chapter ſeems to be all that is requiſite here [b].

It is eaſy to conceive in ſpite of the Remoteneſs of Time that theſe Places or at leaſt moſt of them, may yet retain ſome Traces of theſe Alterations, as indeed they do. The Romans, all agree, were very curious and exact in the Choice of their Situations, in ſome of which however they followed thoſe that had been fixed upon by the Britons. The Saxons were ſo much aware of the Truth of this Obſervation, that they generally followed their Example, and rebuilt upon the ſame Spots, ſo that even at this Day we owe the happy and convenient Diſpoſition of many of our beſt Towns to the Wiſdom of that great People. In reſpect to the Form of Government, the Terms that ſtill remain in Uſe ſhew that they were derived from the Saxons, but it muſt at the ſame Time be allowed that great Variations were made in them by the Normans, who from their Military Diſpoſition, more eſpecially, at the Beginning were leſs inclined

be but Twelve Miles from the Sea. But Nature hath been much kinder to theſe Iſlands, for both Great Britain and Ireland are ſo diſpoſed, as to unite with the Advantages of an extenſive Coaſt a large Proportion of Land, ſo elevated in ſome Parts into Mountains, as to afford many and large and beautiful Rivers, that contribute to the Fertility of the Country, and ſeveral of them to the cheap and eaſy Conveyance of its Products. The former, that is Great Britain, in its utmoſt Breadth is about Three hundred and Sixty Miles, in Length upwards of Six hundred; and though the Breadth is by no Means equal, yet it is evident from hence that the midland Country muſt be, as is ſaid in the Text, very conſiderable.

[b] It was for this Purpoſe of making theſe intereſting and important Points perfectly clear and intelligible to every Reader, and not for the Sake of amuſing him by introducing our remote Antiquities and Pieces of ancient Hiſtory, that what we have delivered in the former Books found a Place in this Work; and it is hoped that with whatever Brevity they are delivered, or with whatever Plainneſs of Language they are expreſſed, they will anſwer this End, and contribute to that Perſpicuity which is ſo neceſſary in Things of this Nature, and where an Author is deſirous that his Sentiments ſhould be thoroughly underſtood.

to favour by their Policy, the Principles of Trade or the Arts of Peace [c].

At length and by ſlow Degrees, imitating the Practice of their Neighbours they had Recourſe to Guilds or Fraternities of different Kinds, commercial and mechanical, to Corporations, which as we have often hinted, might be very expedient under their Conſtitution, and alſo erected Markets at proper Diſtances, as they conceived, in Country Towns, and farther to facilitate a more general Communication, inſtituted Fairs, which as Things then ſtood were very ſerviceable, as ſome of them are to this Day. Thus this Matter continued till the Advantages derived from Commerce began to open the Eyes of Princes, and inclined them to look with a more favourable Aſpect on the Means of increaſing the Subſtance of their Subjects, that they might be able to levy the more upon them by a Variety of Duties and Impoſitions. A Principle evil in itſelf, but which was notwithſtanding attended with good Effects [d].

In the Courſe of Time there fell out gradually various Events, which were not only favourable to, but without which theſe Improvements in reference to the Extenſion of Inland Trade never could have been accompliſhed. Amongſt theſe we may reckon the Reduction and Incorporation

[c] Colcheſter in Eſſex and Maidſtone in Kent are Inſtances of the Romans adopting the Choice made by the Britons, when they found them correſponding to their own Notions in this Reſpect. In regard to the Number of Cities, Towns, and Villages that owe their original Foundation to this wiſe People, the Reader may conſult Camden, Baxter, Stukely, and all our Antiquaries in general. The Saxon Terms of Burghmote, Wardmote, and Moot-hall for a Shire-houſe or Town-hall, plainly diſcover the Origin of ſuch Aſſemblies, and the Intention of that generous Nation, that Affairs relating to the public Welfare ſhould be publicly debated by thoſe who had a Concern in them. The Normans ſeem to have been under a Neceſſity of erecting Corporations for the Sake of preſerving Artificers, &c. by exempting them from the ſervile Condition to which under their rigid Conſtitution the greater Part of the People were reduced: And hence it aroſe that ſuch as in virtue of theſe Corporations were thus emancipated are ſtiled Freemen. A Circumſtance that in certain Periods gave great Umbrage to the Nobility and Clergy, as we have elſewhere ſhewn.

[d] It ſeemed to have been the prevailing Opinion in thoſe Times, that no Trade could be carried on but under Reſtraints, which had for its Foundation the Principle we have formerly mentioned, and beſides this, the procuring a Revenue to the Exchequer, for Licence to tax themſelves for the Benefit of their reſpective Communities. For the ſame Reaſon Staples were deviſed, to which alone the valuable Commodities of the Realm could be carried for the Purpoſe of Exportation; and theſe, as our Statutes ſhew, were continually varying, till at length the Secret was diſcovered that they were uſeleſs. As to Market Towns, Bracton lays it down, that they were not to be nearer than Seven Miles to each other. Their Utility hath preſerved and increaſed them, more eſpecially where free from Tolls and Impoſitions. Fairs have continued for the ſame Reaſon; and though we cannot boaſt of any like thoſe of Francfort, Riga, or Lyons, yet we have many that are very conſiderable, and facilitate Inland Trade, by bringing together Dealers from different and very diſtant Parts of the Country, and ſuch Quantities of Goods as ſerve to fix a fair Price, and prevent Combinations.

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of the Principality of Wales, which not only procured a larger Acceſſion of Territory, but alſo ſecured Peace to the Weſtern Counties of England. In like Manner the Junction of the Two Crowns put an End to the frequent Wars and Depredations that had been ſo detrimental to both Kingdoms. Add to this, what quickly after followed, the Pacification of Ireland, and a regular and increaſing Communication with that Iſland. All theſe made Way for a great Change in the Manners as well as Diſpoſition of the People, that Fierceneſs and Spirit of Violence which had been kept alive by a Succeſſion of foreign Wars, tending only to impoveriſh the Country and to exhauſt its Inhabitants, and which when theſe were ſuſpended broke out into civil Broils and inteſtine Commotions, ſubſided by Degrees, and a milder Temper prevailing, Men applied their Talents to the Exerciſe of Arts that contributed to their mutual Benefit. This was quickly attended with ſo many good Effects, and the Poſſeſſion of Property, now eaſily acquired, and when acquired perfectly ſecure, had ſuch an Influence on their Minds, that the national Genius exerted its Vigour in forming a Variety of Plans for increaſing the public Stock at Home, and providing Materials thereby for the carrying on of foreign Commerce [e].

In ſupport of this happy Alteration of Temper, there fell out many Circumſtances that contributed to ſtrengthen and to ſupport it. The Duke of Alva's Perſecution brought over hither Numbers of induſtrious Perſons, who being well received and properly encouraged, gave us many new Lights with reſpect to Agriculture as well as Arts. The Reception of other foreign Proteſtants, who fled hither for Refuge, and brought with them new Inventions and ſeveral Modes of Induſtry unknown before, introduced a Variety of Manufactures, and which was ſtill of greater Conſequence a ſtrong Diſpoſition to perfect theſe, and an Appetite for acquiring more. The Emoluments ariſing from theſe different Kinds of Labour were ſo great and ſo apparent as to attract the Notice of Perſons in Power, and Men of great Quality and Intereſt, who availing themſelves

[e] The Circumſtances mentioned in the Text will ſufficiently explain to the intelligent Reader, why, notwithſtanding the Fertility of this Country, Inland Trade advanced among its Inhabitants ſo ſlowly. While the Iſland remained divided under different Sovereignties there could be no Communication of great Extent. Foreign Wars diminiſhed both our Commodities and our People, and civil Diſſentions produced continual Ravages and Depopulations; ſo that in different Periods almoſt all our great Towns ſuffered in a ſhort Space more than in many Years could be repaired. When theſe Miſchiefs ceaſed it took up ſome Time to extinguiſh old Feuds, to extirpate long-rooted Prejudices, and to engage thoſe who had been accuſtomed to look upon their Neighbours as Enemies, to converſe and deal with them as Friends. Beſides there were many other Things wanting to an extenſive Communication, ſuch as good Roads, convenient Inns, regular Conveyances by Land and Water, all of which we now indeed ſee eſtabliſhed, but we may eaſily conceive that they were eſtabliſhed by Degrees.

of the Authority then exerciſed by the Crown procured Charters and Letters Patents to ſecure to themſelves and their Aſſociates the Advantages that might ariſe from new Attempts of this Sort, which though they excited, and perhaps juſtly an Outcry againſt Monopoliſts, than which nothing can be more diſadvantageous to a commercial State, yet they were not totally uſeleſs, as they procured ſome Branches of Manufacture that we might otherwiſe not have had, or at leaſt not ſo ſoon, and contributed withal to give a Reputation to Trade, and to leſſen at leaſt, if not entirely to aboliſh that Kind of Pride ſo detrimental in other Countries, where the abſurd Opinion prevails that it derogates from Nobility by the Way of Induſtry to proſecute public Good, the deſtroying which Chimera hath been highly beneficial to the State [f].

It was impoſſible that when Things were once brought into this Condition, it ſhould eſcape Obſervation that Freedom was of the greateſt Conſequence to Trade. It was indeed ſoon diſcovered as appeared by the general Clamour againſt Monopolies, to which however their Novelty did not a little contribute. There were however ſome other Reſtraints incompatible with the true Spirit of Induſtry, and conſequently not a little prejudicial, which were not ſo ſpeedily diſcerned, or ſo eaſily removed, as having exiſted long and ſeeming in ſome Reſpects wrought into our Conſtitution. Theſe were the Reſtrictions flowing from Corporations, which however have been gradually pointed out, and mitigated here more than in any other Country in Europe. Several excluſive Companies erected on plauſible Pretences, all which poſſibly might have their Uſes in the Infancy of our Commerce, were very wiſely ſuppreſſed. Thoſe who choſe to ſet up new Manufactures, or to exerciſe ſuch as were already introduced in a more extenſive Manner, were allowed full Liberty to eſtabliſh them in ſuch Places as from a Variety of favourable Circumſtances ſeemed to them proper, and the Succeſs that they have met with, and the Advantages viſibly ariſing to the Community from the proper Encouragement thereby given to the vigorous Ef-

[f] The Walloons that came over hither ſettled at Sandwich, where they taught the Inhabitants many Improvements: In the City of Canterbury, where they introduced Broad Silk Weaving, where it ſtill continues to flouriſh: At Maidſtone, where they eſtabliſhed a Manufacture of Thread: At Colcheſter, where they fixed the Art of making Bays, from whence immenſe Profits have accrued to this Nation: And in the City of Norwich, where in different Branches of the Woollen Manufacture it is ſaid Two hundred thouſand Perſons are conſtantly employed. Theſe Arts ſpreading naturally into the adjacent Villages, the Reader will eaſily perceive how much they muſt have contributed to raiſing new and reviving the Splendor of old Towns. Knighthood being frequently conferred on great Merchants and eminent Traders, rendered theſe Profeſſions honourable. Their Children of both Sexes intermarried with the Nobility; the younger Branches of their Families entered into Trade. The Poſterity of ſome of our great Traders have gradually reached the higheſt Ranks of Nobility; Circumſtances that have contributed not a little to the Welfare and Opulence of this Country, and to the Reputation of its Traders in foreign Parts.

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ſorts of Induſtry hath ſo fully juſtified the Principle that we have been recommending, as in a great Meaſure to prevent any new Reſtrictions, and to free the Minds of Men from the old Prejudices of ſuppoſing that Corporations were as requiſite to the Training up of Traders as Colleges to the Breeding of Monks [g].

The Civil War gave a very ſevere, but only a temporary Check to our Progreſs, and as ſoon as it was over the Nation returned with redoubled Vigour to the ſame Purſuits, which though interrupted by the Plague, the Dutch Wars, and the Fire of London, were nevertheleſs reſumed with ſuch Spirit ariſing from our increaſed Knowledge in the true Principles of Trade, the Experience we had had of its Efficacy and the Reduction of Intereſt, as ſoon put our Domeſtic Affairs once more into a flouriſhing Condition. The Settlement of Ireland immediately after the Revolution, and the Introduction of the Linnen Trade there, the bringing over the French Proteſtants expelled their own Country by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the Union of the Two Kingdoms, were ſuch fortunate Circumſtances, as evidently raiſed the internal Strength of theſe Nations, and the Place they held in reſpect to the Scale of Power in the Eyes of the ſeveral States of Europe, much beyond what they had reached in any former Period. The Improvements carried on from the Advantages derived to Ireland and North Britain, and the Removal of Competitions in reſpect to Manufactures which were detrimental to South Britain, together with a great Acceſſion of Demands for all Sorts of Commodities from both, viſibly diſcovered to all diſcerning and impartial Judges, that whatever tends to the Benefit of the ſeveral Parts of a great Empire tends ultimately to the Benefit of the Whole, the Promoting of which is the true Object of public Spirit [h].

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[g] The old Syſtem having loſt its legal Support, and all the Inhabitants of both Iſlands being acknowledged Freemen, took away at leaſt in a great Meaſure thoſe Grounds of Reſtraint which had been impoſed on Artificers and Tradeſmen. But as many had a private Intereſt in ſupporting theſe Reſtraints, and others had a Reverence for ancient Cuſtoms, they were not eaſily or abſolutely exploded, notwithſtanding De Witt and Sir Joſiah Child, Men of clear Heads and true public Spirit, long ſince declared againſt them. But Experience hath done more than could be effected either by Argument or Authority. The Towns of Mancheſter and Birmingham, with many more that might be mentioned, plainly prove what may be done where Invention and Induſtry are allowed full Liberty, and Men are permitted the free Exerciſe of their Talents of every Kind. The former of theſe furniſhes a Multitude of Goods (to mention one Inſtance out of many) for the Supply of our African Cargoes, for obtaining which we were formerly obliged to reſort to the Eaſt Indies. The Manufactures of the latter in Metals, through their Cheapneſs and Abundance, have found a Paſſage into all Parts of the Globe. The yellow Earthen Ware hath within theſe few Years been brought to ſuch Perfection, as to exalt the Villages where it is made into populous Towns, which are increaſing daily.

[h] The genuine Principles of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures became the immediate Study of this Nation after the Reſtoration; and as we have often remarked, the Treatiſes then

This is a plain, ſuccinct, and it is hoped ſatisfactory Account of the Riſe, Increaſe, and amazing Extenſion of our Inland Trade, of which every Village and Hamlet, as well as great Towns and Cities participates in a proportionable Degree. For the Inhabitants in them all have Food, Cloaths, and Dwellings ſuitable to their ſeveral Ranks, and much ſuperior to what in their reſpective Stations are ſeen in many other Countries not inferior to ours in Soil and Climate, but wanting the great Bleſſings of Freedom and Trade. Wherever Manufactures are eſtabliſhed they draw a Concourſe of People, who all find Employments of different Kinds. Theſe Manufactures, together with the Commodities of the ſurrounding Country, are conveyed to other Places by Water or by Land. The former gives Bread to Numbers, the latter hath produced good Roads through a great Part of the Kingdom. This affording Convenience of Carriage, furniſhes Subſiſtence, as we have already ſhewn in another Part of this Work, to Multitudes, and this Subſiſtence being drawn from the Countries adjacent, hath promoted the Cultivation of our Lands, and in conſequence of the Augmentation of their Produce hath raiſed their Rents. All this plainly ſhews, that our principal Market for all Sorts of Wares, Manufactures, and Proviſions is at home, and that the Conſumption of our own People is the Baſis of national Proſperity, which flows conſtantly, copiouſly, and regularly through all the Channels of Inland Trade, and muſt continue ſo to do, as long as Labour furniſhes a comfortable Maintenance, and Induſtry a generous Reward, Effects ariſing from, and which, while our excellent Conſtitution ſubſiſts, can never fail [i].

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written ſhewed what prodigious Helps Induſtry might receive from Science. The great political Queſtion, as to the Utility of reducing Intereſt, was thoroughly diſcuſſed, and all the good Conſequences that attended it rendered indiſputably clear. The Propriety of receiving and encouraging the French Proteſtants was ſtated in ſuch a Light as to ſhew the Tendency of it to national Advantage. This Reaſoning was very ſoon confirmed by Facts; they taught us many Improvements in the Woollen, and many more in the Silk Manufactures, they enabled us to proceed in and perfect the Manufactures of Glaſs, Hats, Paper, Sail-cloth, Canvaſs, &c. All theſe gradually and naturally ſpread and are continually ſpreading. Wherever they reach the People live better, and thereby promote Conſumption of all Sorts of Neceſſaries and Conveniencies. The Sight of this creates Emulation in their poorer Neighbours, and of courſe excites that Induſtry which is the Mother of Proſperity. By theſe Steps and in this Manner the Condition of our People hath been changed, and Plenty, ſo far as this hath reached, extended itſelf through both Iſlands.

[i] In the Courſe of this Work, whenever a ſuitable Occaſion offered, no Pains have been ſpared to ſet in a true Point of Light thoſe progreſſive Changes that have happened to the Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands, in Point of Manners, Circumſtances, and Modes of living, tracing at the ſame Time the probable Cauſes from which ſuch Changes aroſe, ſupported by authentic Authorities, one of the moſt inſtructive and beneficial Uſes of Hiſtory; for while more dazzling Scenes ſerve only to entertain and fill the Memory, theſe contribute to exerciſe and inform the Judgment. There could be no Grounds, therefore, for repeating ſuch Obſervations here, as the Reader muſt be well acquainted with them already, and what is ſaid in the Text is only to refreſh

The Connection of this Inland Trade with that of the Coaſting Navigation and foreign Commerce is too plain and apparent to be inſiſted upon at large. It may not however be improper to obſerve, that after the Time of the Romans, who embraced every Species of Improvement, and carried them to a very great Height, Inland Trade was in a great Degree loſt, and in its Recovery made a ſlower Progreſs than either of the former for Reaſons that are already mentioned in the Courſe of this Chapter. The Facility of conveying Things by Sea where-ever it was practicable, brought it earlier into uſe, and conſtantly maintained its Credit. Foreign Commerce aroſe from thence by Degrees, and the Wealth derived from thence, and the Spirit of ſupplying Materials, for it were ſtrong Inducements to puſh Inland Trade beyond the narrow Bounds it attained by the feeble Efforts it had made in Times of Barbariſm and Confuſion. In Proceſs of Time the Effects of them all have been moſt happily blended, and the People have been employed, enriched, and made happy by theſe Three Branches of Traffic mutually aſſiſting and ſupporting each other [k].

Upon theſe Principles, and in conſequence of ſuch Obſervations as in this Chapter have been laid down, we have ventured to declare in favour of Inland Navigations, and to aſſert the Probability of their promoting national Proſperity ſtill farther. It ſeems evident, that by the Help of theſe Canals, the making which by the Way, plainly ſhews the Spirit and the Subſtance of the Trading Intereſt, will produce a more equal Diſtribution of Proviſions for the Subſiſtence of Men, of Materials for Manufactures, and of all Sorts of Commodities than hitherto have been known. We may therefore reaſonably expect, that in conſequence of this they will render

refreſh and recal his Ideas, in order to ſhew how theſe Facts apply to this Subject, and more fully develope the Means by which this Species of Traffic have been ſo highly, ſo extenſively improved, and what ſalutary Conſequences have reſulted from thence to the Community, at the ſame Time that they diſcover the Reaſons on which juſt Hopes are entertained of their Continuance.

[k] In the preceding Chapter we have inſiſted on the great Utility of the Coaſting Trade, in conveying Materials and Commodities from one Part of the Iſland to the other, however remote. But the Intent of this is chiefly to ſupply the Inland Parts, and to afford Employment for the Induſtry of their Inhabitants, the Produce of which is again conveyed to the ſame or other Ports, according to their different Demands. In reference to foreign Goods, it may not be amiſs to remark, that in reſpect to Edibles, Wines, Spirits, Fruits, Spices, Pickles, &c. are conſumed over all the Country, and chiefly by a Retail Trade. As to our Manufactures, the Materials of very many are brought from abroad, ſuch as Spaniſh Wool, Silk, Mohair, Linen and Cotton Yarn, fine Woods, &c. all of which are wrought here, and immenſe Quantities, when wrought, exported. We likewiſe bring in the neceſſary Materials for Dyeing, ſuch as Madder, Shumack, Orchel, Indigo, Cochineal, &c. To theſe we may add, prodigious Quantities of ſeveral Sorts of Oil, conſumed in our Woollen, Leather, and other Manufactures, as alſo Gold and Silver for Gilding and Plate, with a Multitude of other Things which it would be needleſs to mention.

Labour cheaper, increaſe the Number of working Hands, and ſupply new Means of Subſiſtence to Numbers. It may be likewiſe expected that by thus becoming the Means of univerſal Communication they may remove all the Obſtacles that yet remain in reſpect to Inland Trade, and by exciting Induſtry in Places, where for Want of Conveyance it never reached before, augment our national Stock, and add freſh Vigour by furniſhing more Employment for our Coaſting Navigation, and larger Cargoes for Foreign Commerce [1].

[1] Theſe Water Roads, for ſuch Inland Canals may be properly ſtiled, were ſcarce in Contemplation when this Work was undertaken, or even when the Firſt Part of it was in the Preſs; and we might ſay the ſame of many other Improvements. The Notion that ſuch Modes of Conveyance might be highly uſeful was very naturally deduced from the Cheapneſs and Convenience of Water-carriage by navigable Rivers, and the Methods practiſed to extend their Uſe. It was farther countenanced by the viſible Advantages ariſing from ſuch Canals in other Countries; and in Caſes of this Nature Experience is certainly the beſt Guide. The Truth is, that it ſeemed to be the only Improvement wanting to our Syſtem of Traffic. To all this we may add, that it hath been undertaken and executed by thoſe who may be preſumed to be the beſt Judges of their own Intereſts. The largeſt of theſe Canals, which unites the Rivers Clyde and Forth, and thereby opens a Communication between the Weſt and Eaſt Seas, though nothing comparable in Extent and Expence, may poſſibly be found as profitable as the famous Canal of Languedoc. But this Time muſt decide.

CHAP. IV.

The Advantages reſulting to theſe Nations from Induſtry and Commerce farther conſidered, and their Effects more at large explained.

THE manifold Advantages ariſing from Inland and foreign Traffic have been already copiouſly diſplayed. Yet ſome farther Obſervations on them may not be inexpedient. The Nation in general profited by the Introduction of a free Government inſtead of the feudal Syſtem. A ſuccinct Parallel between them in order to prove the Truth of this Aſſertion. The Nobility and Poſſeſſors of landed Property enjoy under the preſent Conſtitution all that they can deſire. In the Mode of their Enjoyment they contribute to the Welfare of the Body of the People. The regular and conſtant Circulation of the Effects of Induſtry is a continual Source of National Riches. The natural Advantages of thoſe Iſlands improved by Labour ſecure to Perſons of all Ranks perpetual Plenty. The Protection of Induſtry for theſe Reaſons ought to be the great and invariable Object of our Rulers.

AFTER

AFTER having gone through the ſeveral Branches of our commercial Syſtem, having ſhewn the Advantages ariſing from each, their Connection one with another, and the accumulated Benefits ariſing from thence, it ſhould ſeem that nothing more was neceſſary on this Head, or if there were that it muſt conſiſt in producing Authorities, which might be eaſily done, to demonſtrate that theſe were not ſimply the Sentiments of an Individual, but ſupported by the concurrent Teſtimonies of the ableſt and and moſt intelligent Perſons in this and in other Nations. This however may appear the leſs neceſſary, if it be conſidered, that in treating theſe Subjects, Reſpect hath been always had to the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt Evidence, that of Facts, and that in reaſoning from them, where-ever it appeared requiſite, Authorities have been produced [a].

BOT notwithſtanding all this, and that perhaps the Matter might be ſafely reſted here, yet the Subject itſelf is of ſo great Importance, the Conſequence of its being thoroughly underſtood ſo material to national Happineſs, and as the eſtabliſhing theſe Points beyond all Doubt, as well as beyond all Contradiction, hath been all along conſidered as the great End and Object of this Work, the candid Reader is deſired to extend his Indulgence to ſome farther Reflections relative to the Advantages ariſing from Induſtry and Commerce, and to pardon any involuntary Repetitions that may eſcape in the Proſecution of a Theme, which hath been already ſo much canvaſſed, and which nothing but its general Utility could excuſe the preſſing theſe addional Obſervations upon his Memory, and recommending them to his impartial Judgment [b].

IT

[a] One of the earlieſt, and at the ſame Time one of the beſt Writers upon Trade, was Mr. Thomas Mun, himſelf a very eminent Merchant, and his Treatiſe publiſhed by his Son immediately after the Reſtoration. This able Man, who had extenſive Knowledge and many Years Experience for his Guide, and who had conſidered the Subject in a political as well as practical Light, concludes his Work with telling us, "That foreign Trade is the great Revenue of the "King, the Honour of the Kingdom, the noble Profeſſion of the Merchant, the School of our "Arts, the Supply of our Wants, the Employment of our Poor, the Improvement of our Lands, "the Nurſery of our Mariners, the Walls of our Iſlands, the Means of our Treaſure, the Si-"news of our Wars, the Terror of our Enemies." If what we have already ſaid, or what is farther to be ſaid in this Chapter ſhall afford ſuch a Commentary as may contribute to make the Truth of this Gentleman's Sentiments clear to every Reader, the Labour this Work hath coſt will be eſteemed well beſtowed.

[b] A Propoſition may be ſo ſelf-evident, or capable of ſo clear and manifeſt Proofs as to merit general Reception. Yet even ſuch an Aſſent as this may not be attended with a diſtinct Apprehenſion of the full Extent of ſuch a Propoſition in all its Conſequences, which however is very neceſſary in many Caſes, more eſpecially in ſuch as are of public Utility and Importance. A moſt convincing Inſtance of this appears in the well-known Terms of the LANDED and the TRADING Intereſts, which, as in this Chapter will be fully ſhewn, ever were and ever muſt be the ſame, notwithſtanding they have been, and that too by ſeveral ſhrewd and otherwiſe ſenſible

It is hoped that in the Courſe of this Undertaking there have been ſufficient Reaſons adduced to ſhew how much the People in general have been benefited by the Introduction of a free Government inſtead of the feudal Syſtem, under which their Anceſtors groaned, and by the Relics of which other Nations are ſtill oppreſſed. It is to this we owe the Mildneſs and Equity of our Laws, and that their Protection extends to every Man in every Station of Life. It is to this that we ſtand indebted for the Security of our Properties, and the abſolute Power we have over whatever we acquire. This is the great Encouragement of Induſtry, in conſequence of which a greater Equality hath been introduced here without the Interpoſition of poſitive Laws, than by their Aſſiſtance could be effected in the freeſt States, of which Hiſtory has preſerved any Records. The Face of the Country proclaims this, the Circumſtances of its Inhabitants in general are a farther Atteſtation of the Truth of this Poſition, and if we reflect that the only or at leaſt the higheſt Prerogative aſcribed to the Feudal Syſtem, that of maintaining a national Force and Independency, is ſo far from being weakened, as in theſe Days of Freedom we are infinitely a more formidable Nation than we ever were, and are enabled to preſerve our extenſive Dominions through the Superiority of a Maritime Power, which hath indiſputably been raiſed by, and can only be ſupported from our Commerce [c].

But in order to comprehend clearly how all this hath been done, and to diſcern evidently the Connection between Cauſes and Effects, we muſt riſe a little higher in reſpect to Times, and deſcend a little deeper in regard to Things. The Fertility of this Country, and all its natural Advantages were

Perſons, repreſented as not only ſeparate from, but in ſome Reſpects oppoſite to each other. Such Errors as theſe ought to be thoroughly detected, that they may be abſolutely and for ever exploded. The ſhorteſt and the moſt effectual Method of doing this is to make the immediate and indiſſoluble Ties by which they are and muſt be perpetually connected viſible to, and if one may ſo ſpeak, felt by every attentive Reader, ſo as never more to be miſtaken or forgotten.

[c] It may not be amiſs, in order to ſhew that theſe Notions have not been haſtily taken up but have been my invariable Sentiments, to quote what I ſaid upon this Subject in a Work for the kind Reception of which I am much indebted to the Public near Thirty Years ſince. "To "Commerce we owe our Wealth, for though Labour may improve, though Arms may ex- "tend, yet Commerce only can enrich a Country. It is this that encourages People not barely "to labour for the Supply of their own Wants, but to have an Eye to thoſe of other Nations, "even ſuch as are at the greateſt Diſtance. It is this that eſtabliſhes and extends Manufactures, "and while it employs all Ranks of People, provides ſuitable Rewards for their ſeveral Employ- "ments. It is this and this alone that can excite and encourage univerſal Induſtry, by providing "that all who take Pains ſhall reap Profit and that what raiſes the Fortunes of Individuals "ſhall prove at the ſame Time and in the ſame Degree beneficial to Society; ſo that an Appli- "cation to their private Intereſts in their ſeveral honeſt Employments has at the ſame Time all "the Effects, and is in Reality the trueſt Teſtimony of public Spirit."

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ever the ſame, though the Face of it hath worn very different Appearances. Foreſts, Chaces, Heaths, Commons, and Marſhes occupied formerly immenſe Tracts of Land, the greateſt Part of what remained was converted into Sheep Walks. For Wool then was our principal Staple, and this we exported to exerciſe the Skill and employ the Labour of our Neighbours. Our Mines were moſtly unopened, and the little Trade we had was carried on chiefly by Foreigners, in virtue of Privileges purchaſed from the Crown. Our Nobles, who were a Kind of Princes in Point of Territory and Authority, lived in a rough Plenty and a rude Magnificence. The Churchmen, in conſequence of their poſſeſſing the Learning of thoſe Times, had immenſe Poſſeſſions, and made no Scruple of employing Perſecution when they thought it neceſſary to preſerve them. The Bulk of the People as the Vaſſals of both were either doomed to ſervile Drudgery, or lived in lazy Indigence. How different a State this from that which we have juſt deſcribed? Yet the Change hath been effected only by the introducing Freedom and Induſtry which have naturally and neceſſarily, though gradually wrought this amazing Revolution, by diſpoſing the different Claſſes of Inhabitants to the Purſuit of thoſe Plans of Life, to which their Talents were beſt adapted, and by which they might render themſelves moſt eaſy and independent of every Thing, but the Laws from which aroſe, and by which theſe Bleſſings are ſecured [d].

The Nobility of all Ranks preſerve under this free Government their ancient Dignities, Privileges and every other Circumſtance of Grandeur, except the oppreſſive Power of the old Barons, which did others Hurt and themſelves no Good. The ſame may be ſaid of the Clergy, who enjoy every thing conſiſtent with religious Liberty. The Gentlemen of landed Eſtates have much Influence and great Reſpect paid them. All of theſe

[d] The Facts mentioned in the Text have been mentioned perhaps more than once, but the Repetition of them here is not only neceſſary, but in another Reſpect allowable, as they are here applied to a different Purpoſe. The leading Principle of the Norman Syſtem being to keep the Many in abſolute Subjection to the Few, they were put under Difficulties, and ſubjected to perpetual Conſtraints in every Station of Life. The Tenure of their Lands was harſh and often precarious, they could derive no Benefits from the Laws but by purchaſing Writs from the Crown, and they felt the like Reſtraints in every manual Occupation. The Profeſſion of Arms was alone reputed noble. The Divines amuſed themſelves and their Hearers with idle and often unintelligible Speculations, and the Law was wrapt up in a foreign Language, to which in thoſe Days the People were utter Strangers. In ſuch Circumſtances it would have been as unreaſonable to expect any great Exertion of the human Faculties, in reſpect to uſeful Employments, as to require a Man to dance when loaded with Chains. The Artiſt, the Mechanic, the Tradeſman were looked upon with Contempt, which was the leſs wonderful, conſidering that the Huſbandman, of all Subjects the moſt uſeful, was little better than a Slave. It was by Example and Experience that our Anceſtors were drawn out of this Condition, and of courſe this muſt have happened gradually and ſlowly, as indeed it did.

have

have their Duties towards the Community pointed out, and are in general ſo educated as to acquire the Qualities requiſite to diſcharge them, in performing which they are the moſt uſeful Members of the Commonwealth. For amongſt theſe are to be found our Legiſlators, Judges, Magiſtrates, &c. who are the natural Guardians of their own and their Fellow Subjects Liberties. Theſe having opulent Fortunes, live with great Splendour, and at a large Expence. Their Houſes, Gardens, Equipages, and all the other Appendages to their Magnificence in Town and Country, gives Employment and of courſe Subſiſtence to Numbers, and conſidered in this Light ſuperfluous Luxury becomes the Source and the Support of honeſt Induſtry. Add to this that by the Elevation of their Rank and their Superiority in Riches, they are in a peculiar Manner bound to the Intereſts of their Country, as inſeperable from their own, for whatever impoveriſhes the one muſt depreciate the other, and the Conſtitution cannot be weakened but at the Expence of their Independency and Importance [e].

But have theſe Nobles and Gentlemen of landed Property done all this for themſelves? No, ſurely. It hath been done for them by the Skill and Labour of others. Under the old Conſtitution they might compel their Vaſſals to take the Field, to fight in any Quarrel, and on any Side they choſe to eſpouſe, by which their Numbers were leſſened and the Properties of theſe great Barons themſelves very frequently deſtroyed. In ſucceeding Times, when their Tenants came to have a legal and ſecure Poſſeſſion of the Lands on Terms reciprocally beneficial to both, Induſtry inſpired by Liberty, excited a univerſal Spirit of Cultivation. Arable and Paſture Lands were every where improved, Heaths, Waſtes, and Commons were converted into good Eſtates, Marſhes drained, Mountains planted with Trees, and the Rental of the Kingdom, in other Words, the Income of Men of landed Property augmented daily. Theſe Improvements were not however confined ſimply to the Surface of the Soil; our Mines were

[e] It appears clearly from what is ſaid in the Text, that the Inhabitants of this Country of all Ranks have equally ſhared in the Bleſſings of a free Government. An Inequality in Station and in Fortune is inſeparable from Civil Society, and is alſo attended with many Advantages. By Means of the Noble and the Rich many Arts and Manufactures have been introduced, encouraged, and brought to Perfection, to which otherwiſe we had been abſolute Strangers; and thus through the wiſe Diſpoſition of Providence, even the Vanities and the Vices of the Opulent become advantageous to the Community. It is impoſſible they ſhould diſpenſe or even diſſipate their Riches without doing good to Multitudes, and thus what they receive from the Labour of their Tenants is again diſperſed amongſt thoſe who labour for them in many different Ways. In another Reſpect alſo they are exceedingly beneficial. The Glare of their Magnificence excites Emulation, and in a free Country like this, where every Man's Conſequence depends upon his Property, the Deſire of imitating Superiors, and of equalling them by Degrees, is one of the ſtrongeſt Incitements to Application and Induſtry.

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opened, their Contents produced every Species of Metals, each of which became a new Source of Skill and Labour, and conſequently of Profit, and moſt other Commodities furniſhed gradually in like Manner Materials for numerous Manufactures. As theſe ſpread and grew more conſiderable, Multitudes drew the Means of Subſiſtence from their reſpective Employments in them, and which is more, they aſſiſted, encouraged, and enriched each other, by ſupplying their ſeveral Wants from the Looms, the Forges and the Shops of their Neighbours, while all in general created an increaſed and increaſing Conſumption of Proviſions [f].

It muſt be ſeen from the hiſtorical Parts of this Work, that moſt of theſe internal Improvements were not only gradual, but ſlow, and in Point of Time poſterior to the Benefits derived from foreign Commerce and the Coaſting Navigation; the former bringing in Riches, and the latter facilitating the Correſpondence between the different Parts of theſe Iſlands, both great Helps to Induſtry, eſpecially at the Beginning. Theſe therefore it muſt be admitted, laid a Foundation for all the reſt. The thriving Condition of our Sea Ports, and the viſible Advantages derived to Cities and great Towns ſituated upon navigable Rivers, excited Emulation, and contributed not a little to diffuſe a commercial Spirit in their Vicinities. In the preceding Chapter we have ſhewn how various Impediments were removed, and how many favourable Circumſtances concurred to promote theſe Views, and which being embraced, Communication was continually extended with all the Train of happy Conſequences that are its natural Attendants. Hence aroſe, as we have already hinted, a ſucceſſive Alteration, or if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, an Improvement in our Manners, and in our Modes of Living, in our Diet, Dreſs, Buildings, &c. all of which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, in Proportion to their Value, are as truly and certainly national Wealth, as they are indiſputably the Fruits of Art and Induſtry [g].

It

[f] All this only ſerves to ſupport the Truth of what we have ſo often aſſerted, that Induſtry, and this only, is national Wealth. Sir William Petty obſerved long ago, that if the People of England were Seven Millions, and if the Maintenance of each amounted to Seven Pounds, then the whole Produce or Expence of the Nation amounted to Forty-nine or Fifty Millions. The Authors of the Britiſh Merchant, who were Men of great Character and conſummate Judgment, admitted this Calculation, and added farther, that deducting for the Expence of Lodging and the Conſumption of foreign Commodities Twenty Shillings a Head, there will remain Six Pounds, or Forty-two Millions expended in Proviſion and Manufactures. But if, as many think, there are at preſent in the Iſland of Great Britain nearer Ten Millions, and if, as is generally acknowledged, Expences are much increaſed, this will carry the Computation higher.

[g] We need only, in order to be convinced that Facts are fairly repreſented in the Text, to enquire into the Dates of our ſeveral Manufactures, and into the Hiſtory of our great trading Towns, which are eaſily to be obtained. But this may be ſtill more compendiouſly done, by reflecting

It is hoped that we have now fully proved, that when the Genius of the Britiſh Nation came to be applied to the Arts of Peace, it was exerted with Vigour, Ingenuity, and Perſeverance, as is abundantly evident from our acknowledged Succeſs in Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce. This hath been in a great Meaſure excited by a Deſire of Independency, the natural Companion of Freedom. This Deſire animates equally the Artiſt, the Mechanick, and the Seaman, and this generous Spirit which is the true Source of Excellence in all Purſuits, is happily ſeconded and ſupported by the natural Advantages which this Country poſſeſſes, and which thereby render it attainable by a juſt Degree of Induſtry, which in ſome other Places is not the Caſe. Proviſions of every Kind, the Materials for Cloathing, Fireing, Building, and in a Word moſt of the Conveniencies, as well as all the Neceſſaries of Life, are of our own Growth; and therefore it is evident that national Opulence ariſes principally from our own Conſumption, and this by a due Circulation of the Effects of Skill and Labour is, and while our Conſtitution ſubſiſts, ever may be maintained and extended. Foreign Commerce is the great Wheel giving Motion to the whole Machine, as it adminiſters to Induſtry, ſupplies Materials for ſome Manufactures, exports many others, and carries away into other Countries our Superfluities, which is of apparent and prodigious Conſequence, increaſing the Means of Conſumption, and furniſhing beſides, Gold, Silver, Jewels, and other rich Goods, the Produce of our Wares and Commodities of all Sorts, or in other Words, the Portion of Induſtry, the Wages allotted by Providence to Labour and Aſſiduity, directed by Science and ſtimulated by Freedom [h].

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reflecting on the State this Country was in Five hundred Years after the Norman Conqueſt, and the Change that hath been made therein within the Two laſt Centuries. An univerſal Alteration in People's Circumſtances is the cleareſt Proof that can be deſired of national Proſperity. If Men dreſs better, live better, and are better lodged, it is evident that their Circumſtances are better than thoſe of their Anceſtors, and conſequently that the Wealth of the Nation is greater. This Fact is not the leſs true or the leſs certain from the Inattention that may be paid to it, or the partial and ſophiſtical Reaſons ſometimes advanced to inſinuate the contrary.

[h] The Britiſh Merchant, Vol. I. p. 142. hath ſome very pertinent Obſervations upon this Subject, which deſerve the Reader's Notice. "Our own People are a conſtant Market for our "own Product and Manufactures. The Gentleman fondly imagines, that he receives his Rent "from his Tenant, the Weaver that he is paid his Wages by the Maſter Clothier; but it is the "Conſumer that pays both. He pays the Price of the Wool and the Charge of the Manufacture, "neither the one nor the other can be paid but by the Conſumption of the People. I conſider "every Perſon in the Kingdom, for what he eats, and drinks, and wears, as a Tenant to the "Lands, and a Paymaſter of our Labourers; and if Seven Millions of People conſume the "yearly Value of Forty-two Millions of our native Product and Manufacture, every One at a "Medium pays the yearly Sum of Six Pounds to the Lands and Labour of this Kingdom, "every One is a Market of ſuch a Value to his Country." The Amount of our foreign Commerce is but ſmall in Compariſon with that of our Home Conſumption, but from the Balance we draw

The ſerious Contemplation of the ſeveral Facts and Obſervations which have been laid down in this Chapter, will open a large Field for uſeful Enquiries, as therein the combined Forces of all our different Species of Induſtry have been ſo explained, as not to leave a Shadow of Doubt, that while they all of them tend to the ſame Point of promoting public Proſperity, they alſo reciprocally aſſiſt each other, which accounts for that ſucceſſive and ſucceſsful Progreſs they have ſo apparently made ſince directed by right Principles, and allowed to expand themſelves with perfect Freedom. It hath been fully ſhewn that an induſtrious Perſon, who by his Ingenuity and Labour ſubſiſts himſelf and his Family, which is what is meant by Independance, contributes at the ſame Time by their Conſumption to the Welfare and the Support of the Community. It follows evidently from hence that every Aſſiſtance ſhould be given to promote this laudable Spirit, and to enable ſuch Perſons to live at their Eaſe, as the more they are enabled to expend, the more they benefit the Public. Whatever hath a contrary Tendency muſt in rendering Subſiſtance difficult, not only increaſe the Number of the Poor, but in many other Reſpects become highly detrimental to the State. It is alſo clear from hence that the Loſs of induſtrious Perſons is an apparent and irreparable Injury to the Commonwealth, as not only leſſening the public Stock in that Degree which their Continuance increaſed it, but by driving their Talents and Labour into other Countries, enriching their Inhabitants at our Expence, a Folly the more inexcuſable, as we viſibly profited by it, when it was the Malady of our Neighbours. It ſhould therefore be the Study of a wiſe and good Government, not only to take every Meaſure to prevent ſuch Loſſes, but alſo to deviſe and practiſe every Method poſſible to protect, encourage, and extend Induſtry, as the ſole Baſis of public Felicity [i].

draw not only a ſufficient Quantity of the precious Metals to ſerve in the Shape of Money as a Medium in Traffic, but alſo to afford us Plate, Lace, &c. and when it can be done with more Advantage than keeping it here, for Exportation alſo. It is therefore a Mark of our Riches, and ſuch a one, as if our Induſtry was leſs, or our Importation of foreign Luxuries more, would quickly leave us.

[i] There is an Energy in Induſtry under the Protection of a free Government, that enables it to extend itſelf every Way and to overcome Difficulties that were for Ages thought and found to be inſurmountable. We have ſhewn this unqueſtionably in the Courſe of this Work, by the Inſtances we have given of Ports conſtructed, and many more of thoſe that have been improved beyond the Conception of our Anceſtors, in the making of Roads, building Bridges, and other Edifices for public Service, ſetting up regular and convenient Carriages for facilitating even the moſt diſtant Communications by Land, by removing Impediments in navigable Rivers, and of late by the Conſtruction of Canals, to ſay nothing of the Draining of the Fens, and many other Things of a like Nature. All theſe have indeed had the Countenance of the Legiſlature, but have been performed chiefly at the Expence of private Perſons, with Views to their own Profit and Convenience. This, which I ſcruple not to call a laudable Principle, will always continue with like

CHAP. V.

Farther Improvements are ſtill neceſſary.

THE greater the Proſperity of a State the greater Prudence requiſite to preſerve it. This requires a ſuccinct Specimen of our Defects and Reſources. Propoſal for improving Agriculture by extending our Cultivation. Our capital Manufactures are capable of being much improved and greatly extended. Commerce by good Laws may receive many Advantages. The Fiſheries a prodigious national Reſource. The Number of our Poor no formidable Objection againſt what hath been ſaid of our Proſperity. Two Propoſals offered for the diminiſhing this Burden in future. The Grounds on which we may hope to proceed vigorouſly in our Improvements. An Apology for the numerous Propoſals contained in this Work. The Concluſion.

THE happy and flouriſhing Condition of theſe Iſlands in Compariſon of the State in which they formerly were, hath been fully and clearly repreſented. It is however a wiſe and a juſt Maxim in Politics, that as much or more Prudence is neceſſary to preſerve a State when raiſed to Opulence and Grandeur, than were requiſite to exalt it thereto, and Experience hath juſtified the Truth of this Poſition. On theſe Grounds it becomes abſolutely our Duty to have a conſtant and vigilant Attention to the Means of preſerving and extending that Proſperity to which by our own or by our Anceſtors Application we have attained. This can only be effected by a ſteady Adherence to thoſe Principles on which it was gradually raiſed, we are well acquainted with their Nature, their Operations, and their Conſequences, and may therefore with good Reaſon conclude them to be in point of Efficacy adequate to whatever our preſent or our future Circumſtances may require. The Demands of an extenſive Empire are many; but her Reſources are likewiſe numerous, the Buſineſs is to ſee them prudently choſen and properly applied. Under ſuch a Conſtitution as ours we may always truſt to the Exertion of our national Faculties, an active Induſtry directed by wiſe and well executed Laws will, with a proper Confidence in the Divine Bleſſing, ſupport that

Encouragement to exert its Force; and as there are ſtill many Parts both of Great Britain and Ireland that are apparently unimproved, we ſee plainly that there is ſtill Room for its Exertion, by which Multitudes will fall into uſeful and lucrative Employments, and all the natural Advantages which Nature hath ſo bountifully beſtowed, will be gradually produced to View, and increaſe the Strength of that Circulation in which the Health of the Body Politic conſiſts.

Policy

Policy by which, as we from Experience know, human Happineſs is beſt maintained [a].

In order more clearly to comprehend theſe Points it may be very expedient to enter a little into Particulars by mentioning and explaining ſome of theſe Demands, and at the ſame Time ſhewing that theſe Nations are really poſſeſſed of Reſources abundantly capable of anſwering them all, and of courſe not only to maintain what we have already acquired, but even to extend thoſe Acquiſitions much beyond their preſent Bounds; and all this without the leaſt Danger of detracting from the Hopes or leſſening the juſt Incitements to Induſtry, that for the Sake of the ſame good Purpoſes ought to ſtimulate our Poſterity.

We may without Fear of incurring the Cenſure of Partiality venture to aſſert, that (though poſſibly very far ſhort of Perfection) Agriculture hath been carried as high in this as perhaps in any other Country, and that our Inhabitants are as well ſkilled in the Nature of different Soils, the propereſt Means of improving them by a Variety of Manures, the Method of fencing and incloſing them, the preſerving their Fertility by a regular Variation of Crops, and all the other Arts of Huſbandry that have been hitherto invented. By theſe Means prodigious Improvements have been made, more eſpecially of late Years, and under the Auſpice of Legiſlature very large Tracts of Common Land have been brought into regular Culture. In conſequence of this ſuch a Change hath been made in our Circumſtances, that inſtead of purchaſing from, we have, till within theſe few Years, been able to ſupply large Quantities of different Kinds of Grain to our Neighbours. But Experience hath taught us that neither the Skill of our Farmers or the Aſſiſtance of the Legiſlature can guard againſt thoſe Deficiencies in Crops occaſioned by inclement Seaſons. The only Remedy for this is an Extenſion of our Cultivation. This may certainly be

[a] In reſpect to Nations as well as private Perſons, no Situation whatever can exempt them from Sollicitudes, for in this ſublunary State collective Bodies as well as Individuals are liable to Neceſſities of ſome Kind or other. Theſe, if in narrow or confined Circumſtances, are not to be got over but with great Pains and Labour, but if in a proſperous Situation, the Means may be quickly found and eaſily applied. In the Courſe of this Work we have endeavoured to point out many Improvements that may be made, and whatever Opinion may be entertained of them at preſent, ſome of them in a Courſe of Time certainly will be made. In reſpect to them all, and of every Propoſition of this Nature, the preſent Times are very favourable; the Light of Experience ſhines much ſtronger than it did. Our Capitals are larger, and conſequently more equal to great Undertakings; and what ſeems concluſive on this Head is the Steadineſs as well as Activity that hath lately been manifeſt in the Purſuit of ſeveral arduous and expenſive Undertakings, tending ultimately to the public Advantage, and yet carried on, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, at the Charge and at the Riſk of private Perſons.

obtained by purchaſing at the public Expence thoſe Tracts of Heath, Moors, and other Waſte Lands that deform more or leſs every County in the Kingdom. By this Mode of Proceeding, injurious to none, and beneficial to all, there might be ſuch an Acceſſion made to our Arable Lands as would ſecure us from Scarcity at Home at all Times, and with the Bleſſing of Heaven reſtore us to that great Source of national Wealth, Exportation of Grain, and this perhaps without a Bounty [b].

It is natural to ſuppoſe, and indeed the Thing is ſelf-evident that a very great Part of ſuch Lands as theſe could not be, at leaſt immediately converted to this Uſe. Theſe therefore might be turned into grazing Farms, which would raiſe what is equally wanting, a great Number of Cattle of all Sorts, which valuable Purpoſe would be much facilitated from the Advantages derived from the Farms firſt mentioned, in the preſent beſt approved Mode of Cultivation. On the Whole therefore, a great and a continual Augmentation would accrue of the public Stock, and quickly reſtore Plenty of Proviſions, ſo exceedingly neceſſary to ſupport the Induſtry of our People. Theſe Meaſures without any Struggle, Violence, or Bloodſhed would produce better Effects than the Conqueſt of Territory equal in Extent to all the Tracts thus improved. For theſe would not only furniſh immediate and future Employment for a Multitude of Hands in the moſt uſeful Kinds of Labour, but would alſo excite a general Spirit of Induſtry, and diffuſe freſh Vigour and Activity through the whole Nation, as well as in its happy Conſequences by abſolutely removing the Cauſes put an effectual Period to future Emigrations [c].

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[b] In order to ſecure Succeſs to any new Scheme, there are Two Things neceſſary to be ſhewn, that it is practicable in its Nature, and will be profitable in its Conſequences. As to the Firſt, let it be obſerved, that in Mr. King's Calculations, the Accuracy of which have never yet been queſtioned, he aſſerts, that of Thirty-nine Millions of Acres in England, Ten Millions, or more than a Fourth, conſiſted in Heaths, Moors, Mountains, and barren Lands, and this excluſive of Woods, Foreſts, Parks, Commons, Roads, &c. There hath ſince that Time, as is admitted in the Text, been many Improvements made. But it will ſurely be allowed no improbable Aſſertion, that One Fiftieth Part may yet be gained from the unprofitable State in which it is. This, though purchaſed by the Nation, would be no Expence, for Money expended by the Public, for the immediate Service of the Public, cannot with Propriety be called Expence. All the Profits in reſpect to Grain of different Kinds, Hemp, Flax, Hops, Rape, Saffron, &c. raiſed upon theſe arable Lands, will all accrue to the Public, as well as the Wages earned by thoſe employed in producing them. Add to this, what is an Argument of the greateſt Weight, the beſt Judges have given it as their Opinion, that this Extenſion of Cultivation in the Manner propoſed is the only poſſible Means of removing the preſent univerſal Complaints, and ſecuring us againſt them for the future.

[c] The national Intereſt moſt certainly is, to have all Kinds of Proviſions plentiful and cheap, for Reaſons which have been fully explained in a former Chapter. The Notion that Neceſſity will compel People to work in this Country is very ill founded. The Nature and Conſtitution

of

In ſuch of theſe Farms as were properly ſituated, and in ſuch Parts of them as ſhould be found fitteſt for the Purpoſe, Timber more eſpecially, ſuch as is requiſite for the Uſe of the Royal Navy, might be moſt conveniently planted and preſerved, by making ſuitable Proviſions for that End in the Tenure of the Lands, ſo as to render it the Intereſt as well as the Duty of every Tenant to comply with ſuch Injunctions. For theſe Lands being the immediate Property of the Public, and purchaſed with a ſpecial View to their Benefit, every Thing regarding them would by the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature be adjuſted with the utmoſt Circumſpection, and the Settlements made cautiouſly, gradually, and under ſuch Regulations as might equally provide for the Security and Encouragement of the Occupier, and for the general Welfare of the Community. By the Execution of ſuch a Scheme the propereſt Size of Farms for national Advantage might effectually be determined, from the cleareſt of all Lights that of Experience, and many other Points of public Utility that have been long, and may continue much longer Matters of Doubt and Altercation, be fully decided. If in the firſt Eſſays any Errors ſhould be committed, they might be amended in ſubſequent Eſtabliſhments, and remedied even in thoſe whenever the Firſt Terms expired [d].

The great Number of uſeful and valuable Subjects maintained by our Manufactories of different Kinds, and the vaſt Emoluments ariſing continually from their Labours to the Public, muſt ever render them and whatever regards them, Objects of the higheſt Importance to ſuch as ad-

of our People requires Encouragement; put Subſiſtence in their Power, and they will work, and work aſſiduouſly to obtain it. This would be effectually done by the Method propoſed, which beſides providing Employment for Multitudes that want it, in the immediate Buſineſs of Farming, would add likewiſe greatly to the raw Materials requiſite for our Manufactures, ſuch as Wool, Leather, Tallow, &c. Beſides, the Improvement of theſe hitherto waſte and uſeleſs Lands would, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, afford both Example and Inſtruction to the Inhabitants of the remoter Parts of both Iſlands, and put them upon a like vigorous Exertion of their Talents, and produce thereby many uſeful and ſalutary Effects.

[d] It will be expedient that all the Regulations in reſpect to theſe new Farms ſhould be eaſy, cheap, and of apparent Utility. Such as the allotting Cottages, with ſmall Portions of Land, for the Habitations and Subſiſtence of Labourers and their Families. The reviving the Practice of uſing Oxen inſtead of Horſes for Draught. The raiſing Flax upon Moors, where Experience ſhews it may be done to great Advantage. Poſſibly alſo the Breeding of Bees might deſerve Conſideration. But in every Thing of this Sort Encouragement ſhould be held forth, and little or no Compulſion uſed. As the Firſt Step of theſe Improvements muſt be a ſtrict Examination of the ſeveral Kinds of Soil, in order to diſtinguiſh the Uſes to which they may be beſt applied, the very Hiſtory of theſe Farms, when brought to any Degree of Perfection, would be of extraordinary Benefit, as it would comprehend a Syſtem of experimental Knowledge, that, as is hinted in the preceding Note, could not but ſtimulate the Inhabitants of remoter and hitherto leſs cultivated Parts of both Iſlands, thus taught and encouraged, to enter upon the like Methods of Improvement.

miniſter

miniſter the Affairs of this great and opulent Nation. They are indeed Objects that are to be conſidered with conſtant Care and with the deepeſt Attention, but at the ſame Time they are Objects that cannot be contemplated, but with the greateſt Pleaſure and with the higheſt Satisfaction. For it is the Happineſs of this Country to poſſeſs the raw Materials of many, and thoſe too the moſt conſiderable, which is a Point of the greateſt Conſequence, and in Reference to the Materials brought hither from abroad, theſe likewiſe are moſtly obtained by the Exchange of our own Produce. It may be truly affirmed of all our capital Manufactures, as well from Wool, Leather, Metals, Linnen, as thoſe of Silk, Cotton, Glaſs, Paper, &c. that they may be extended beyond their preſent State, and many of them to a very great Degree. We have it alſo in our Power to promote them in many Reſpects. For we may relieve thoſe employed in them from a Variety of Reſtraints impoſed when Things of this Sort were leſs underſtood, and which have been continued rather from Cuſtom and Prejudice, than from Neceſſity or Uſe. By countenancing, encouraging, and rewarding amply, the introducing new, or the Improvement of thoſe already introduced. By oppoſing public Spirit in preferring and ſupporting them againſt the vain Intruſions of frivolous Faſhions. By diminiſhing, as in many Inſtances might be done, the Price of raw Materials. By eaſing them in reſpect to Duties, which is alſo practicable, not only without Detriment, but with great Advantage to the public Revenue. By a judicious Application of Bounties, to promote their Exportation, by bringing them cheap to foreign Markets, and by a Variety of other Methods. To theſe Hints it may not be improper to add, that what hath been before recommended in regard to the extending our Cultivation, would have an immediate Effect on our moſt valuable Manufactures, by an Increaſe of their Conſumption, by a new Race of Farmers and their induſtrious Dependants [c].

[c] When we look back on our principal Manufactures in the State they were a Century ago, and conſider the prodigious Advances that have been made, it will naturally encourage us to proceed vigorouſly in the ſame Track. We have improved our Wool in Point of Quantity and Quality to almoſt an incredible Degree, and we have likewiſe a vaſt Variety of Woollen Manufactures, yet the light Cloths of France prevail in the Levant, and might certainly be made here as cheap and in as great Perfection. Our Linnen Manufacture is in a Manner new, and the Growth of our own Times, yet we ſtill import a great deal, and the diminiſhing this Importation is an Object of which we ſhould never loſe Sight, the rather becauſe by proper Encouragement it is certainly in our Power. We have the Materials and the Means of making Glaſs and Soap, of ſome Kinds at leaſt, more in our Reach than any other Nation. In our Manufactures in general the Ingenuity, Induſtry, and Dexterity of our Workmen are inconteſtible, and in the moſt complicated the happy Diſtribution of their ſeveral Parts through ſeveral Hands contributes equally to their Cheapneſs and to their Perfection. Add to this, what hath been elſewhere mentioned, our extenſive Capitals, and we may ſafely aſſert that it is in our Power not only to puſh but to preſerve them againſt all our Rivals.

We have in the Progreſs of this Work very frequently ſhewn how much our foreign Commerce and domeſtic Trade have been indebted to the wiſe and timely Interpoſition of the Legiſlature, and particularly in the Act of Navigation, the Meaſures taken to leſſen our deſtructive Importations of Luxury from a neighbouring Country, and in exempting moſt of our native Commodities and Manufactures from Duties upon Exportation. We may from hence form the moſt reaſonable Expectations, that the like ſalutary and effectual Helps will never be wanting in future for the ſame beneficial Purpoſes. By their Intervention, whenever it is neceſſary, a Check may be given to ſuch Importations as are injurious to our Intereſts, and ſerve only to gratify Luxury or Folly. We may alſo rely on them for ſecuring to us the Advantages ſtipulated with foreign Nations by our Treaties of Commerce, which Advantages have generally ſpeaking been purchaſed by our Aſſiſtance in Times of Difficulty or Diſtreſs. It would perhaps contribute to the general Benefit, if all the Laws now ſubſiſting in reference to Commerce and Trade were carefully examined, thoſe of experienced Utility enforced, and ſuch as are not of this Nature, or are already fallen into Diſſuetude, repealed. A Court-merchant for the deciding Cauſes relative purely to Diſputes in Trade, hath often been recommended by the ableſt Judges, and would certainly have good Effects, in preventing Loſs of Time and Expence. The Reviſal of the Laws relating to Bankrupts ſeems likewiſe very requiſite, in order to diminiſh the Charges that attend Commiſſions, to expedite the Recovery of Bankrupts Debts, and to procure a ſpeedy and certain Dividend of their Effects. But above all, the greateſt Attention ſhould be ſhewn to the Encouragement and Support of Induſtry of every Kind, and to the depreſſing, and if poſſible extinguiſhing that fraudulent Spirit of Gaming in Trade, where, however concealed under ſpecious Diſguiſes, ſome gain by outwitting, and others loſe by being outwitted, while the Nation ſuffers by a pernicious Practice, which, though univerſally condemned, hath not hitherto been ſubjected to the Puniſhment it deſerves [f].

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[f] The Viciſſitudes of human Affairs, though conſpicuous in all, is in none more evident than in Matters of Trade. Theſe are continually ſhifting and varying in ſuch a Manner, that the Rules moſt uſeful and ſalutary at one Time become uſeleſs and frequently pernicious at another. It is our peculiar Felicity, that we have a permanent and never-failing Reſource againſt theſe Evils, in the Legiſlature. To this Application may at any Time be made, new Regulations propoſed, Alterations deſired, and the good or bad Effects of former Statutes freely and fairly ſtated, in order to their being enforced, or in Part or in the Whole repealed. From the Wiſdom and Power of the Legiſlature we may expect, that in regard to our domeſtic Intercourſe, that Probity between Man and Man be maintained, which is ſo eſſentially requiſite in ſuch Concerns, and to ſupport the Credit of our Goods and Manufactures ſent abroad for the Benefit of the Merchant and the Honour of the Nation. We may expect from thence the Suppreſſion of Smuggling, ſo highly injurious to the honeſt Dealer, and ſo exceedingly detrimental to the public Welfare. As alſo

The ſeveral Fiſheries that belong to this Iſland, have been conſidered in their proper Places. In ſpeaking of them it hath been ſhewn, that though they are by no Means what they might be, yet are they far from being ſo inconſiderable as they are ſometimes repreſented. The greateſt Pains have been taken to ſhew that they might be extended and improved, and the moſt effectual Methods for doing this have been pointed out. Here it is proper to obſerve, that there is no Species of national Induſtry more lucrative than this, that it converts the Ocean into a Mine, and furniſhes immenſe Profits from what, except Labour, coſts but little, and is beſides attended with very many beneficial Conſequences. It hath been farther rendered inconteſtably evident, that Great Britain and Ireland, with the Iſlands dependant upon them, are in this Reſpect poſſeſſed of natural Advantages ſuperior to all other Nations; in reſpect to Situation, Numbers of People, Materials of every Kind, and indeed whatever can be required for ſucceſsfully carrying them on. It therefore depends entirely upon ourſelves, to gain by a proper Exertion of theſe peculiar Benefits, the abſolute Poſſeſſion of almoſt all the Fiſheries, without having Recourſe to Diſputes or Prohibitions. This, without Doubt, would be an amazing and perpetual, as well as eaſy Acquiſition, in regard to Wealth, Shipping, and naval Power. Our Neglect hitherto of ſo great an Object is indeed a Reproach to our national Policy; but conſidered in another Point of Light, it is at once a practicable and a prodigious national Reſource.[g]

It

alſo the Extirpation of that Spirit of Monopoly and wholeſale Gaming mentioned in the Text, ſince theſe are the Two Rocks, on which, more eſpecially in our Times, ſo many Shipwrecks have been made. The Truth is, that Fraud ought to be conſidered as the Ruſt of Trade, which if the File of Law is not ſharp, or the Arm of the Magiſtrate not ſtrong enough to abrade, it will gradually corrode and deſtroy the Subſtance. It is true that this Reform cannot be effected at once, or abſolutely perhaps at all. But this hinders not that every Means ſhould be exerted to protect the honeſt and induſtrious Citizen againſt Men blinded by Self-intereſt and void of Principle, whoſe Artifices are always fatal to others, and ſometimes to themſelves, but moſt of all to the Community.

[g] The very ingenious and judicious Sir William Petty, from the Conſideration of the State of Things as they ſtood in his Time, propoſed that the Taxes of Scotland ſhould be paid in Fiſh, and of Ireland in Flax, both according to his Scheme being to be ſold by and for the Benefit of the Public. This Scheme, though not practicable in itſelf, carries in it a very juſt Idea. For by promoting the Growth of Timber, the Cultivation of Hemp, the Linnen Manufacture, and above all the Fiſheries, North Britain might receive infinite Benefits. On the other Hand the giving every Encouragement to the Cattle Trade, to the Importation of Wool and Woollen Yarn, and more eſpecially to their valuable and extenſive Manufacture of Linnens, the Inhabitants of Ireland might be fully employed and greatly enriched. Theſe ſeparate Purſuits would not barely contribute to the Welfare of thoſe Countries, to the Harmony between the Nations, but alſo conduce exceedingly to the Benefit of this Kingdom. The Fiſheries in the ſmaller Iſlands more eſpecially would turn to the greateſt and moſt immediate Advantage, ſince whatever they acquired

It may be urged as a ſtrong Objection againſt what hath been ſaid, that in the Midſt of our Opulence we have a great and increaſing Number of Poor. Yet this in Reality doth not in the leaſt diminiſh what hath been advanced with reſpect to our national Proſperity, for Poor there always have been, and always will be, and more likewiſe in Proportion in rich Countries, where, from that very Circumſtance, Luxury and a Propenſity to Idleneſs will in a great Degree prevail. It muſt however be allowed, that vagrant Poor and common Beggars are incompatible with juſt Policy. Our Laws however for the Settlement of the Poor are ſufficiently expreſſive of the Intention of the Legiſlature, and the Fault therefore lies in an ineffectual Execution, which, however, in many Caſes plainly ariſes from no diſhonourable Source, the Mildneſs and Lenity of Magiſtrates. Indigence ſimply conſidered is no Crime, and of Conſequence no fit Object for Severity. It is often the Misfortune and not the Fault of Individuals, and with reſpect to the Poor we ought to conſider, that as our Fellow-creatures they are intitled to Humanity, as our Fellow-ſubjects to Compaſſion, and as our Fellow-chriſtians to charitable Relief. In this laſt Reſpect we certainly have not been wanting, as Hoſpitals and other charitable Inſtitutions are amongſt the moſt honourable Teſtimonies of our Wealth [h].

There is a plain Diſtinction to be made between profligate Vagrants and ſuch as are indigent from inevitable Neceſſity. The latter only are juſt Objects of political Care, which ought to be extended with the utmoſt Tenderneſs to the Aged and to the Infirm. It might perhaps con-

quired muſt be applied to procuring the Conveniences of Life, and with theſe they muſt be furniſhed from hence. Upon the Whole their Condition would be much mended, and the People of South Britain derive great Profits from thence.

[h] The Maintenance and Employment of the Poor is a Subject that hath employed the Heads and the Pens of very able Men. Amongſt theſe Sir Matthew Hale, Dr. Davenant, and Dr. Burn. Many Efforts have been made, many Alterations in our Laws have been tried with very little Effect. Our Poor are ſtill very numerous, and many of them are ſtill alſo in a very wretched Condition. We have in general wrong Notions upon this Head in reſpect to Holland; for, though they have no common Beggars they have great Numbers of Poor. In that Country however the Indigent are far from being unhappy. For being committed to the Care of intelligent Perſons of unſpotted Integrity, who from a Principle of Religion and public Spirit conſtantly and regularly diſcharge that Duty, they receive a comfortable Subſiſtence at no very great Expence. But great as the Number of our Poor is we find it magnified it by ſome Writers. Mr. Gee computed that we had a Million many Years ago, and upon this Suppoſition was for tranſporting them to the Colonies. But whatever their Number be it is better to keep and maintain them at Home, becauſe even their Conſumption is a Benefit to the induſtrious. One great Source of their Number is certainly the Dearneſs of Proviſions, for though Men are naturally aſhamed to beg, yet that Shame may be overcome if they find they muſt work and ſtarve. If the Reader is diſpoſed to ſee this Matter very fully diſcuſſed by a Perſon of great Knowledge and Humanity, he may conſult a late Treatiſe intitled, "Obſervations on the "Preſent State of the parochial and vagrant Poor, London 1773, 8vo."

tribute to leſſen the Number of thoſe who are now eſteemed a Burthen if proper Schools under the Direction of well qualified Perſons were erected, to which young Children might be ſent by their Parents, and meet with a proper Education in reſpect to Morals, and at the ſame Time be employed in ſome ſuitable Kinds of Labour. It may be that another Step hitherto unattempted, would contribute to the ſame good Purpoſe, and that is, by holding out proper Encouragement to an induſtrious and regular Courſe of Life, by aſſigning a Cottage with a ſmall Proportion of Land to ſuch Families as have bred up three Children or more, and ſettled them in the World in any honeſt Occupations. This competent Proviſion for ſuch Perſons in the Evening of their Days ſhould be made, not in the Mode of Charity, but as the juſt Reward and Diſtinction due to them from Society, as having been, while they were able ſo to be, uſeful, active, and induſtrious Members of it [i].

These Inſtances, to which if it had appeared neceſſary, very many more might have been added, ſhew plainly that in the moſt capital Points we have very pregnant Reſources, and are in no Danger of declining through Want of Means to proceed. We may likewiſe on the juſt Grounds of Experience, in reſpect to Cultivation, Manufactures, and Commerce, expect that our recurring to theſe will produce freſh Reſources not yet perhaps in any Man's Contemplation. At all Events there are Two Points, which maturely conſidered, are ſufficient to excite our Endeavours, and to ſupport us in the Purſuit of them. The Firſt is that viſible Spirit of Enterprize, which diſtinguiſhes the preſent Age, and is the ſtrongeſt Proof of national Vigour. The Second is that Readineſs which the Le-

[i] As to the Poor in their preſent State, they muſt be left to the Regulations of the Laws as they now ſtand, or as by the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature they may be altered. The Idle and Incorrigible merit Puniſhment, the Aged, Impotent, and Infirm, national Relief. The Hints given in the Text are intended to prevent the Increaſe of the Poor in future. We ſee plainly that nothing contributes ſo much to this Miſchief as the Want of Morals, and of an early Conception of the Power and Neceſſity of Induſtry to procure Subſiſtence. If therefore Schools were provided, in which Children were taught to read, and the Grounds of the Chriſtian Religion, and at the ſame Time employed to work, they would come into the World much better qualified to live in it than they do at preſent. What they earn might be inconſiderable, when compared with the Expence of theſe Schools, which however need not be great. But whatever their Earnings are, they will be thereby withheld from Idleneſs, initiated to Labour, and to the Knowledge of its being the Means of their getting Bread, and however ſmall, it will be an Addition to the public Stock. In reſpect to what is propoſed in favour of Perſons advanced in Life, who have brought up Children to honeſt Employments, the Reward in the Firſt Place is reaſonable, and muſt probably have good Effects. For no Nation in the World is more ambitious of Diſtinction than our own, and the Deſire of being conſidered in their old Age in a conſpicuous Point of Light, and having at the ſame Time a comfortable Proviſion, would ſtimulate their Feelings through the whole Courſe of their Days, and thereby very often put it in their Power to wave that very Emolument which might have been the primitive Object of their Wiſhes.

giſlature

giſlature almoſt annually expreſſes, to countenance, aſſiſt, and cheriſh every Undertaking in reſpect to which there is a probable Proſpect of Succeſs. While therefore we are actuated by this Spirit, and our Conſtitution retains its Force, there can be no Doubt of our proſecuting whatever Plans may be formed for the Embelliſhment of that Structure of public Oeconomy, which, though in ſome Parts ſo highly finiſhed, is yet in others viſibly incomplete.

It is neceſſary to mention that the Propoſitions offered in this Chapter, and indeed through the whole Work, are offered by a Perſon who has the greateſt Diffidence of his own Judgment, and the greateſt Deference for the Sentiments of thoſe who have ſuperior Talents and better Lights, and to their Correction, he ſhall always cheerfully and willingly ſubmit. His thinking much and long upon theſe Subjects, making many Enquiries, and receiving which he gratefully acknowledges, a Variety of Informations, induced him to give them Place. If, as is very poſſible, ſome of them ſhould ſeem impracticable or even chimerical, it will not afford him any ſenſible Mortification. If he had ſeen them in that Light, he would certainly not have produced them to public View, neither did this proceed from any Preſumption of his own Abilities, but from obſerving that many Things which had been treated with Contempt and even with Ridicule at their Firſt Appearance, have notwithſtanding in ſucceeding Times been adopted and brought to bear, and he hath upon this Head always thought, that the Credit of a private and obſcure Individual, was a very trivial Sacrifice to make, in any Caſe where public Utility was in View.

I shall conclude this Work with recommending a ſhort Obſervation to the Reader's Contemplation, which is, that notwithſtanding the general Opinion that in every political Syſtem the Seeds of its Diſſolution are contained, yet ſuch is the excellent Frame of our Conſtitution, that if we examine it with Candour no ſuch Seeds will be perceived therein; and that therefore we may reaſonably hope the great Extent of Dominion and Power which in this laſt Century we have under the Influence of that Conſtitution ſo wonderfully attained, may be looked upon as ſuch an Indication of a robuſt State of Health, as may preſerve the Empire of Britain many Ages from Decay. At leaſt this ought to be the Wiſh of every true Friend to his Country, and who hath a juſt Senſe of its preſent happy State!

FINIS.

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TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

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Gibraltar, the fortreſs, town, and port deſcribed, 568—576.

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Glendour, *Owen*, lord of, raiſes a rebellion in Wales againſt Henry IV. 414.

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Gives him much trouble, ibid. Aſſiſted as prince of that country by the French, ibid. Proves of ſome ſervice to the king by taking ſir Edmund Mortimer, and his nephew, the young earl of March, priſoners, ibid.

Glouceſter, *Humphrey*, duke of, uncle to Henry VI. declared protector of the realm in the abſence of the duke of Bedford, 421. Governs at home while his brother acted with great prudence and ſpirit as regent of France, ibid. Marries Jaqueline, heireſs of the houſe of Holland and the Low Countries, already eſpouſed to the duke of Brabant, 422. Pretends, in her right to thoſe territories, and endeavours to gain poſſeſſion of them by force, ibid. Diſguſts and alarms the duke of Burgundy by ſuch proceedings, ibid. Quarrels with his uncle the biſhop of Wincheſter, ibid. Arrives in France with a fleet and forces, to the relief of Calais, 423. Obliges the duke of Burgundy to retire with ſome diſgrace, ibid. Endeavours all he can to ſuppreſs that war, ibid. Makes a ſolemn proteſt againſt the releaſement of the duke of Orleans for a large ranſom, ibid. Is arreſted, in conſequence of his popularity on his coming to the meeting of the parliament, by order of the queen and her party, ibid. Is ſoon afterwards found dead, ibid. Generally ſuppoſed to have been murdered, ibid.

——— *Richard*, duke of, called by his brother Edward IV. to the regency of the kingdom during the minority of his ſon, 436. Aims at a higher title than that of protector ſoon after his brother's death, 437. Reſolves to remove whatever obſtacles ſhould ſtand in his way, ibid. Meets the young king (Edward V.) upon the road, and approaches him with all the exterior marks of affection and duty, ibid. Immediately cauſes his principal attendants and neareſt relations to be arreſted, and ſent priſoners into the North, ibid. Brings the young king to town with all poſſible marks of honour and ſubmiſſion, ibid. Prevails on the queen to part with the duke of York, ibid. Transfers them both to the Tower, ibid. Having gained the colour of national conſent, he takes the title of king, 438. Receives the homage of the nobility, ibid. Celebrates his coronation, with that of his queen, with extraordinary ſplendor and ſolemnity, ibid. Begins a progreſs through the nation, ibid. During this progreſs his two nephews are ſuppoſed to have been cruelly murdered, ibid. On his arrival at York, he is again inaugurated with great pomp, ibid. Creates his only ſon Edward, prince of Wales, ibid. Advances with a conſiderable body of men to Saliſbury, in order to chaſtiſe the duke of Buckingham for his treacherous deſertion, 439. Publiſhed a reward for the apprehending of the duke, ibid. Returns to London, after having brought him to the block, and holds a parliament, ibid. Ratifies his title to the crown, ibid. Paſſes many good laws, ibid. Enters into various negotiations with foreign princes, for promoting the commerce of his ſubjects, 443. Finds his ſecurity extremely weakened by the death of his only ſon prince Edward, ibid. Declares the young earl of Lincoln preſumptive heir of the crown, 441. Meets the earl of Richmond near Boſworth, and is there ſlain in a deciſive battle, ibid.

Goat, a kind of creature nearly allied to a ſheep, 162. The ancients more attentive to goats than we, ibid. Many particulars relating to them, 162—166.

Gold-coaſt, its beginning and ending marked, 630. Its great conſequence to Britain, ibid.

Gold-coin, firſt minted here in the reign of Edward III. 403.

Gold-ſtones, found in great abundance, and in very great perfection, on the coaſts of the Iſle of Sheppey, and elſewhere, 20.

Gothrun, the Daniſh king, enters into a treaty with Alfred, 338. Is baptized, with thirty of his principal nobility, ibid. In conſequence of their baptiſm the countries already in his poſſeſſion are confirmed to them, ibid.

Grain, various kinds of it ſpecified, 67—74.

Granite, to be met with in England, little inferior to the Oriental, 24.

Grazing, conſidered in the reign of Henry the Seventh, by the nobility and gentry, at that time the principal land-owners in the kingdom, as preferable to tillage, 65.

Grenada, Iſland of, deſcribed, 684—687.

Grenadines, iſlands ſo called in America, deſcribed, 687.

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Hallidown, the Scots totally defeated there by Edward III. 396.

Hardiknute, his reign rendered odious by the heavy taxes that he levied upon his people, 356. He cauſes the city of Worceſter to be ſacked and deſtroyed, on the murder of two of his collectors by the inhabitants of it, ibid.

Hare, the fleſh of it has been always in great eſteem, 206.

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Hemp, a moſt ſerviceable plant, 87. Riſes higher and ſtronger in the northern parts of the world, but is finer and fairer in the ſouthern countries, ibid. Several particulars relating to it, 88, 89.

Henry I. ſurnamed *Beauclerck*, crowned in a few days after his brother was ſhot in the New Foreſt, 367. Makes a ſhew of better temper than he really poſſeſſed, ibid. Promiſes great things at his coronation, ibid. Publiſhed, with much ſolemnity, a charter of liberties, and ſome ſay, a body of ſtatutes, ibid. This code of laws is the moſt complete hitherto given by any of our Norman kings, ibid. Henry, though more ſpecious in his behaviour than his brother, as arbitrary in his nature, 368. Shews not the leaſt regard to the laws he had framed, but acts if they had never been made, one inſtance only excepted, ibid.

——— II. the firſt king of the houſe of Plantagenet, 372. Comes to the throne with very great advantages, ibid. Avails himſelf of them in fulfilling the high expectation of his people, ibid. Makes the uſual promiſes at his coronation, ibid. In a great meaſure, unlike his predeceſſors, he keeps his word, ibid. Revives and confirms his grandfather's charter of liberties by one of his own, ibid. Diſmiſſes the foreign mercenaries brought over by king Stephen, ibid. Reſumes many of that king's grants by which he had impoveriſhed the crown, ibid. Deprives the new earls he had created, ibid. Cauſes a multitude of the new-[illegible],

erected, ſtyled in thoſe days Adulterine Caſtles, to be demoliſhed, ibid. Holds it expedient to ſettle the bounds between the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers, 373. Executes his deſigns with great prudence and firmneſs by the Conſtitutions at Clarendon, ibid. Suffers a very humiliating puniſhment in conſequence of his quarrel with archbiſhop Becket, ibid. Endeavours, when his foreign wars allowed him reſpite, to give eaſe and ſecurity to his ſubjects by prudent and beneficial regulations, ibid. Eſtabliſhes in civil caſes another method of trial than that by combat, 374. Inſtitutes itinerant judges, ibid. Obtains from pope Adrian IV. an Engliſhman, a donation by his bull of the iſland of Ireland, ibid. Makes a conqueſt of it, 375.

Henry III. little more than nine years of age when he was crowned at Glouceſter, 379. Very happy in his protector; by his advice, twice renews the Great Charter, and brings a moſt dangerous civil war to a concluſion, ibid. Renews again the Grand Charter in the ninth year of his reign, ibid. Grants at the ſame time the Charter of the Foreſts, ibid. Diſgraces his juſticiary Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, ibid. Seduced by foreign flatterers, and favourites, he ſquanders away the revenue of the crown, ibid. Brings himſelf and his ſubjects, by many imprudent acts, to the loweſt ebb of miſery and diſtreſs, ibid. Is made priſoner, with his gallant ſon prince Edward, by the barons, in the fatal battle of Lewes, 380. Is long detained and treated with great ſeverity, ibid. Enjoys quiet in the latter part of his long reign, ibid.

—— IV. aſcended the throne partly by force, and partly by favour, 413. Fixes the ſucceſſion of his ſon, 414. Degrades his couſin, the duke of Aumarle, eldeſt ſon to the duke of York, ibid. Makes his eſcape from Windſor on being informed of a deſign to aſſaſſinate him, ibid. Much troubled by the inſurrection of Owen, lord of Glendour, ibid. Meets the rebellious Percys at Shrewſbury, and totally defeats them, ibid. Receives the earl of Northumberland into favour, ibid. Condemns the archbiſhop of York and the earl of Nottingham, by a ſummary proceeding, and puts them to death, ibid. Turns his arms againſt Owen Glendour, but not with great ſucceſs, ibid. Defeats him, and forces him to fly for ſhelter to the mountains of his own country, 415. Is obliged, in conſequence of his domeſtic diſturbances, to act with foreign potentates rather by policy than proweſs, ibid. Is brought to his grave by a ſlow and lingering diſeaſe, 416.

Henry V. ſurnamed *of Monmouth*, from the place of his birth, ſucceeds to the crown in the flower of his youth, 416. Repairs his juvenile ſallies by a ſteady and manly repentance, ibid. Diſcovers his magnanimity by removing the corpſe of Richard the Second from Langley, and cauſing it to be interred with that of his firſt queen, Anne of Bohemia, agreeably to that prince's will, with great ſolemnity, in Weſtminſter abbey, ibid. Reſtores the noble family of Percy in honour and eſtates, 417. Shews a diſpoſition to receive into his favour all thoſe who ſtudied to deſerve it, without any diſtinction, ibid. Follows his father's example in giving his countenance to the clergy, ibid. Is prejudiced againſt the Lollards, looking upon them as people diſaffected to his perſon and government, ibid. Leaves them to the mercy of churchmen, by whom they are treated with extreme rigour, ibid. Turns his views entirely to a war with France, ibid. Draws together a numerous army, and aſſembles a great fleet at South-

Southampton, ibid. Diſcovers a deep conſpiracy, which retards his embarkation, ibid. Orders the delinquents to be executed, 418. Sails with the flower of his nobility for Normandy, ibid. Lays ſiege to Harfleur, 418. Reduces it, ibid. Determines to march from thence through Picardy to Calais, ibid. Stands in need of all his courage and military ſkill to diſengage himſelf from a perilous ſituation, ibid. Gains a complete victory over the French at the battle of Agincourt, ibid. Continues his route to Calais unmoleſted, ibid. Returns from thence to England with his priſoners, ibid. Enters the city of London in triumph, ibid. Sends his brother, the duke of Bedford, with a great naval force againſt the French, ibid. Goes over in perſon again to Normandy with a royal fleet and army, and carries on the war ſucceſsfully, 419. Is declared ſucceſſor to the crown of France, ibid. Marries the princeſs Catharine, ibid. Brings his young queen over to England, ibid. Calls a parliament, in order to procure the neceſſary ſupplies of men and money, ibid. Promiſes to accommodate all things as ſoon as poſſible, 420. Returns to France with a great fleet and army, with a full intention of proſecuting the war with vigour, ibid. Reſtores the ſtate of his affairs by his preſence, ibid. Reduces all the ſtrong places that held for the Dauphin, ibid. Exerciſes all the functions of ſovereignty, ibid. Is called by the ſeaſon into the field, but finding himſelf very much indiſpoſed, is forced to retire to Bois de Vincennes, ibid. Dies there, ibid. His character, ibid.

Henry VI. ſucceeds his father when little more than eight months old, 421. In leſs than two months after is proclaimed king of France at Paris, ibid. The care of his education committed to the biſhop of Wincheſter, ibid. He marries Margaret, daughter to the titular king of Sicily, 423. Sends the duke of Suffolk into exile for five years, to ſave him from the fury of the people, 424. On being indiſpoſed, he veſts the adminiſtration in the duke of York, 425. Recovers his health, and reſumes his authority, ibid. Aſſembles an army, in order to oppoſe the duke of York, ibid. Is defeated by him at St. Alban's, ibid. Wounded, and taken priſoner, ibid. Brought to London, ibid. Apparently reconciled to the duke, 426. Goes to Coventry, and, in a parliament held there, attaints him and all his adherents, ibid. Is defeated by the earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, and March, and taken priſoner, ibid. Recovers his liberty, 427. Draws together a numerous army in the North, 428. Is totally defeated, ibid. Retires to Scotland with his queen and ſon, ibid. Surrenders the important town and caſtle of Berwick, to procure a good reception there, ibid. Joins the queen in the North, ibid. Is betrayed and taken priſoner, ibid. Sent up to London, and committed to the Tower, ibid. Brought out of the Tower, he is again acknowledged as king, 431. Is ſeized, and ſent back to the Tower, ibid. Cruelly murdered there, 432.

Henry VII. ſtyled by that title on Boſworth Field, 446. Has the crown, which Richard the Third wore that day, placed upon his head, ibid. Marches directly from Leiceſter to London, ibid. Proceeds ſoon afterwards to his coronation, ibid. Publiſhes a general pardon, ibid. Marries Elizabeth, the eldeſt daughter of Edward the Fourth, ibid. Suddenly alarmed, in his progreſs to York, with the news of two inſurrections, 447. Aſſembles haſtily a ſmall force, and publiſhes a general pardon to thoſe who would return to their duty, ibid. Defeats a body of rebels at Stoke in Notting-

Nottinghamſhire, 448. Takes Simons the prieſt, and his pupil (Lambert Simnel), priſoners, ibid. Puts the former into a dungeon for life, ibid. Makes the latter a turnſpit in his kitchen, ibid. Continues his progreſs through the North after his victory, 449. Cauſes the queen, on his return, to be crowned with great ſplendor, ibid. Deſpatches the earl of Surry northwards with a ſmall force, to reſtore quiet in thoſe parts, and follows himſelf with an army, ibid. Traces out, with indefatigable enquiries, the impoſtures of Perkin Warbeck, and with an unrelenting ſeverity deſtroys the moſt formidable of his adherents, 451. Stoops to acts little ſuited to the majeſty of a prince, in providing for his own ſecurity, and that of his family, 453. Acts with more temper and lenity with regard to the realm of Ireland, ibid. Acts with firmneſs and vigour, ibid. Conducts himſelf in a manner equally artful and cautious, in regard to Scotland, 454. With regard to foreign affairs he acts with a degree of circumſpection, which expoſes his conduct to much cenſure, 455. Makes preparations for a war with France, 457. Avows an intention of reviving old claims, ibid. Enters into very proper alliances abroad, ibid. Raiſes large ſupplies, and draws together a very formidable army at home, ibid. Tranſports his forces to Calais, ibid. Undertakes the ſiege of Bologne, and puſhes it on with great vigour, ibid. Enters into a negotiation, and concludes a treaty, ibid. Procures great reſpect to himſelf by his correſpondence with other potentates, and derives conſiderable advantages to his ſubjects, 458. Diſcovers conſummate ſkill in his tranſactions with the ſovereigns of the Low Countries, 459, 460. An account of his character as a legiſlator, 461—468.

Henry VIII. a prince of a martial and magnanimous ſpirit, 525. Revives the old ſyſtem, and places his glory in being ſometimes the terror, ſometimes the umpire of contending princes on the continent, ibid. Often dreadful to his friends, almoſt always a dupe to his allies, ibid. Succeſsful againſt the French, and againſt the Scots, ibid. Quickly diſſipates the immenſe maſs of money his father had left him, ibid. Makes continual demands upon his people, ibid. Has frequent recourſe to his prerogative, ibid. Ventures on new modes of exactions, ibid. Does many things in his parliaments highly advantageous, 526. Leaves his ſon a minor, an exhauſted treaſury, a debaſed coin, a debilitated kingdom, ibid.

Herring, the, pays no ſmall annual tribute to all the members of the Britiſh empire, 218.

Hop, introduced (from Flanders) into this country about two centuries and a half ago, 85. Cultivated from that time, and of late years, with equal aſſiduity and ſucceſs, ibid. Particulars relating to it, 86.

Horſe, the, a gentle, docile, noble, majeſtic, and well-proportioned animal, 189. His peculiar excellencies determined by the ſervices for which he is deſigned, ibid. Horſes of every kind, and excellent in their reſpective kinds, bred in Britain, 189—194. The many uſes that are made of them, and many advantages ariſing from them candidly conſidered, 194—199.

Hudſon's Bay, derives its name from a bold and able ſeaman who diſcovered the ſtraits that enter into this great body of water, 636. Deſcription of it, 636, 637.

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Jamaica, a noble iſland, 661. The largeſt which we poſſeſs in America, ibid. One of the Great Antilles, ibid. Particularly happy in its ſituation, 661. Particular deſcription of it, 661—666.

James I. finds himſelf, very ſoon after his acceſſion, embaraſſed in point of revenue, 530. Becomes profuſe, ibid. Receives no adequate relief to his neceſſities, ibid. Is reduced to have recourſe to monopolies and projects, ibid. Attempts benevolences and loans, but with little ſucceſs, ibid. Makes a good treaty with France, ibid. A very advantageous one with Spain, ibid.

James II. ſucceeds to the throne with greater advantages than almoſt any prince that ever ſat upon it, 538. Finds the public revenue much improved, and put into better order than it had ever been, ibid. Adds to this the eſtabliſhed and ample income which he had poſſeſſed as duke of York, ibid. Naturally a good œconomiſt, well acquainted with public affairs, and of unwearied application, he very ſoon brings his revenue into a flouriſhing ſtate, ibid. Makes annually very conſiderable ſavings, ibid. Is particularly careful in protecting the Eaſt India and African companies, ibid. Directs the navy himſelf, with the aſſiſtance only of a ſecretary, ibid. Excites the diſaffection of his ſubjects by his bigotry, and is obliged to abandon his dominions, 539.

Improvements, national, artificial expedients, in order to facilitate the progreſs of them, of infinite utility, 227. The invention of theſe, tho' difficult, yet it is generally found to be much leſs ſo than the bringing them into common uſe, 228.

Inland trade, a ſhort account of what is to be underſtood by this term, 714. The ſettling of towns and cities particularly attended to by every government, 715. The different modes purſued by the Romans, Saxons, and Normans, with their effects, ibid. The means employed to extend this communication by the help of markets, marts, and fairs, 716. Public events by which the extenſion of this home trade was gradually promoted, 717. A farther detail of incidents that were alſo favourable to it, 718. The encouragements given, and the liberty indulged to the ſetting up of manufactures, attended with the moſt advantageous conſequences, 718. Many new circumſtances that aſſiſted the eſtabliſhment and perfection of inland traffic, 719. The numerous national benefits ariſing from them ſet in a true light, 720. The cloſe connection between inland trade, the coaſting navigation, and foreign commerce, clearly explained, 721. The advantages derived from them to be probably augmented by inland canals, ibid.

John, king, ſwears at his coronation, to govern his ſubjects with juſtice and equity, 377. His firſt actions ſuit with his promiſes, ibid. His perſonal ill conduct afterwards rekindles a civil war, by the fury of which the greateſt part of the kingdom is almoſt ruined, ibid. Is obliged by his barons to grant them the Great Charter, ibid. Forced to evince the ſincerity of his intentions by the ſurrender of ſeveral ſtrong caſtles, 378. Complains to the pope, to whom he had reſigned his crown, and received it again as his vaſſal, of the charter he had been obliged to grant, ibid. Brings over a numerous army of foreign mercenaries, on being abſolved from his oath, and makes a cruel war upon his barons, ibid. Is reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, ibid.

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Ireland, the excellence of its wool for moſt ſorts of manufactures, not to be diſputed, 160. Its linen manufacture extremely encouraged, 161.

Iron, the moſt uſeful, and the moſt common of all metals, plentifully found in all parts of the Britiſh dominions, 41. Our mines probably wrought firſt by the Romans, ibid. Different appearances of this ore, ibid. Particulars relating to it, 41, 42.

Italy, ſtate of our trade with it, 702.

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Kent, the firſt kingdom founded by the Saxons in this iſland about the year 457, 321. The ſmalleſt of the ſeven, but pleaſant, fertile, and well ſituated, ibid. The reception of conſtant ſupplies, and freſh adventurers from the continent, facilitated by the many excellent ports belonging to it, ibid.

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Labrador, or New Britain, a country of great extent, and thought to be inhabited by the Eſquimaux, 637. Its ſituation, ſoil, and produce deſcribed, ibid.

Lambert's blue, an earth in uſe with painters, 19.

Lancaſter, *John*, duke of, uncle to Richard the Second, wiſely concludes a treaty of pacification, 411.

Lead, a metal for which this iſland was always famous, 47. Our mines very probably wrought by the Britons, certainly by the Romans, ibid. Our lead mines, in all ages, amongſt the acknowledged ſources of our national wealth, ibid. This metal very abundant in South Britain, North Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent iſles, ibid. The different appearances of this ore, and its different names in conſequence of thoſe appearances, ibid. The moſt common ore, ibid. Further particulars relating to this valuable metal, 47—49.

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Lentils, called by the common people Tills, affords excellent food both for pigeons and calves, 76. In ſome countries, therefore, in great requeſt, ibid.

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Lewes, battle of, between Henry the Third and his barons, in which he and his ſon prince Edward were taken priſoners, 380.

Lime, a variety of it, and of the beſt kind, to be found in England, 23.

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Little Taunton, in Glouceſterſhire, a gold mine ſuppoſed to be found there about fourſcore years ago, 51.

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Maid of Orleans, the, raiſes the ſiege of that place, 422. Throws a great damp on the Engliſh arms, ibid. Taken by the forces of the duke of Burgundy,

dy, ibid. Delivered into the hands of the Engliſh, ibid. Burnt as a witch at Rouen, ibid.

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Malt, a very uſeful, extenſive, and curious manufacture, by which multitudes are maintained, 72.

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